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A NEW

HISTORY OF PAINTING

IN

ITALY

FROM THE SECOND TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

DRAWN UP FROM FRESH MATERIALS AND RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE ARCHIVES OF ITALY; AS WELL AS FROM PERSONAL INSPECTION OF THE WORKS OF ART SCATTERED THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

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AUTHORS OF 'THE EARLY FLEMISH PAINTERS.'

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A series of frescos at S. Clemente in Rome has been discovered since these pages were in the press.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART.

CHAPTER I.

DECLINING SCHOOL OF GIOTTESQUES.

There are many second rate Giottesques deserving attention and study, whose lives and works do not stand in immediate relation to the direct line of progress in Florentine art. A narrative professing to trace that progress may venture to forget them for a while; but cannot omit them altogether. It may therefore be necessary to revert to a time much earlier than that to which the study of Masolino, Masaccio and Angelico had brought the reader, and recal to memory the days when Taddeo Gaddi, departing content from a world in which he had earned fame and riches, entrusted his son Agnolo to Giovanni da Milano and Jacopo di Casentino.

Jacopo heads a class of inferior painters who succeeded each other with great regularity of mediocrity, yet amongst whom perchance one or two of merit superior to the rest may be found. Such an one is Spinello Aretino, who deserves a higher place than others already noticed as pupils or followers of great masters in the main line of art descent. But he takes rank in this class, because of his intimate connection with the second rate Giottesques, and because he did nothing to save his successors from declining to the low standard of Neri di Bicci. Giovanni

da Milano, one of those who led up to Masaccio and Angelico, Jacopo di Casentino who headed the decline of a branch respectable under Spinello, but despicable in the Bicci, thus stood at cross ways; and, as the ascent in one path has been described, an attempt shall now be made to sketch the descent in the other.

Jacopo di Casentino, related to the family of Messer Cristoforo Landino of Pratovecchio, was introduced to Taddeo Gaddi while the latter was engaged in the decoration of a chapel in the church of Sasso della Vernia in Casentino, and followed him to Florence.[1] Thanks, no doubt, to the recommendation of the Gaddi, he found sufficient employment in the capital, working at first as a subordinate, and at last as an independent artist. Three tabernacles, erected in the Mercato Vecchio, at the angles of the Piazza S. Niccolo and the garden of the Tintori, were entrusted to him to decorate with altarpiece or frescos; and the ornamentation of the pilasters, ceilings, and faces of Orsanmichele was about the most important work which he was commissioned to execute. Here he painted sixteen Patriarchs and prophets in the ceilings, and scenes from the life of the Virgin and saints in the walls and pilasters.[2] But, as in the tabernacles nothing of his manner remains, so in the walls of Orsanmichele the frescos have disappeared. The pilasters and one of the ceilings, however[3] still preserve vestiges of life sized figures, an annunciation and a Trinity in the usual form, the fragments of which disclose, beneath much dust, traces of Jacopo's weak Giottesque manner.[4] If, however, Jacopo is entitled to little attention, as a painter he deserves credit for an organizing spirit, and for the

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p.p. 178—9. Del Migliore all but proves the truth of Vasari's statement as to the family of Jacopo. Vide annot. to Vas. p. 178.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 179.

[3] Where four saints have recently been rescued from whitewash.

[4] The spectator may still perceive that the nude in Jacopo di Casentino was of a coarse fiery tone. On comparison of other works, it is obvious that Vasari correctly assigns the figures at Orsanmichele to him. Vas. Vol. II. p. 179.

business like assiduity with which he founded in 1349[1] the company of painters under the patronage of the Virgin, S. S. John the Baptist, Zanobi, Reparata and Luke, thus giving to his profession a standing of its own. The corporation then formed remained second to the art or guild of the barber — surgeons, and grocers, which as early as 1335, had established rules for the conduct of such of its members as devoted themselves to the career of painters.[2] Four Captains, four councillors and two clerks were appointed to the company, — all of them painters at Florence in 1349, the majority of whom, excepting Jacopo and Bernardo Daddi, have left not a single work behind. The Captains or councillors did not think it necessary to draw up such extensive regulations for the administration of their craft as had been embodied in the earlier statute of Sienna, but they made provisions for the election of their officers, for monthly meetings in the church of S. Maria Nuova, and for the entrance and other fees to which the corporation might consider itself entitled, the whole preceded by an appeal to the religion of the members, of which the following may be taken as an amusing specimen:

"As it is our opinion that during this our dangerous pilgrimage on earth, we should have S. Luke Evangelist as a special advocate between us, the divine majesty and the glorious Virgin Mary, and at the same time that her servants should be pure and free from sin, we do hereby order that all who do or shall inscribe their names as members of this company, be they male or female, shall contritely confess their sins, or at least make proof of an intention to do so on the nearest possible occasion; and whoever joins this body is bound daily to tell five paternoster and five Ave Maria; and should he omit or be constrained by circumstances to neglect this duty and forget these prayers one day, he shall tell them the next, or whenever the matter may come within his memory."

[1] See the statutes in Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 32, with the false date of 1339. Gaye having misread the original MS. which is much abraded.

[2] See these rules in Gaye,

The statute and organization of the company of painters was registered before a notary in 1354, up to which time it is evident that Jacopo di Casentino remained in Florence.[1] How much longer after this he resided there is as uncertain as the date of Taddeo Gaddi's death or Agnolo's birth. But if Arezzo owed to him, as Vasari states, the regulation of the water works of the Fonte Guinizelli,[2] the date of his return to that city was 1354. Here he seems to have executed a vast number of frescos, the majority of which have perished. Parts of the Duomo Vecchio, which had been thrown down in Vasari's time, and of the Vescovado, were decorated by him,[3] and the canons of the Pieve employed him in various parts of the church of S. Bartolommeo. In a recess, in the right hand corner of the side facing the portal of that edifice, the visitor to Arezzo may see a dead Saviour by him, lying as in a coffin, naked, with his arms crossed over his breast, bewailed by the Virgin and S. John Evangelist.[4] Much injured by time and other causes, this work may be noted as being coloured in glaring tones of a coarse substance, and as exhibiting Giottesque types and drapery on a low and rude scale. Jacopo may have had a just idea of proportion, and may have proved a desire to master details of form, but he showed a not unusual neglect in drawing extremities and lack of power in shaping out the several parts of the human frame. Whilst feet or hands display a wooden clumsiness, the face is rendered from a poor and common type alike devoid of energy or feeling.[5]

Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 39.

[1] He executed for the Company of S. Luke in S. Maria Nuova a picture of S. Luke, painting the Virgin, with portraits of the members of the guild in the predella. These have unfortunately perished.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 180. See annot. of Vas. note 1 to p. 180, in which it is affirmed that these water works were in 1354 replaced in the state originally due to the Romans.

[3] Vas. Vol. II. p. 179, the Vescovado with a story of S. Martin.

[4] Half figures. S. John wailing rests his head on his right hand. In the vaulting, the lamb between S.S. Bartholomew and Donato, the latter miscalled by Vasari S. Paul.

[5] Besides this fresco in S. Bartolommeo he painted the panel for the high altar.

Yet, as we have seen, Vasari did not hesitate to assign to Giotto a fresco of S. Francis and S. Dominick in the Pieve[1] marked by faults similar to those of the fresco in S. Bartolommeo, which less partial critics may assign to Jacopo. Taking these works as a guide we may assign to him further a lunette fresco of the Pieta above the gate of the old Fraternita di S. Maria della Misericordia, now a library and museum at Arezzo, hitherto attributed to Spinello.[2]

A better work and of interest is an altarpiece painted for the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista in his native place Prato Vecchio,[3] and now in the National Gallery,[4] where Jacopo illustrated the scenes of the life of S. John Evangelist which Giotto had previously used in the Peruzzi chapel at S. Croce. His comparative mediocrity may be proved by the poverty of his conception, the vulgarity of his types or action and the feebleness of his execution. Yet his defects are partly covered by a certain vehemence of hand and exaggeration of expression or movement.[5]

Of equal interest and better execution is a predella at the Uffizi[6] in which a religious ceremony, at the centre, is flanked by two scenes from the life of S. Peter and eight figures of saints. The value of this piece lies chiefly in a lively colour and flowing drapery, which reveal the master of Spinello. A more modern altarpiece of the same class in the passage of the Uffizi represents the

[1] Vas. Vol. I. p. 315. See antea in Giotto. S. Francis holds a book, S. Dominick a lily.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 188. Half figures, the dead Saviour is supported naked and erect between the Virgin and the Evangelist. The head of the Saviour is damaged and that of a S. John obliterated, but the style, forms and colour are the same as those of Jacopo at S. Bartolommeo.

[3] According to Vasari, he also painted at Poppi in Casentino. Vol. II. p. 179.

[4] No. 580.

[5] This piece is of a dry tempera with verde shadows. It passed into the National Gallery from the Ugo Baldi collection. The subjects are: upper course, centre, the resurrection, the limbo, the donor and family under the protection of the two S.S. Johns. Above this upper course: the Trinity, the Virgin, and angel annunciate. Pediment: scenes from the life of the Evangelist. Pilasters: Saints.

[6] No. 1292.

coronation of the Virgin, a subject which is repeated in the same style in a panel in the magazines of the Louvre. The collection of the late Mr. Bromley comprised amongst others a series of five half-lengths of the Saviour between S.S. Peter, Paul, Bartholomew and Francis assigned to Giotto, but executed in the style of Jacopo's fresco in S. Bartolommeo at Arezzo.

The period of Jacopo's death has not been ascertained, but he died at eighty years of age and was buried in S. Agnolo an abbey of the Camaldoles at Pratovecchio.[1]

His cotemporary and colleague in the council of the company of S. Luke at Florence, Bernardo Daddi, painted the chapels of S. Lorenzo and of S. Stephano de Pulci e Berardi in S. Croce, and the gates of the old city of Florence.[2]

The only remaining frescos of Daddi, that have been preserved, are those of S. Stefano which represent the martyrdom of S. Lawrence and S. Stephen and have been injured by time and retouching. They betray the weakness of an artist of a low order, not ignorant, however, of the laws of composition as they were known to most inferior Giottesques. Vasari calls Bernardo Daddi a pupil of Spinello,[3] but this is inconsistent with the only dates of his life. He was enrolled as a member of the company of S. Luke in 1355,[4] having been of the council in 1349. He had one son called Daddo, registered in the same company in 1351, and free of it in 1358, a second called Simone who is mentioned with Ristoro Cione in a record of 1366,[5] and he died in 1380.[6] Spinello was of a later time, as may be shown presently. No doubt Bernardo Daddi's manner has a general relation to those of Spinello and Parri Spinelli, but this proves only that he and Jacopo di Casentino had a common style which the Spinelli inherited.

[1] Vas. (Vol. II. p. 184) who further mentions the following works which have perished: frescos at Arezzo in the Cappella di S. Cristofano in S. Domenico, in the Compagnia Vecchia of S. Giovanni di Peducci, in the Cappella Nardi of S. Agostino (Vol. I. p. 180) in the palace of the citadel, and beneath the organ in the Pieve. (Ib. p. 181).

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 181.

[3] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 181.

[4] Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. VI. p. 177.

[5] Del Migliore. Vas. Vol. II. p. 182.

[6] Vas. Vol. II. p. 182. He was

Of Daddi's paintings on the gates of Florence hardly a vestige remains, and the fragments only suffice to convince the spectator that they were of Daddi's time.

Spinello of Arezzo was in every sense superior to Jacopo di Casentino and Daddi. Issued from a Ghibeline family which had taken refuge at Arezzo about 1308, he nevertheless devoted himself to painting; and though his father Luca Spinelli[1] did nothing for his education, and allowed him to learn the rudiments alone, he rapidly attained proficiency, so that after a slight course of instruction under Jacopo di Casentino, he turned out at the age of twenty a better painter than his master. He was a man of great merit, following the style developed by Jacopo and Daddi; but he rose above them by studying pure Giottesque models from which, aided by indubitable vigour and energy, he formed a manner bold, animated and picturesque. He represented the spirit of Giotto at the close of the fourteenth century better than any artist of that time; and he undoubtedly played in painting the greatest part of that period.

His style may be studied to the best advantage at S. Miniato outside Florence, in the Campo Santo of Pisa, and above all, in the public palace of Sienna. His altar-pieces and pictures are less favorable to his greatness than his wall paintings; but in this he shared a peculiarity common to all the Florentines. Many galleries have pictures inscribed with his name; but these are mediocre when compared with his frescos; and it would be evident from a glance, were it not proved in other ways, that he trusted much of this species of work to assistants. Taking therefore his wall paintings for a guide, one can see that he possessed Giotto's maxims of composition, and that he distributed his subjects grandly and broadly. He proved himself at times, however,

buried, says the Aretine, in S. Felicita.

[1] In the inscription of Spinello's pictures, and in the records respecting him, he is called Spinello Lucæ, which confirms Vasari's statement. That his father Luca was a Ghibeline of the Spinelli family is only affirmed by the latter.

more Siennese than Florentine by falling into capricious or fantastic exaggeration. One seldom misses a stamp of force, stern character, or boldness of attitude in his figures; but though true in movement and expression they are often defective in the total of the proportions. He does not go into the detail of the form of the human frame, but neglects the extremities and articulations, so that the action is broken or incomplete; and his personages tread too often on an oblique not on a horizontal plane. He drew freely and easily, sometimes carelessly. His draperies have breadth and an easy sweep, and clothe his figures with perfect fitness. His hardy ease of hand results in breadth of light and shade. Spinello, in a word, had many of the qualities of Giotto, combined with some Siennese character, which we find to some extent already in his master Jacopo. His colour has the gaiety of the latter, whilst his defects of design are those common to Agnolo Gaddi. Yet Agnolo had more severity and was more firmly attached to pure Giottesque maxims, and Spinello, compared with Giotto, is a bold decorator, careless of form and of detail.

Were it not almost certain that the fresco in the lunette above the portal of the ex-Fraternita della Misericordia at Arezzo was executed by Jacopo di Casentino,[1] it should be assigned to Spinello's early time. It might be considered in this case as his weakest effort. So little, however, of Spinello's works at Arezzo has been preserved, and so few dates are recorded in his life by Vasari, that it is difficult to follow his progress. Still one may assume that he proceeded with Jacopo di Casentino to Florence, where he painted, about 1348, the choir of S. Maria Maggiore for Filippo Cappelli, two chapels in the Carmine,[2]

[1] See antea.

[2] At the Carmine, says Vasari, he painted the chapel of S.S. Jacopo and Giovanni Evangelista, when the wife of Zebedee asks Christ to give seats in Paradise to her sons, when Zebedee, James and John, leave their nets, in another chapel scenes from the life of the Virgin (Vol. II. p. 186—7).

one in S. Trinita and three altarpieces for the church of S. Apostolo, the church of S. Lucia di Bardi and the chapel of the Peruzzi in S. Croce.[1] Bottari was able to note that the frescos in S. Maria Maggiore were painted in *verdaccio* or dead colour, and were going to ruin.[2] They had been whitewashed in Richa's time,[3] and are lost to the present generation, like those of the Carmine, S. Lucia, and S. Croce.

Recalled to Arezzo by his fellow citizens, Spinello demonstrated his powers of rapid execution in almost all the churches of the city and its vicinity. He painted in 1361, the picture of the high altar in the Abbey of the Camaldoles in Casentino;[4] and, between that date and 1384, when after the sack of the town, he took refuge in Florence,[5] he attended to commissions of the most extensive nature for frescos and altarpieces.[6] Besides these which have perished, he executed other works of no inconsiderable kind. With success and not without grace, he painted the annunciation on an altar to the right as one enters the church of S. Francesco,[7] arranging the figures with taste, and expressing, in the angel especially, a fair amount of religious feeling. Near these pictures, which a restorer has somewhat damaged, he painted frescos on the wall between the chapel and the belfry, traces of which have recently been recovered from whitewash, a figure of a bishop and of one carrying an infant still revealing his style.[8] In the bell room of the same church Spinello

[1] Vasari (Vol. II. p. 186—7) says with reference to the choir of S. Maria Maggiore that Spinello painted it for Barone Cappelli; but this is probably an error as the patronage of the high altar was only obtained by Barone's son in 1348. (Vide Richa. Vol. III. p. 282.)

[2] Bottari, in notes to Vasari. Vol. II. p. 186.

[3] Richa, Chiese. Vol. III. p. 280.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 189.

[5] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 194.

[6] In the Duomo Vecchio and the Pieve. Ibid. p. 187—9; in S. Laurentino, the Compagnia della Nunziata, S.S. Marco, Giustino, Lorenzo and the Spedaletto. Ibid. p. 192—3.

[7] In the chapel of Messer Giuliano Baccio. Vas. Vol. II. p. 188.

[8] Vas. Vol. II. p. 188, mentions these, and besides, paintings in the Cappella de' Marsuppini, representing Pope Honorius con-

depicted scenes from the legend of the Archangel Michael most of which are greatly injured. In one of the lunettes the Saviour, enthroned amongst angels, orders S. Michael[1] to expel from his throne the rebel Lucifer and his angels. Beneath this the Archangel, poised on the dragon, is seen in the act of striking him, whilst on each side, angels and demons struggle for the mastery, — a fantastic medley of celestial warriors and evil spirits in the forms of serpents. Here we find the counterpart of the frescos in S. Maria degli Angeli at Arezzo, decorated with the same subjects by Spinello, but since obliterated with the exception of three heads transferred to canvass which are now in the hands of Mr. Layard, and were exhibited at Manchester.[2] Though in bad condition these frescos still have the spirit and character of the master.[3]

The Annunciation, in a tabernacle outside the church of the Annunziata, rivals in religious feeling and grace, as well as in beauty of composition that of S. Francesco. The calm attitude of the Virgin is not less good than the action of the angel whose flying drapery shows that he has but just alighted.[4]

Spinello's bold case of hand and lively colour, his broad arrangement of groups, his power in giving ready motion to figures, without any special accuracy of drawing, his

firming the rules of the order of S. Francis.

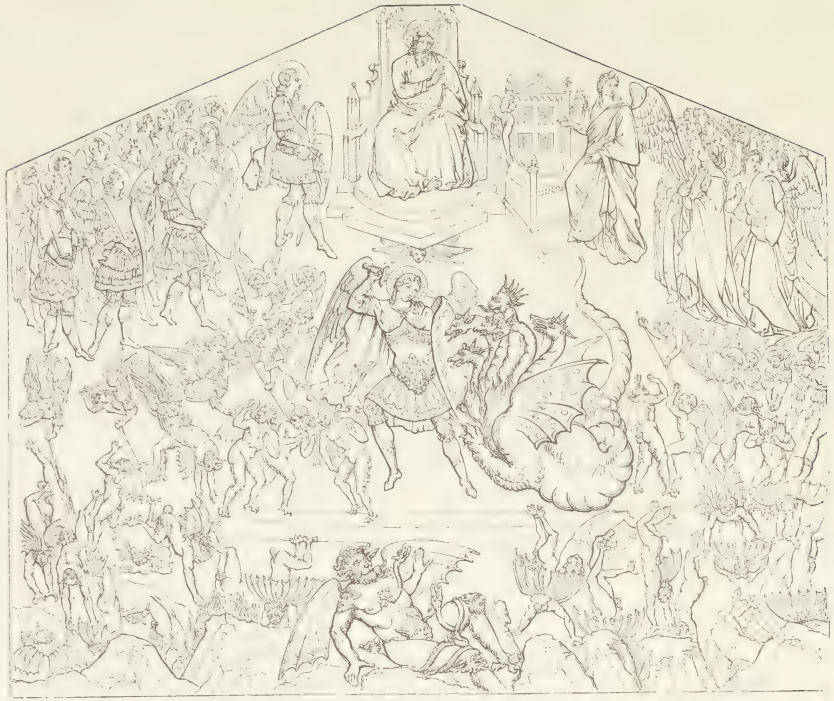
[1] On his left.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 197. Another of the sides of the bell room cut in two by the wall of a passage leading from the church to the sacristy contains remains of a fresco representing the vision of the Archangel to the Pope Gregory on the mole of Adrian at Rome, which has since been called from this miracle the Castle of S. Angelo, and scenes from the life of S. Egidius.

[3] Especially the vision.

[4] The Virgin sits with a book, Gabriel on one knee with arms crossed on his breast. The spirit of the Holy Ghost and the form of the infant Saviour descend as if from the Eternal in the lunette above, now obliterated.

A Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour (half figures) known as the Madonna del Latte and executed for the church of S. Stefano fuor d'Arezzo is now in S. Bernardo, where of old were other works by Spinello. (Vas. Vol. II. p. 190 and 193.) On the facade of the ex-hospital of Spirito Santo, he painted the descent of the Holy Spirit, three scenes from the legend of S.S. Cosmo and Damian, a Noli me tangere of which the remains are now all but obliterated.



THE FALL OF LUCIFER by Spinello of Arezzo; a fresco in the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli at Arezzo

ability in rendering sweep of drapery are illustrated in S. Domenico of Arezzo, where an altar to the left of the portal is decorated with the majestic erect forms of S.S. James and Philip, between side panels representing scenes from the lives of these saints.[1]

Vasari justly praises another of Spinello's frescos in Arezzo, a tabernacle above the door leading into the Compagnia della Misericordia.[2] The colossal Trinity depicted there, although repainted in its lower half, is worthy of distinct attention.[3] The head of the Eternal, of a fine and powerful type, a well proportioned figure of the Redeemer, not without religious feeling, impart to the whole subject a certain grandeur, whilst the general effect is heightened by vigorous colour.

A virgin between S.S. James and Anthony assigned to the master in the company of the Purraciuoli at Arezzo, bears the date of 1377 and might prove, if the fresco be authentic, that Spinello was still at the time in his native city.

According to a tradition existing to the present day, his shop was situated near the Via Sacra at the corner of the Via della Tolletta. A room is shown on the ground floor of a house on that site, in which a half figure of a Virgin annunciate is preserved on a wall, with a winged Saviour above and to the right of it, both figures displaying truly the style of Spinello.

At Florence he was employed by an Aretine, Don Jacopo, general of the congregation of Monte Oliveto to paint for the church of that name an altarpiece illustrating the lives and martyrdom of various saints. The central panel has disappeared; but a gable and predella

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 192. The scenes from the life of S. James on the left, those from the life of S. Philip on the right. Some of the heads in these have been injured by retouching. Two scenes from the life of S. Catherine are above the rest.

[2] Of old della Trinita. Vas. Vol. II. p. 193.

[3] Four angels supporting the Trinity have also been injured, as well as S.S. Peter, Cosmo and Damian in the vaulting.

are still in the gallery of Sienna,[1] the wings in the gallery of Mr. Ramboux at Cologne.[2] On the pediments of these are the words:

"Magister. Simon Cini. de Florentia. intaliavit. Gabriellus. Saraceni de Senis. auravit MCCCLXXX"

The names of the carver and gilder, two different persons in that age, are thus duly recorded. That of Spinello, the painter, is absent. His signature, however, may have been on the central panel, as Vasari completes the inscription, adding that the date was 1385.[3] The fragments of predella and pinnacle at Sienna[4] have all the breadth of Spinello, and are much injured, but are not different in this from the sides at Cologne. Little more than two years after this, the sacristy, a lofty square chamber on the South side of the choir of S. Miniato al monte near Florence, was completed in accordance with the last will of Nerozzo degli Alberti; and Don Jacopo D'Arezzo, for whom Spinello had already executed the altarpiece of Monte Oliveto, ordered of the artist the frescos of the walls,[5] on which he represented the legend of S. Benedict.

In the delineation of these subjects Spinello showed his usual vigour and skill, and surpassed himself in the last scene of all, depicting S. Benedict extended on his couch and bewailed by his brethren in various degrees of affliction, in a composition of a grand and decorous order. He was, indeed, more than usually successful in the

[1] Siennese Cat. 12.

[2] 82 to 87 of Ramboux Catalogue. 82; — S.S. Nemesius and John the Baptist with predella, containing the decapitation of the former, and Herods' feast, and Isaiah in the gable point. 83; — S.S. Benedict and Lucilla with a predella on which are the death of S. Benedict, and the decapitation of S. Lucilla. 84; — S. Philip holding a book. 85. S. James with staff and book. 86. An apostle with a book. 87. A saint in monkish dress.

[3] Vas. Vol. II. p. 194.

[4] Fragment of pediment is numbered 245 in the cat. of 1860, that of the pinnacle 246. The subject of the predella is the death and transit, that of the pinnacle the coronation of the Virgin.

[5] Vas. Vol. II. p. 190. By the will of Nerozzo, dated 1377, we have the exact period when these frescos were commissioned of Spinello. Vide Cenni Storici di S. Miniato, ub. sup. p. 156 and following.



THE DEATH OF S. BENEDICT: a fresco in S. Miniato at Florence, by Spinello Aretino.

drawing, proportion, and detail of this fresco. His draperies are broad and easy; and in spite of the injuries of time, the whole still preserves much of his transparent well relieved and powerful colour, as well as the marks of his peculiar dexterity of hand. Some of the frescos of the series are not faultless in distribution. They betray casual neglect and carelessness. Yet in general they show so much life and energy, and are so fairly sustained by general laws of composition, vigour of character, and bold facility of handling, that the total impression is grand. To Spinello's assistant Niccolo di Pietro Gerini the comparatively feeble evangelists in the ceiling may be assigned, as they are not unlike the works of that master and his son Lorenzo which shall be presently noticed.

Spinello's increasing fame now attracted the notice of the indefatigable Parasone Grasso of Pisa, who after exhausting the illustrations of the Pisan hero S. Raineri, now bethought him of two other saints whose lives and miracles might fitly adorn the still vacant spaces of the Campo Santo. Spinello was accordingly commissioned in 1391 to paint on the South wall, by the side of the miracles of S. Raineri, those of the S.S. Ephesus and Potitus.

The legend relates that Ephesus was presented to the Emperor Diocletian, who promoted him to a high command; but that after he had braced on his armour, and was ready to start against the Christians, the Saviour appeared to warn him against the enterprise. Ephesus turned accordingly against the pagans of Sardinia, receiving, ere he sprung into the saddle, a banner of Victory blazoned with the arms of Pisa, from the hands of the Archangel Michael, who rode with him in the subsequent fight with the host of his angels, and who ensured a decisive victory. Appearing afterwards before the praetor of Sardinia, he was sentenced to the stake; and only escaped by prayer from the flames, to perish immediately afterwards by the sword of the executioner. These incidents were depicted by Spinello in three parts of the upper course of the wall at the Campo Santo, whilst in three parts of the lower he represented scenes from the life of S. Potitus which have disappeared with the exception

of the decapitation, and the carriage of the Saint's body to Alexandria. In the first compartment of the upper course nothing remains but fragments of the fresco of the Saint before Diocletian and the appearance of the Saviour[1] to S. Ephesus. In the second the Lord, appearing to the left, the saint, kneeling in the midst of his officers, receiving the banner from the archangel on horseback, and the battle, are depicted. In the third the saint is brought before the praetor of Sardinia, and taken to the stake; the flames slay the executioners, and Ephesus is decapitated.

In such stirring scenes as these, Spinello's art no doubt shone to advantage; and even now that the form of the compositions is no longer traceable, his power and boldness are to be distinguished. In the battle scene and by the fire of the stake where the soldiers of the guard fall back from the flames which respect the saint, there is a hardihood of action and an attempt at foreshortening, here and there not unworthy of admiration. Nor was Spinello so exclusively attentive to expressing passion in the heads of combatants and guards, but that in the face of Ephesus he could show the influence of tenderer feelings. The fragments of the Campo Santo are, however, most advantageous to Spinello, as they prove that he had the Giottesque quality of lively and transparent colour which is, indeed, far more apparent in the series due to his industry than in the neighbouring one of the sorrows of Job so long assigned to Giotto.

The records of the Campo Santo may be consulted for the fact that Spinello received from Parasone and his successor Como de Calmulis, 150 florins of gold for the three frescos of S. Ephesus, and 120 florins for the three of S. Potitus, and that the whole labour was completed in March 1392 (Pisan style).[2]

From Pisa Spinello probably proceeded to Florence, where, in 1400 and 1401, he is known to have painted altarpieces for S.S. Croce and Felicita; but he had re-

[1] Whose form is now obliterated.

[2] See the originals copied in Förster, Beiträge, ub. sup. p. 118. Spinelli is there called, "olim Luce" or the son of the late Lucas.

solved to spend his old age, at Arezzo; and it is probable that about this time he finished the fall of the angels in S. Maria degli Angeli.[1] But so far from dying of fright of his own picture of Lucifer, as Vasari states,[2] he listened to the overtures of Caterino Corsino "operaio" of S. Maria of Sienna to come and paint there;[3] and in answer to a letter from him replied in September 1404, in the following characteristic manner:

"Magiore mio carissimo. Let me know when; and if you want me at once, I am ready. My fellow citizens beg that I may from hence forth remain at their service, and they have great confidence in me, but that is more of their kindness than my deserts. I am, however, ready to come as I promised. Write to me, I am ready for your service."[4]

Urged no doubt to join at once, Spinello arrived on the 1st of October, engaging to serve for a year at Sienna, in any work of the Duomo which might be entrusted to him. His son Gasparre, better known as Parri accompanied him, and they were quickly installed in the house of Domenico di Niccolo, where one Nanno di Paolo was ordered to attend and furnish them with wood, wine, salt, oil and other things.[5] They laboured together in the Duomo till the end of summer 1405, with but one interruption in January (1404—1405) when Spinello went on leave to Arezzo and left Sienna on the 17th of August. A present to the gossip of the lodgings, wife of Domenico di Niccolo, is recorded. Of the works in the Duomo, however, nothing has been preserved, yet seven months of labour at the rate of eleven and a half florins a month might have had a result worthy of remembrance.[6]

In all likelihood Spinello then proceeded immediately to Florence where he painted for Leone Accaiuoli the chapel of Dardano Accaiuoli in S. Niccolo, and other portions of the same edifice, incorporated later into S. Maria Novella. In the present Farmacia, a room called "Stanza delle Acque" is still decorated with Spinello's frescos of scenes from the passion, the greater part of which are concealed by medicine

[1] Now obliterated.
[2] Vol. II. p. 198.
[3] The "condotto" or contract is dated the 20th of Aug. 1404. Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 18.
[4] Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 19.
[5] See the original record in Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 19.
[6] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 19.

bottles and shelves, — work of hasty execution, inferior to that of 1407 at Sienna, and betraying the extensive employment of pupils.[1] More correspondence between Spinello and the Siennese in April 1406,[2] without results. In June, however, (1407 old style), he signed a new contract, and in March 1407—8, returned to his old quarters at Sienna with Parri, to execute the frescos of the Sala di Balia in the public palace, in conjunction with Martino Bartolommei,[3] who decorated the ceiling and framework with festoons and allegorical figures of little value. Here Spinello illustrated in sixteen parts the animated story of the Venetian campaign against Frederick Barbarossa, interesting to the Siennese from the share which legendary history assigns in it to Rolando Bandinelli promoted to the pontificate under the name of Alexander the Third.[4] Executed with great dexterity and freedom, and more than usually successful in composition, these frescos are the best that remain to us of Spinello. The whole of the chapel with its waggon roof is adorned with paintings. Above the entrance a naval encounter is represented, over which two lunettes contain smaller compositions. In one of these the Pope running away in the white garb of a pilgrim and admirably draped, is a prominent figure. Alexander again may be seen in a picture of the side opposite the entrance, proudly led on horseback by the Emperor Barbarossa and the Doge of Venice, both of whom hold the rein at each side, whilst in rear, a suite of cardinals and deacons is relieved on a distance of ships and harbour, and in front a procession of clergy advancing to meet the Pope completes the picture.[5] In the lower course of the wall to the left, the Pope and his cardinals are grouped about the body of the Emperor; the Doge Zani receives from Alexander the sword which is to be wielded against Otho,[6] and in the lunette is the coronation of

[1] Two inscriptions in Richa, prove that these frescos of S. Niccolo were executed in 1405, and Vasari errs in the date of 1334 because he found that in that year Dardano Accaiuoli caused the chapel to be built. The paintings were commissioned by Leone in 1405. Vide Vas. Vol. II. p.p. 185—6.

[2] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 20.

[3] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 33.

[4] The subjects were traced for Spinelli by one Bettus Benedicti. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 33.

[5] In a lunette above this the Pope gives Barbarossa his blessing. The lunette to the right is damaged. In the lower course of the left wall Pope and cardinals are grouped about the body of the Emperor, lying in front of them, a figure renewed apparently in the 15th century by Stefano Sassetta's pupil Pietro di Giovanni Pucci.

[6] Cardinals surrounded the Pope

Pope Alexander. The best maintained of these frescos is that of Zani before Alexander, the most animated and best arranged that of the Pope on horseback led by Barbarossa; and the figures on horseback as well as the horses themselves are fine and fairly in motion. Though all the scenes are not equally well distributed, and the defective form and perspective of the architecture makes planes oblique which should be horizontal,[1] still the general impression is favorable because of the excessive speed and boldness of the execution, a comparatively fair breadth of light and shade, gay, vigorous and transparent colour, sweeping drapery and a general aspect of life and motion. There is in fact a decorative unity in the whole which is effective. But there is still much to reprove in the drawing of the hands, feet and articulations, and in that of many short and thickset figures. Colour seems to have been obtained by simple means, first of all by systematic rapidity of hand, and then by the use of white undergrounds for high flesh lights, warmed up with transparent glazes. The share of Parri in these labours is evidently secondary; because all the frescos are by one hand and in one characteristic style.

The latest record respecting Spinello and the labours at Sienna is the 11th of July 1408,[2] after which perhaps Spinello retired to Arezzo, where he died, aged ninety two, leaving behind Parri and another son named Forzore to follow the professions of painter and goldsmith.[3] Several pictures by Spinello have been preserved. One, a Madonna amongst saints and angels in the Academy of Arts[4] at Florence, originally painted for S. Andrea of Lucca, is interesting for the inscription: "Hoc opus pinxit Spinellus Luce Aritio D .I. A. 1391." It is a damaged, feebly executed production without the fire of the master.

A banner painted on both sides for the Brotherhood of S. Sepolcro at Gubbio, now in the hands of the Marchese Ranghiacci,[5] has all the character of the master and is one

Soldiers with papal and Venetian flags are about the doge in the left foreground. On the arch in the centre of the chapel, Alexander in pilgrim's is garb discovered at Venice. In the vaulting are the symbols of the Evangelists.

[1] With the result that figures do not tread on a proper plane.

[2] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 33.

[3] Vas. Vol. II. p. 198.

[4] No. 35. Gallery of old pictures. The Virgin enthroned under guard of angels between S.S. Paulinus John the Baptist, Andrew and Mathew. The two angels to the left of the Virgin are gone, those to the right are in adoration.

[5] At Gubbio.

of the best examples in private hands. On one face is the Flagellation. On the other the Magdalen, enthroned amidst a glory of eight playing angels, holds in her right the ointment and in her left a crucifix. Four brothers of the Fraternity kneel in pairs below; the whole inclosed in painted architecture adorned with medallions of saints.[1]

Three figures of S.S. John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and James the elder, all but life size, executed for the hospital church of S. Giovanni e Niccolo at Florence, are now in the National Gallery and have been mentioned as rather in the character of the school of Orcagna.[2]

As a final example of Spinello, and an illustration of the manner in which he allowed his assistants to share the honours of publicity with him, one may notice an altarpiece in three compartments executed for the monastery of S. Felicita at Florence and now in the Academy of Arts,[3] inscribed at the base of the central panel as follows:

"Questa tavola fece fare el capitolo convento del monasterio di Sancta Felicita, de' danari del decto monasterio, al tempo della Badessa Lorenza de' Mossi in anno domini 1401."

It is proved by records[4] that the centre, representing the coronation of the Virgin, was painted by Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini, the side to the right by Niccolo di Pietro, father of Lorenzo, and the side to the left by Spinello.[5] But for the record it would be difficult to assign to each of these painters his share in the entire work. That of Spinello is undoubtedly beneath his usual powers, and in harmony with the third rate talent exhibited by Lorenzo

[1] Of these vestiges only remain.

[2] Purchased from the Ugo Baldi Collection and now No. 581 of the National Gallery Catalogue.

As examples of pictures which are not by Spinello the following may be registered. A tabernacle exhibited at Manchester by G. E. H. Vernon Esq. M. P. (No. 27 of Cat. Manchester Exhib.) by some master of the close of the 14th century. The adoration of Christ and Circumcision (No. 1102 of Berlin Cat.). The Last Supper (No. 1108. Berlin Cat.), and the annunciation, all assigned to the master in the Berlin Gallery.

[3] At Florence under No. 35. Hall of large pictures.

[4] Vide annot. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 197 and Gaye, Carteggio Vol. I p. 433.

[5] Side to right, S.S. Peter, John the Evangelist, James and Benedict.

Side to left, S.S. John the Baptist, Mathew and Felicita. Pediment, six saints.

and Niccolo. These were, however, painters extensively employed in their time, though unknown or neglected by Vasari. Of Niccolo di Pietro the earliest and most important work is a series of frescos in the ex-chapterhouse of S. Bonaventura of the convent of S. Francesco at Pisa. The name of the painter may be found on a bracket above the entrance door, as follows:

Nicolaus
. . . . tr. Pitor
de Florent.
. . . . ins . . .
MCCCI
.

or as copied by Lasinio[1] Nicolaus Petri pitor de Florentia depinsit an. D. MCCCLXXXXII.

At Prato there are frescos by the same hand signed Niccolo di Piero Gerini.

At S. Bonaventura, Gerini painted scenes from the Passion.

He placed in the sides of the entrance S.S. Lawrence,[2] and John the Baptist,[3] on the entrance wall to the left, Judas selling himself, on the left side of the chapterhouse, the last supper, the washing of the apostles' feet, Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the capture. On the side opposite the door, the flagellation, Christ carrying his cross, the crucifixion, the deposition, and the burial; on the side to the right, the resurrection, Noli me tangere, and ascension; on the wall of the door to the right, the descent of the Holy Spirit.

There are now but fragments of Judas selling himself, and of the frescos on the wall to the left, hardly anything remains. The flagellation, the carriage of the cross and the crucifixion itself are in an equally bad state, and the deposition is partly injured by the fall of the intonaco or abrasion of the colour; but in this last composition, enough remains to justify an opinion as to the pow-

[1] Tav. II. of Raccolta de Pitture antiche intagliate da Paolo Lasinio designate da Giuseppe Rossi. Pisa MDCCCXX.

[2] Now all but gone.

[3] This one of the finest figures here.

ers of the painter. A group of long slender figures of a weak character represents the Marys about the Virgin and the Virgin herself. Their long thin necks and small chins, their mouths writhing to express grief, display defects similar to those conspicuous in frescos decorating the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence which may for that reason be assigned to Niccolo Gerini.[1] The subject as a whole is not ill arranged; but being an imitation of others of the same kind by artists of note, and therefore typical, it cannot be accepted as a proof of Niccolo's power. In the Entombment, the naked frame of the Saviour is extended on a winding sheet, held up at each end by two apostles. The Virgin embraces as she raises the head of the Redeemer, and an apostle at each side kisses the hands, whilst the Marys and others stand around in attitudes of lamentation. With a slight change in the position of some of the figures, the fresco is a mere repetition of a picture at the Academy of Arts in Florence assigned to Taddeo Gaddi;[2] and in both, the same character may be noticed. We may conceive Niccolo Petri Gerini to have issued from the school of Taddeo Gaddi who is known to have been still alive in 1366. His last work is dated 1401; his education in every case Florentine; and in these frescos of Pisa the continuation of the school of Taddeo Gaddi may be traced.[3] The resurrection is, like the Entombment, a typical composition. The Saviour sets his foot on the side of the sepulchre, raising his right arm and grasping a banner in his left. Clothed in his white winding sheet which is fairly folded, his movement is not without grandeur. The type and outlines of this figure are the best in the chapterhouse.[4] The Noli me tangere though less good is hardly less interesting, the action of the Magdalen being ready, and the group recalling that of Giotto.[5] A certain amount of grace,

[1] See antea in Taddeo Gaddi.

[2] No. 31 see antea.

[3] Of this Entombment parts of intonaco and of colour are gone.

[4] In the left hand corner there are but traces of two soldiers asleep at the foot of the sepulchre.

[5] The dress of the Magdalen is discoloured.

natural movement, fair shape and drapery likewise mark the neighbouring group of the Marys. A thoroughly Giottesque form, again, may be noticed in the ascension.[1] In general the remains of these damaged frescos[2] would prove that Niccolo was a diligent and careful painter, whose colour wants force and fusion, though it has a certain liveliness and gaiety. In the draperies, the changing hues appear to have been favorites. The outlines and frames of the figures are reminiscent of the Giottesque type, but inferior to those of Spinello, to whom indeed, Niccolo was also second in composition. On the other hand he tried to finish hands, feet, and articulations, and was in this not only above Spinello, but beyond Agnolo Gaddi. Still his painting, compared to that of either of those masters, is lifeless and third rate.

Reverting for an instant to the Entombment in the Academy of Arts at Florence assigned to Taddeo Gaddi:

The spectator may note in the composition, which is formed of life size figures, complete want of rest and overcharge of figures. The Saviour, ascending in the upper part, is of noble and good proportions, the face youthful and the attitude fair, but the angels are in vehement action.[3] In the principal scene, the Saviour lies very long on the tomb with hips enveloped in a drapery, but the spectator has before him a stiff, hard corpse, of which the form has been sought out and studied without the genius of ensemble so striking in Giotto. Some merit may be detected in the soft expression of the face, but the flesh tints are light and flat, hence comparatively unrelieved. The remaining figures are long and slender like those of Taddeo Gaddi and affect his peculiarities of shape, but some of the types are very common[4] and the Virgin, at the Saviour's head, has the

[1] The Saviour of fair character and proportions in an elliptical glory is surrounded by a choir of 12 angels playing, whilst below, the Virgin, Marys and apostles stand under guard of two angels. The foreground is discoloured.

[2] Rumohr (Forschungen Vol. II. p. 224) records that the paintings were executed for Lorenzo Ciampolini, on whose tomb are these words: "... MCCCLXXXX die XX mensis Aprilis, qui Laurentius fecit ipsum capitulum, pictura et sedibus adornari."

[3] Their white dresses are restored.

[4] For instance, that of S. John kissing the hands of the Saviour

pointed chin usual in Niccolo Gerini. The outlines are well defined, but coarse. The picture as a whole does not improve on acquaintance, being at first sight more pleasing than on closer examination. The draperies are overcharged with lines and folds; and gay changing hues appear again to have been preferred by a painter who can be no other than Gerini.[1]

Analogy of manner connects him again with the frescos of the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence which not only resemble those of S. Bonaventura at Pisa, but others to be mentioned at Prato. Here Gerini seems to have painted by the side of a crucifixion executed by a better Giottesque than himself,[2] Christ surrounded by the Virgin and apostles, carrying his cross, the resurrection and ascension. The Saviour turns, as he carries his cross, to look at the Virgin stretching her hands towards him from out the group of the Marys, who are sternly kept back by a soldier. In her action, the combination of vehemence, feeble form and unnoble expression which characterizes Gerini at Pisa, is again displayed. In the resurrection, the Saviour is but a repetition of that in the frescos at S. Buonaventura, and has the same type and character as that in the altarpiece assigned to Taddeo Gaddi at the Academy of Arts.[3] Similar forms, spirit, and drawing, again, are noticeable in the ascension. At Prato, in the ex-chapter-house of the convent of S. Francesco, Gerini's style may be studied, with the certainty arising from the fact that beneath the figure of S. Bartholomew, which, with those of S.S. Chiara, Catherine and John the Baptist, stand guard on the lintels of the entrance door, the words "Nicholo di Piero Gerini, dipintore" are inscribed. There he painted scenes from the legend of S. Mathew including his death, and scriptural incidents.[4] Executed later than those of Florence and Pisa, these reveal a peculiarity seldom to be found in the works of a truly great artist, a decline following upon advance in years. The figures are longer, slenderer, more stiff and lifeless, and less carefully executed than previous ones. A crucifixion on the wall op-

[1] The figure at the Saviour's feet is partly, and two figures more to the right totally repainted.

[2] Vide antea; and this is an opinion already expressed by Förster Beiträge ub. sup. p. 207.

[3] No. 31 vide ante.

[4] On the wall facing the entrance the crucifixion with the Magdalen at the foot of the cross and the usual attendant scenes, all but obliterated and in the ceiling the four Evangelists.

posite the entrance, and the ceiling frescos are, indeed, so poor that they may be by Lorenzo. In this third rate style it might be possible to quote, as by Niccolo, an infinity of works assigned in numerous galleries to Giotto, Taddeo Gaddi, and Orcagna.[1]

The records of Del Migliore also contain reference to the painter under the dates 1380 and 1383, and prove the existence of Masa his widow in 1389.[2]

Lorenzo di Niccolò succeeded to the mediocrity of his father. His most important labour is the coronation of the Virgin and adoration of the Magi, a predella altarpiece in the church of S. Domenico at Cortona.[3]

Beneath the adoration is the painter's name: "Laurentius Nicholai me pinsit" and the following:

"Chosimo e Lorenzo di Medici da Firenze año data chuesta tavola a frati di Sĉo Domenicho dê oservanza da Chortona per lanima loro e di loro passati MCCCCXXXX."

Taken in 1438 from the convent of S. Mark at Florence, where it had once stood, it was sent by Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici to Cortona,[4] where it was long considered in spite of the signature to be an altarpiece by Angelico.

Imposing in its total aspect and better than the work of Lorenzo in the joint altarpiece of himself, his father and Spinello, this is still a third rate Giottesque work of which

[1] In the Palazzo Reale at Parma, is a "death of the Virgin", in the Royal Gallery an upper composition belonging to the same altarpiece, representing the gift of the girdle to S. Thomas, placed under the name of Giotto, but in reality by Niccolo Gerini. In a room called la Scoletta or Coro of the church of S. Giovanni at Pesaro is an altarpiece by Niccolo with a mutilated inscription: ". . . de Florentia 1400." The Madonna is enthroned under the guard of two angels. In the side panels, the Archangel Michael weighing the souls and St. Francis are placed.

A picture of the coronation of the Virgin in the Zecca of Florence is noted by Gaye, who publishes a record proving that it was painted in 1373 by Jacobo Cini (can he be related to Jacobo Cini the carver of the altarpiece by Spinello, see ante), Simone and Nicholaus, the latter supposed to be Gerini.

[2] Gaye Carteggio Vol. II. p. 433.

[3] The Virgin is between ten saints. Above, the angel and Virgin annunciate at each side of a Trinity. Below, the adoration of the Magi, at each side of which are 4 scenes from the life of S. Dominick, octagonal pilasters, angels and saints.

[4] Vide Chron. di S. Marco, in annot. to Vas. Vol. IV. p. 51. The letter of thanks from the Prior of Cortona for the present is published by Gaye in Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 140.

the best parts are the compositions in the predella and the figures in the pilasters.

A glorification of S. Bartholomew by this master is preserved amongst a collection located in the Sala dell' Antico Palazzo, now the Comune of S. Gimignano.[1] It bears the following inscriptions. In the hem of the Saint's dress: "Laurentius Nicholai de Florentia pinsit," beneath the central figure:

"S. Bartolommeus Apostolus, an. MCCCCI questa tavola fece fare Nicholino di Bindo Kassuccii."[2]

A Virgin and child from the church of S. Bartolo by the same hand,[3] as well as four little pictures of S.S. Fina and Gregory with a scene from the life of each of those saints are likewise in the gallery at S. Gimignano.[4]

In the passage to the Cappella Medici at S. Croce, in Florence, a Coronation of the Virgin, with attendant saints and scenes,[5] may be seen. The style is here a little better than at S.S. Gimignano and Cortona, but the hand is the same. The types are more regular and pleasing, and have more feeling. Of frescos by Lorenzo di Niccolò none are known, but his manner is to be found in a Virgin, angels and saints in a tabernacle at S. Andrea Ravezzano near l'Anchetta at no great distance from Florence.[6] At foot is the date "1400, VIII del Mese Gennaio." This is a fair fresco of the lower Giottesque manner at the close of the fourteenth century.

Lorenzo's pictures without great excellence are not disagreable to look at. He was not a bad painter amongst the third rates. His colour was warm and not without power and harmony, and his drawing bold. He was a man of

[1] Enthroned. With 4 scenes from his life; at the sides a crucifixion and eight saints in the pediment. The altarpiece is No. 2 of the catalogue of a collection due to the care of the erudite and kindly Canon Pecori.

[2] The altarpiece was originally in the Collegiata of S. Gimignano.

[3] No. 4 of cat.

[4] No. 10 and 11 of cat.

[5] S.S. Peter, Stephen, an apostle and Mary Magdalen at side. Above, centre, the Trinity, at each side of which the angel and Virgin annunciate, the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah. A lozenge below bears the date 1410.

[6] Virgin and child between 4 angels S.S. Catherine, John the Baptist (right), Magdalen, Peter (left). Six saints in the vaulting, of which S. Bartholomew is still recognizeable. Above arch, the Saviour in benediction between two medallions of saints.

considerable practise, but his work though superior to that of Parri Spinelli does not stand critical examination.

The following selection may serve to illustrate the manner and school of Niccolo and Lorenzo Gerini.

In the Gallery of Fine Arts at Florence,[1] the Virgin and child between S.S. Lawrence and John Evangelist, James and Sebastian. In the predella, five scenes, more in the manner of the Gaddi and less defective. In the same gallery,[2] the Virgin and child between S.S. Stephen and Reparata by the same hand as the foregoing. The Trinity[3] between S.S. Romualdo and Andrew, with three scenes from the life of the former in the upper spaces, inscribed: "Istam capellam fecit fieri Johannes Ghiberti pro anima sua A. D. MCCCLXV." — The Virgin and child[4] between S.S. Lawrence and Julian, Anthony and John the Baptist, inscribed: "Santa Maria orate pro nobis anni MCCCCIIII." Finally may be mentioned an altarpiece of some interest in the church all' Impruneta near Florence, superior to the last mentioned, representing the coronation of the Virgin with the twelve apostles at the sides, and above and below, fourteen scenes from the life of the Virgin and Saviour, besides saints and angels in the pilasters and pinnacles. This picture is inscribed:

"Ad honorem et reverentiam matris dei ac semper Virginis Gloriose hec tabula facta fuit tempore Reverendi Domini Stefani plebani pro remedio anime sue et animarum majoris sotietatis et omnium benefactorum istius ecclesiæ. Anno Domini Millesimo CCCLXX V."

The reader who should be inclined to trust Vasari, may learn from him that an artist existed at Arezzo in the fifteenth century whose talent as a colourist of fresco was unparalleled, whose fancy was beyond measure pleasant and capricious, and who, as a designer, was excellent.[5] Time has fortunately spared some of the works of Parri Spinelli, who is the subject of this flattery, merely because he was born in Vasari's own city; and the student is enabled to withdraw a third rate painter from the place

[1] No. 9 Galerie des' anciens tableaux.
[2] No. 47.
[3] No. 40 from the monastery of the Angeli at Florence.
[4] No. 33.
[5] Vas. Vol. III. p.p. 144 and following.

of honour unfairly assigned to him, and to thrust him back into the humble obscurity which he deserves.

A great part of Parri's works at Arezzo have perished, but some of those which he completed for S.S. Domenico and Maria della Misericordia, and others hitherto neglected in the Palazzo "della Communita" and in S. Francesco will amply satiate the beholder.

Entering S. Domenico and looking to the right of the entrance, he may see a crucifixion framed in a feigned panelling that now cuts off part of the picture, with the Virgin and a canonized bishop on one side, S. John Evangelist and another saint on the other. In this fresco he will find the Saviour depicted in a long curved shape, ill drawn, without sentiment, or a touch of nature in the attitude, by one who deserves to be called a second Margaritone. If he turns in disgust from this exhibition of low art to the figures at the foot of the cross, he will find the forms of which Vasari truly says: "Parri painted figures much longer and more slender than any of his predecessors, and whereas others at the most gave them a height equal to ten heads, he made them of eleven and sometimes of twelve. Nor were they ungraceful, though lean; but they were unvariably bent round to one side or to the other, because, as Parri himself used to say, they had thus more "bravura".[1] Curved, distorted, wooden, and hideous, disfigured further by vehement action and grimace, these forms can excite but a smile in the beholder when he thinks that Vasari, a critic of no common order, could find something to admire in them. In a lunette above this scene, two incidents from the life of S. Nicholas exhibit again superabundance of false and exaggerated action, draperies so long and plentiful as to smother the frames, and contours of a wiry and endless line. Parri did not even retrieve these imperfections by a feeling for relief or colour. On the contrary, his tones are laid on in raw and startling contrasts, of a coarse substance, and with a flatness which betrays no notion of chiaroscuro.[2] As is too frequently the case with paintings of little interest, particular care has been lavished on their preservation, and a fresco, saved from the walls of S. Maria della Misericordia,[3] is now preserved in the "Sala di Jus-

[1] Vas. Vol. III. p. 144.
[2] The figure of the bishop by the side of the Virgin is repainted.
[3] Vas. Vol. II. p. 150.

tizia Civile" at Arezzo. This was one of a numerous class of votive pictures intended to honour the Virgin Mary, who was supposed to have interceded for the people of Arezzo; and she is represented guarded by two angels in flight above her, in a cloak of such amplitude that beneath it the people of the city, a pope and a cardinal find refuge. At the sides, S.S. Gregory and Donato stand erect; and the whole is inclosed in a painted frame, embellished in pinnacles with four allegorical virtues in dead colour. Beneath, a damaged view of the city completes a picture which caricatures the defects of Parri. An altarpiece from the same church, representing the same subject with S.S. Laurentino and Pergentino[1] at the sides, and resting on a predella in four parts containing scenes from the lives of the two saints, is a less defective, but still unpleasant work of the master now in the "Palazzo della Communita". In an upper story of this building again, a fresco of the crucifixion with S. John and the Virgin in the dislocated attitudes peculiar to Parri, is preserved. In S. Francesco, he painted the last supper[2] in a less exaggerated style reminiscent of the works of Bicci. It may therefore be one of Parri's early productions as yet comparatively untainted with his later failings. The S. Christopher in the "Chiesa dell' Oblata," which is said to be inscribed: "Hoc opus factum fuit anno Domini MCCCCXLIV die IV. mensis Decembris," has been for some time invisible under a hoarding, the church having been occupied as a barrack. Italy is unfortunately full of such frescos as these, time having spared the bad in many more cases than the good. But it is unnecessary to expend any further trouble in a search for frescos or pictures like those of Parri, who is below the Gerini in talent and inferior even to Cenni of Volterra. Without a reminiscence of Spinello's style, although it is on record that father and son painted together at Sienna in the early part of the fifteenth century, Parri imitates the movements and draperies of Lorenzo Monaco. He may therefore have known that master. But if he studied under Lorenzo Ghiberti and Masolino[3] which is improbable, he gained little profit by it, and merely imitated, in the fifteenth, the bad example which Tommaso Pisano had already set to the sculptors of the fourteenth century.

Parri's portrait was painted by Marco di Montepulciano

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 152.
[2] The fresco is to the left of the entrance and in part damaged.
[3] Vas. Vol. III. p. 144.

in the cloisters of S. Bernardo at Arezzo,[1] and Marco is mentioned as a pupil of Bicci in the life of that artist by Vasari. He painted, in 1448, in terra verde, scenes from the life of Benedict in the above mentioned cloister. Those of the Northern and three on the Eastern face are preserved. The figures in the latter are short and coarse, large of head, and executed in a style recalling that of the school of Spinello. The painter may therefore have been one of Spinello's pupils, for he attempts to rival that painter's dexterity of hand and copies his movements. He has certainly less of Lorenzo di Bicci's style. In the frescos of the Northern side on the contrary the execution is nearer to that of Lorenzo di Bicci, and though inferior, also like those which Bicci di Lorenzo executed in the ceiling of a great chapel at S. Francesco of Arezzo.[2]

The discovery by Signor Gaetano Milanesi of numerous records respecting the family of Bicci[3] has thrown light upon a very serious error committed by Vasari. We are told by him that Lorenzo di Bicci was born in 1400, that he learnt under Spinello of Arezzo, and died about 1450,[4] leaving behind him two sons called Bicci and Neri di Bicci.[5] On the very face of these statements lies a mistake; for Neri is called by Vasari son of Bicci, and thus his father must have gone by the latter name not by that of Lorenzo. The fact is that Bicci was born in 1373 of Lorenzo di Bicci and Madonna Lucia d'Angelo da Panzano. He married, in 1418, Benedetta di Amato Amati, having issue Neri who became a painter like his father. We thus have three members of this family, Lorenzo di Bicci the father, Bicci di Lorenzo the son, and Neri di Bicci the grand-son. Many of the works which Vasari mentions in the life of Lorenzo di Bicci are proved by records to have been executed by Bicci di Lorenzo. Of the grandfather Lorenzo we know that he was a painter, and Vasari's text suggests a belief that he confounded the

[1] Vas. Vol. III. p. 152.

[2] Ceilings assigned by Vas. Vol. IV. p. 19 to Lorenzo di Bicci, respecting whom and Vasari's error in nomenclature a word hereafter.

[3] See postea.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 225 and following.

[5] Ibid. p. 232.

two elder members of the family together. For instance he says that Lorenzo was a pupil of Spinello; and this might be true of one who lived in the fifteenth, less so of one whose works were mostly executed in the fourteenth century. Lorenzo di Bicci's name, coupled with the epithet of "pictor" has been found in records of 1370,[1] 1375, 1386 and 1398.[3] In that of 1386 he receives from the opera of S. Maria del Fiore ninety florins of gold for paintings in that cathedral. In 1409 his name appears in the register of the company of S. Luke as "Lorenzo di Bicci dipintore".[3] Vasari himself in his first edition declares that Lorenzo died aged sixty one and was mourned by Bicci and Neri, thus proving that he knew of Bicci's existence. It is a pity that no pictures can be assigned to Lorenzo. If however he was a painter as early as 1370 he was a cotemporary of Agnolo Gaddi. There are numerous frescos not mentioned in the life of Lorenzo di Bicci by Vasari, nor in records as by Bicci di Lorenzo, which display a common character with those of Bernardo Daddi, Parri Spinelli and Bicci di Lorenzo, but they have an appearance of greater age than those which are proved to be by the latter. The cappella S. Jacopo in the Duomo of Prato for instance is decorated with frescos illustrating the lives of S.S. James and Margaret.

On one of the walls reserved for the former, his call to the apostolic mission, his baptism of Hermogenes, and martyrdom, are represented. On the other wall, three scenes of S. Margaret's legend, including her death, are painted.[4] The laws of composition obeyed in the fourteenth century were here fairly maintained by an artist of feeble powers, whose long slender figures are marked at times by exaggerated action. Unfused flesh tones of thick substance and melancholy tinge, wiry but careful outlines, draperies of gay changing tints are characteristic, whilst some heads are

[1] Vide annot. to Vasari Vol. II. p. 225.

[2] Baldinucci Opera ub. sup. Vol. IV. p.p. 498, 502, 503.

[3] Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. VI. p. 185.

[4] In the ceiling, four evangelists and in the thickness of the entrance wall eight, half figures of prophets complete the decoration of the chapel.

not absolutely unpleasant to look at. The style is a mixture of that of Daddi and Parri, less able than that of the S. Croce frescos by the former, more talented than that of Spinello's son. Scenes from the life of S. Cecilia recently rescued from whitewash in the chapel of the Sacristy of the Carmine at Florence partake of the same character.

In Arezzo the ceiling of the choir in S. Francesco is adorned with the four evangelists and their symbols. These Vasari assigns to Lorenzo di Bicci,[1] but as he confounds invariably Lorenzo di Bicci with Bicci di Lorenzo, one cannot say which of the two he intends. The figures at all events are sufficiently good, always long and slender, easily draped in festooned vestments. Though a general resemblance may be found between them and the frescos at Prato and the Carmine, the style here is somewhat younger, and makes a nearer approach than the rest to the certain works of Bicci di Lorenzo. Vasari, as we have seen, assigns these to Lorenzo di Bicci, adding that the painting of the chapel was completed by Piero della Francesca after he left Loretto for fear of the plague. It is on record that the plague raged at Loretto in 1447—52. Bicci di Lorenzo was then just dead; (1452) so that the probability is, Piero della Francesca succeeded him, and not Lorenzo di Bicci, as Vasari would have us believe, in the cappella S. Jacopo at Arezzo. If however this work at Arezzo has a general resemblance to older paintings such as those of Prato and the Carmine, it is possible that the latter may have been by Lorenzo di Bicci, whom Vasari in this case as in so many others, confounds with Bicci di Lorenzo.

Bicci's birth has already been given, there are certain proofs that he executed the following works, most of which Vasari assigns to Lorenzo.

In 1420, he painted for Bartolommeo di Stefano di Poggibonsi or Ghezzo an altarpiece for S. Egidio of Florence.[2] In 1421, he painted scenes from the life of S. Lawrence for Ilarione de' Bardi in S. Lucia de' Bardi.[3] In 1423, he executed and sent to Empoli a picture for Simone di Specchio or Guiducci. In 1424, he was registered in the guild of painters at Florence,[4] and he produced, in terra

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 19.

[2] Assigned by Vas. to Lorenzo, Vol. II. p. 230.

[3] Assigned by Vas. to Lorenzo. Vas. Vol. II. p. 229.

[4] Gualandi, ubi supra, Serie VI. p. 178.

cotta, a Coronation of the Virgin, now above the portal of S. Maria Nuova,[1] and the twelve apostles inside the same church.[2] In the same year, he painted in fresco the outer sides and facades of S. Egidio representing there the consecration of the church by Pope Martin the fifth.[3] In 1425, he executed frescos in the chapel of Niccolo da Uzzano in S. Lucia de Bardi.[4] About 1427, he painted the initials of Christ according to the fashion of S. Bernardino on the church of S. Croce. In 1428, he commenced the chapel and altarpiece of Conte di Perino Compagni in S. Trinita of Florence, with the assistance of one Stefano d' Antonio. S. Cosmo and Damian on a pilaster in S. Maria del Fiore and now in the Uffizi,[5] was executed on commission from Antonio della Casa about 1429. In 1430, he began a series of frescos in S. Benedetto de' Camaldoli representing S. Giovanni Gualberto and six incidents of his life; and he produced an altarpiece for Ser Ugolino Pieruzzi.[6] In S. Marco he decorated (1432) the chapel of the heirs of Ser Martino Martini, and he painted the chapel of the Compagnia del Tempio in the church of the Camaldoles.[7] In 1433, Francesco Galigai commissioned him to paint his chapel in S. Croce. In 1438 he finished an altarpiece for the chapel of Donato Barbadori in S. Felicita, the chapel of the beata Giovanna at Signa; 1439, the tomb of Luigi Marsili in S. Croce,[8] 1440, figures of apostles and saints in a chapel of Santa Croce, 1441 again in this church, the Incredulity of S. Thomas and a colossal S. Christopher for Tommaso and Leonardo Spinelli, assisted Domenico Veniziano in the great chapel of S. Egidio in S. Maria Nuova, 1445, began to paint at Arezzo,[9] and in 1452 died at Florence and was buried at the Carmine.[10]

Of all these works, some, as has been seen, remain. In the S.S. Cosmo and Damian of the Uffizi, the colour is

[1] Assigned by Vasari to Dello Vol. III. p. 46.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Assigned by Vasari to Lorenzo, Vol. II. p. 230.

[4] Assigned to Lorenzo by Vas. Vol. II. p. 229.

[5] First corridor No. 14. In a predella are two scenes of the saints' lives.

[6] With the assistance of Stefano d'Antonio and Bonaiuto di Giovanni.

[7] Again with the aid of Stefano d'Antonio.

[8] Assigned to Lorenzo by Vas. Vol. II. p. 231.

[9] We may thus quote of Bicci di Lorenzo the joke arising from his rapidity of hand applied by Baldinucci (op. Vol. 4. p. 508) to Lorenzo di Bicci: "Fill the porringers (for dinner) I shall paint a saint and come."

[10] These facts are all taken from Carlo Milanesi's records Gior. Stor.

a little sombre and wants relief, but the outlines are careful, and though in the same style, are more modern in appearance than those of Prato and the Carmine. Of the other works in S. Maria del Fiore, the saints beneath the windows of the chapel are in part repainted, in part renewed altogether. The apostles in pilasters noticed by Vasari[1] have perished. The terra cotta above the portal of S. Maria Nuova or S. Egidio, as it is now called, exists, those originally inside the edifice are gone. To resume, Bicci di Lorenzo shows himself connected with the schools of Daddi and Parri Spinelli. None of the works assigned by Vasari to Lorenzo di Bicci are by him, but on the contrary by his son. Neither deserve to be classed above the third rate artists of their country.

As for Neri di Bicci he brought art to the level of a trade; and his shop was that of a house painter. He has left a diary of his daily occupations which may be found in a good commentary to the life of Lorenzo di Bicci in Vasari.[2] His numerous altarpieces and pictures merely prove that he knew the mechanical part of his business; and his industry was so great that he filled half Tuscany with pictures at the time when Ghiberti, Donatello, Paolo Uccelli, Masaccio and Angelico laboured. Those who may still desire to study his manner may look at his masterpiece in the Regio Lotto, of old S. Pancrazio at Florence, representing S. Giovanni Gualberto enthroned between ten saints in seats. The abbot of S. Pancrazio kneels at one side (the left), the scene being laid in an architectural chapel of a round form. Two medallions above contain saints holding scrolls, and two curtains which hang in festoons at each side of the picture are inscribed with the names of the saints within. Though restored this is a fair specimen of Neri's manner. S. Giovanni Gualberto is not without character, but the forms and details are false, the extremities not drawn, the movements exaggerated.

degli archivi Toscani ub. sup. 3d Quart. 1860 p.p. 3 to 10.

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 231.
[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 256.

A sad colour pervades the whole; and in general it may be said that Neri's work is flat, raw in tone, inharmonious and mechanical. There are no less than four annunciations by him in the Academy of Arts at Florence,[1] and numbers of pictures in churches which need not be mentioned.

[1] No. 32. proved to have been painted in 1458. No. 7—12, No. 26 of Cat. Galerie des anciens tableaux.

CHAPTER II.

DUCCIO. UGOLINO AND SEGNA.

Duccio was the first great painter of the pure Siennese school. His career began after that of Cimabue; earlier than that of Giotto; and he occupies in the annals of his country almost as much space as they hold together in the annals of Florence. He reformed the old manner and created a new one which was long second only to that of Florence, but which clung too firmly to time-honoured forms of composition and old technical methods of execution. His cotemporaries and successors Ugolino, Segna, Simone Martini, the Lorenzetti and Taddeo Bartoli did no more in the fourteenth century than follow the wake which marked his track. They hardly improved the system which he had galvanized into life.

The Lorenzetti, it is true, assumed and embodied some of the practise of the Florentines, infusing into their grand and admirable works some of the spirit of Giotto. They cleared for a moment the barrier which separated the two great schools of Central Italy. But the effort was momentary, and Taddeo Bartoli, at the close of the fourteenth century was as clearly in the beaten path as the second rates of Sienna up to the expansion of his peculiar genius.

Thus confined within a narrow circle, the Siennese re-

mained true to a system of their own, which they corrected in the fullest measure of which it was capable, without an abandonment of principles sacred alike from custom and prejudice. Chiefly in technical methods of execution was it that they followed traditional habits. They had, one should think, before their eyes the Siculo-Byzantine examples, whose studied and careful execution, whose minute precision of drawing and detail, whose powerful and lively colour and elegant ornament were greatly to be admired. They succeeded in rivalling these models, carrying ornamentation beyond an accessory and making it a principal feature in their pictures.[1] They pursued this path so far that, not merely their draperies, but a nimbus, a gilt background, and the frame which enlivened the composition, were stamped with the most exquisite designs of leaves and branches, with human heads for flowers, or arabesques of a more general form, relieved, coloured and gilt, with all the delicacy of a tasteful oriental style. That, in such a pursuit of detail, the essentials of composition and form should not have sunk into complete oblivion is remarkable. The result, however, was a material check to the progress of severe simplicity and grandeur, by which the perfect subordination of each part to the whole, and the grand development which characterized the Florentines were rendered impossible. That colour should become a special study under these circumstances was natural. Tempera-pictures, though brilliant and vigorous in tone, could hardly attain light keys of harmony, so long as the old system was maintained. This system the Siennese adhered to with extraordinary persistence; and we may inquire why they did so, when in fresco they followed other methods. For a people of a gay and lively spirit, the Siennese were much more patient as tempera painters, than the Florentines. The reason is to be found in their fondness for ornament

[1] This is essentially true of Simone Martini.

which required time and trouble to work out. Their rivals, of more simple taste, preferred mastery and breadth of handling. A Florentine altarpiece might be seen at a greater distance, a Siennese panel invited closer attention; but, for this very cause, it demanded more minute finish and more time. A system which had the advantage of affording time for finish might be essential, it was certainly practised by the Siennese, and necessarily involved the continuance of the old technical methods. These methods may be summed up in a few words. Having prepared their materials with the care peculiar to the oldest painters, and covered their panel with a cloth to keep the joints together, as the artists of every school did in that age; they primed it with a white ground of "gesso" on which the drawing was engraved with the minutest attention. The flesh tints were then laid on in one general and dense coat of verde, covering the light parts as well as those intended to be in shadow. Upon this universal ground they began to model, by laying in the lights in a copious stippling, seeking the form by the direction of its lines. Having thus obtained light and shadow by the juxtaposition of the stippling with the original verde, they melted the colours together by working them over and over with excessive labour and patience till the forms had gained a sufficient amount of rounding. This slow process was facilitated by the peculiar capacity for moistness in the original verde. Ruddier tones were now stippled on to the cheeks and lips; high light to the most projecting points, and the whole was finally fused together by transparent glazes. But nothing that the artist could do sufficed to produce any more than a low key of harmony, because the deep verde always reappeared and absorbed too much light to allow of the quality of brightness and clearness. The stippling never succeeded in creating perfect semitones, so that a sharp contrast invariably existed between the light which was too yellow, and the shadow which remained too green. At first perhaps, these defects were

less visible, because of the glazes, but, as in Cimabue's pictures, painted with paler verde on the same principle, so in the altarpieces of Sienna, these light and fugitive tints were the first to disappear by abrasion, and the surface was left too green in shadow, too red in the lips and cheeks, too yellow in the highest places. The draperies were produced in another way, where the nature of the colour allowed it, with a general tone, strengthened by deeper glazes of the same in shadow and lighter preparations for the highest lights.[1]

In fresco, the Siennese never covered the white intonaco with a general verde tint in the flesh. They merely marked the contours and shadows with a reddish brown of a liquid texture, or with red lines and pale verde shadows, mapping out from the first distinct planes, so that light colour never came over dark, and thus Simone and the Lorenzetti produced frescos uniting power to brightness and clearness of surface. Rejecting in paintings on the wall the system which enabled them to be minute, because frescos need not be seen closely, they attained to great perfection, fusing the lights and semitones into the shadows, so that at times they had even the defect of flatness, obtaining relief by means exactly the reverse of those employed in tempera.

True to the old and typical forms of composition which preceding ages had created, Siennese painters preserved also that vehemence of action which had been traditional, and failed to appreciate the decorous simplicity of the Florentine revival. Hence an absence of balance in pictures, superfluity or insufficiency in composition as in groups and figures. The intention was too frequently better than the result; and movements might usually be found bold to exaggeration. A stern, sometimes convulsed,

[1] With lake reds the white ground acted as a repulser being allowed to peep through; and sometimes, transparent dark red shadows thus obtained, stood in juxtaposition with blue or yellow lights. The result was clearness and transparence in drapery contrasting advantageously with the flesh tints.

expression and forced motion in males contrasted with a languid or affected tenderness and grace in females. Gazing eyes in the first proclaimed fearlessness and masculine passion, muscular forms suggested energy and force. In the second, long parallel lids all but closed over the iris, long narrow heads with slender frames or round faces on corpulent ones were characteristic. Draperies, otherwise massive and of a fine cast, clung to the shape and exposed its peculiarities. Broken, cramped and strange action of hands and fingers supplied the place of natural gesture. Thin and pointed in females, the extremities were short, coarse, muscular, and bony in males. Superabundance of character, form and motion in men was the heirloom of earlier art, affected softness and gentleness in women a pure Siennese element; and in this respect Cimabue furnished the model which artists of the sister republic exaggerated in imitation.

If it should be inquired, which of the painters of Sienna most completely displays these general features, one might answer that Simone Martini is their best representative, being above all an easel painter, whilst the Lorenzetti are, as Ghiberti so truly remarked, the dramatic creators of the school, men of great intellect and imbued with the qualities which in their fullest measure combined to form the greatness of Giotto. Whilst the latter really incarnated the ideas of the age of Dante, and gave to a new and youthful art the true feeling and grandeur which Angelico remodelled into religious pathos, and Masaccio raised to the grandiose, the Siennese revelled in a medley of coarser elements and affectations of grace and tenderness, readorning the old dress with new embellishments, infusing brilliancy into colour and taste into ornament, but never rejecting the old types or forms. Based on solid foundations, the Florentine school advanced rapidly and easily to the perfection of the sixteenth century, being led by its admirable comprehension of the laws of distribution and division of space to the study of perspective, whilst the Siennese re-

mained enchained in the fetters of old custom. Yet Sienna was not without her own essential originality. She rivalled Florence in political independence at least in the fourteenth century; and in an age of uncontrolled passion, she stamped art with an unmistakeable impress. Her architecture, sculpture, painting, were all her own, as different as her people from those of Florence; and this difference extended not merely to Sienna but to all Umbria. The Florentine was staid and grave, the Siennese and Umbrian gay and lively. A barrier, overleaped perhaps by one painter, parted the masters of the rival republics; and this, to a certain extent, favoured the originality of Sienna, which, with less independence, might have lost herself in imitation, and thus failed of that legitimate influence which she wielded in Italy. She remained second to Florence, because she created no rival to Giotto, but otherwise she stood on an equality and contended with her for the palm of excellence, the Siennese Duccio, Ugolino, Lorenzetti, competing with the Florentines on their own ground; though Sienna boasted of no great Florentine within her walls before Spinello and Donatello. Sienna, however, may still justly affirm that her influence was after Giotto's death more extensive than that of Florence. Orcagna tempered classical grandeur with Siennese gentleness and grace. Traini imbibed lessons from the works if not from the precepts of Simone and the Lorenzetti, and combined Florentine with Siennese character. Giovanni da Milano derived from Sienna his brilliancy of colour, his grace of motion in females, his finish and breadth in draperies and costume, his minuteness and care in exquisite and precise outlines, betraying, one should think, his contact with Simone. Lorenzo Monaco and Spinello took something also from the same sources and set an example to the many subordinates who are ever ready to receive impressions wherever they may come from. At Pisa, where Siennese painting was always a favorite, the local art though second rate was but another edition of that of Duccio and his followers; and Taddeo

Bartoli reigned supreme there in the fourteenth century. The Siennese therefore made an ample return for the profit which they had gained from the sculpture of Niccola and Giovanni, though Pisa was not able to take advantage of that return and progress as Sienna had done. The grand and exclusive field of Sienna's influence, however, was Umbria. Orvieto owed to her all that she yielded in sculpture or painting: Gubbio, Fabriano and neighbouring cities produced examples that can hardly be distinguished from those of Sienna herself; and, at the close of the fourteenth century, Taddeo Bartoli contributed mainly to the formation of the school of Perugia which, rising as it were from the ashes of Gubbio and Fabriano, laid the foundation of its greatness, and outliving that of Sienna, rivalled in number if not in quality the painters of the fifteenth century at Florence. The school which preceded Perugino was impressed with something of Siennese character, which Perugino himself inherited in more abundance than the Florentine. He was a graceful, sometimes affected and tasty, more gentle than severe colourist. Yet Florence in the fifteenth century gave more in quality if less in quantity, and towered then as ever over all Italy; and if she found in Sienna a rival in the fourteenth, she left her behind in the next age, when Ghiberti, Donatello, Brunelleschi, Paolo Uccelli, Angelico, Masaccio, Ghirlandaio, showed themselves to be of a different scantling from that of Domenico di Bartolo, Sano di Pietro, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Matteo di Giovanni di Bartolo, Girolamo di Benvenuto, Lorenzo di Pietro, called Vecchietta, Francesco di Giorgio or Jacopo della Quercia.

From its rise in the fourteenth century the course of Siennese art might have been predicted. Starting on a basis narrow as compared with Giotto's, it was sure to be distanced. Sienna bequeathed, however, ere she fell a school to Perugia which took her place and contributed much to the education of the immortal Raphael.

No record of Duccio's birth has been preserved, but a picture is said to exist in the Museum of Nancy with

the painter's signature and the date of 1278.[1] It is vaguely affirmed that his name is in Siennese records of the year 1282.[2] That he was in 1285 in Florence is certified by a most interesting contract,[3] from which it appears that he bound himself on the 15th of April to execute for the company of S. Maria, having a chapel in S. Maria Novella, a large altarpiece of the Virgin and child and other figures for the sum of 150 florins. In this record he is called Duccio and Duccius quondam Boninsegna of Sienna.[4] In spite of a clause which bound him to pay fifty florins as a fine for not performing his contract, it is not likely that he painted an altarpiece for S. Maria Novella, for no picture of the kind is known to have existed there, and it is mentioned by no historians, but, more conclusive still, he seems to have been at Sienna in October 1285,[5] and to have been paid for the ornament of one of the books of the Biccherna,[6] being apparently appointed to an office which up to that time had been filled by the Siennese Dietisalvi.[7] He continued in that office at least up to the year 1291, in which payments on that account were made to him.[8] In December 1302 he was engaged on a "Majesty" for the altar of the chapel in the Palazzo pubblico of Sienna whose size and importance can only be conceived from the sum which he had already received before its completion.[9]

In October 1308, Jacomo Giliberti Mariscotti being master of the works of the cathedral, Duccio declared

[1] "Duccio me faccieb. anno s. MCCLXXVIII." Vide sulla storia civile et artistica Senese, by Gaetano Milanesi. 8° Sienna 1862, p. 89.

[2] Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 168. Della Valle, Lett. Senese. Vol. I. p. 277.

[3] Originally in the Dominican convent of S. Marco.

[4] Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 158. The termination of Boninsegna, induced Tizio (MSS.) to affirm that Duccio was a pupil of Segna.

[5] Vasari says, Duccio painted an annunciation in S. Trinita of Florence. But no such picture exists. Vas. Vol. II. p. 167.

[6] Rumohr, ub. sup. Forschungen, Vol. II. note to p. 11. Eight and ten soldi was the price for each book.

[7] Vide Ante, Dietisalvi.

[8] Rumohr, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 11.

[9] 48 livres. See in Rumohr, ub. sup. Vol. II. p.p. 11. 12.

himself ready to undertake the picture of the high altar. He promised, on condition of receiving sixteen soldi per diem, to devote his whole time to the execution of that work, the panels and materials being furnished for his use.[1] He went into harness at once, obtained an advance of fifty livres from Jacomo on the 20th of December,[2] and diligently proceeded to fulfil his contract. Weeks, months, a year, spent in continuous labour had not brought the vast and difficult labour to completion, but, on the 9th of June 1310, it was finished and transported amidst public rejoicings from Duccio's shop in the Casa de' Muciatti, outside the gate a Stalloreggi, to its place in the cathedral.[3] Business was entirely suspended on this festive occasion. All the shops of Sienna were closed. The archbishop headed the procession of clergy and friars, the "Nine" of the government, the officers of the "comune" and the people followed with tapers in their hands, and last came, in true Oriental fashion, the women and children, all marching with great solemnity to the sound of trumpets and ringing of bells, the highest in rank or dignity clustering about the picture, and doubtless Duccio himself enjoying the popular enthusiasm and clamour. Fifty years before, the same gay and mercurial people had assigned to the Virgin on the high altar of the Duomo the signal Victory of Monte-Aperto, and devoutly laid their pious and grateful offerings at the feet of the Madonna delle Grazie. Now, the victory was forgotten. The Virgin whose intercession had procured it was deposed and transferred to a place of less honour;[4] and Duccio was the hero of the hour.[5] He deserved it. On a surface fourteen feet long and seven feet high, he

[1] Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 166.

[2] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 170.

[3] The chronicler says, the altarpiece cost a sum total of 3000 florins, or about £ 1000 of our money.

[4] The Virgin in question was removed to the altar of S. Bonifazio in the Duomo. Vide Della Valle, Lett. Senese. Vol. II. p. 68.

[5] His altarpiece did not remain in its place 200 years. It was removed in 1506 to make room for a bronze tabernacle by Lorenzo di Pietro, or Vecchietta. Vide annot. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 167.

had placed the Virgin, seated with the infant Christ in a vast throne,[1] richly covered with tapestry and ornaments. Four angels reposed, with their heads on their hands, on the triangular back of the throne. Two more at each side held the arms with their hands and a file of six to the right and left formed the main body of the celestial watchers. In front of these stood saints.[2] Whilst before these again, in adoration of the "Majesty" of the Virgin knelt the four bishops,[3] protectors of Sienna. On the front of the hexagonal stool of the throne Duccio had written the words:

"Mater. sancta. Dei. sis. Caussa. senis. requiei. sis.
Ducio. vita. te. quia. depinxit. ita.[4]

This was not, however, an altarpiece intended to be seen from one quarter only. It was to be visible from both sides. So having depicted on the one hand the "Majesty", Duccio divided the surface of the opposite face into twenty eight parts, devoting two thrown into one to the two principal scenes of the story he intended to illustrate, which was that of the Passion.[5] Thus starting from the left, where, on a panel twice as high as its neighbour, he placed the entrance of Christ into Jerusa-

[1] Strange that Ghiberti should (Comment. ub. sup. p. XXVII.) state that Duccio here painted the coronation of the Virgin. Vasari who could not find Duccio's altarpiece and admits that he knows not where it is, repeats Ghiberti's mistake. Vol. II. p. 166. The Saviour is dressed in a muslin veil and violet damask tunic shot with gold. The Virgin in a red tunic shot with gold and a blue mantle.

[2] S.S. John Evangelist, Paul, Catherine (left), John the Baptist, Peter, Agnes (right).

[3] To the left S.S. Savinus and Ansanus. To the right S.S. Crescentius and Victorius. The whole altarpiece on a pediment $1^1/_2$ foot high divided into twelve frames each filled by an apostle.

[4] The a and u in caussa, the t in te, and de in depinxit are now obliterated.

[5] It is not known that this side of Duccio's altarpiece was finished as early as the other. Certainly the forepart, or "Majesty", was taken in June in procession to the cathedral; for a charge of 12 livres 10 soldi for trumpeters and tapers is preserved (Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 169); but it appears from a record of a meeting of the "Nove" of Sienna on the 28th Nov. 1310, that the Duomo altarpiece was still unfinished, and a separate account without date refers to the payment for 38 panels of the "back part of the tavola" at the rate of $2^1/_2$ florins of gold per panel to Duccio. (Ibid. Vol. I. p. 178.)

lem, he unfolded the whole of the melancholy tragedy down to the meeting of Emmaus. The central composition in the upper course is a crucifixion, and in the pediment are eighteen scenes illustrative of the Saviour's history before the entrance into Jerusalem, and after his ascension. Dismembered and sawed in its thickness, so that the faces are now parted, the "Majesty" of Duccio has been removed from the high altar and placed in one end of the transept, whilst the twenty six scenes forming the opposite side, are at the end of the other.[1]

This altarpiece of which the greater part is in good condition is to Duccio what the Scrovegni chapel at Padua is to Giotto. It serves not merely to characterize the manner of the great reformer of the school of Sienna, and show what vigour and perfection he introduced, but it foreshadows the future, as it retraces the past. Continuing an old art whose types and forms he religiously maintained, Duccio set an example from which his successors hardly deviated; which they constantly repeated with but slight modifications, just as the Giottesques, after the death of Giotto, clung to his creations and repeated his forms of composition and spirit of delineation.

In the distribution of the principal scene of his altarpiece, in the prominent stature of the Virgin enthroned in the midst of a triple row of angels and saints, Duccio

[1] The apostles of one pediment have been placed above the "majesty" in a straight row so that two of the central ones are gone; and the two next on each side are brought to a triangular form by the projecting pinnacle of the central panel. The pediment of the opposite side is dismembered; and each piece hangs separately in the sacristy of the Duomo. These pieces represent: 1. The annunciation; 2. the adoration of the Kings; 3. the presentation in the temple; 4. the flight into Egypt, these two larger than the rest 3 feet 2 by 1 foot and $^1/_2$; 5. the massacre of the innocents; 6. the dispute in the temple; 7. Christ appearing to the apostles; 8. Christ's sermon to them; 9. the incredulity of S. Thomas; 10. the Marriage of Cana; 11. the miraculous draught: 12. Christ at the table addressing the apostles; 13. the descent of the Holy Spirit; 14. the Virgin receiving S. Peter and the apostles: 15. announcing her approaching death; 16. the apostles carrying the Virgin to the tomb; 17. the Saviour receiving the Virgin's soul, with the apostles about in grief and S. Joseph lamenting; and 18. the Virgin deposited in the sepulchre.

preserved the order which was considered sacred at his time. Transforming, however, the art of his predecessors, he gave to the Virgin a regular shape and good proportions.[1] The drapery of her mantle is simple and well cast, and her attitude in the carriage of the Saviour graceful and easy. The face of the latter is gentle, plump, and regular, the forehead full and the short locks curly. A small mouth and eyes no longer expressing terror or immobility in their gaze, contrast favorably with previous efforts at Sienna. The action of the infant is natural and kindly. The group has more grace than majesty or solemnity, and thus, from the very rise of the school, its chief peculiarity was apparent. Broad muscular forms, heads generally large in contrast with the frame, round eyes imparting an expression of stern gravity, marked features, massive knotted hair and beards, characterize as of old the figures of Peter and Paul, as they stand by the Virgin. A wild austerity appears in the features of S. John the Baptist; but face, form and character are in the mould of the old period. A more rational definition of detail in the nude, in the articulations and extremities than hitherto, a tendency to smalness in the latter are noticeable in the principal figures and in the subordinate ones in the pediment.[2] But Duccio was better in females, whose attitudes and proportions are truer and more correct than those of males. A feminine reserve, a soft feeling in the long narrow faces in spite of aquiline profiles, gentleness rather than grace, make them pleasing; whilst draperies of good lines, and free from angularity, contribute by their arrangement about the head and frame to an elegant ensemble. Large oval heads with hair brushed back and bound by cinctures, which fling the locks profusely down, a thin neck, slender hands and fingers, betray in Duccio a partiality for the consecrated type of angels.

[1] Some charm is gone owing to the abrasion of the colour in the flesh tints, and some retouching in oil not only in the inner parts but in the outlines.

[2] For instance Peter and Paul,

Yet even these are improved by softness of features or tenderness of expression; and those whose heads may be seen reposing so confidently on the back of the Virgin's throne, are not without charm. A new feeling was thus infused into the antique mould, producing a novel character at times, disclosing the earnestness of the struggle for a change at others.[1] Drawn in with excessive firmness, yet with the minutest care, the figures reveal in Duccio the cleanliness of a Dutchman, whilst the exquisite tracery of ornament and embroidery[2] prove his taste and patience, his anxiety to use none but the very choicest materials. Fused and rounded with the utmost labour the tones combine powerful colour with lucid softness; but the verde underground exercises its usual influence, peering through the lights and glazes and lowering the general key of harmony. A certain flatness, caused by the absence of sufficient relief, is likewise striking, whilst at the same time, the planes of light and shade remain somewhat detached.[3] To resume, colour was already the best feature of the school thus founded by Duccio. A characteristic diversity marked the treatment of male and female figures, and ornament was tastefully but abundantly used.

Duccio again gave to the twenty six scenes of the Passion, forming originally the reverse of the altarpiece, a clear impression of life and power, and displayed talents of a first rate order, but, had he not exhibited in the composition, form, action and character of the persons represented, the exaggeration peculiar to the old schools, he would have been greater. It was not within the scope

and the other pediment apostles (half figures).

[1] The feeblest and slenderest figures in the "Majesty" are the four kneeling protectors of Sienna.

[2] The Virgin's dress in the "Majesty" has embroideries like those of Cimabue and other painters of the period.

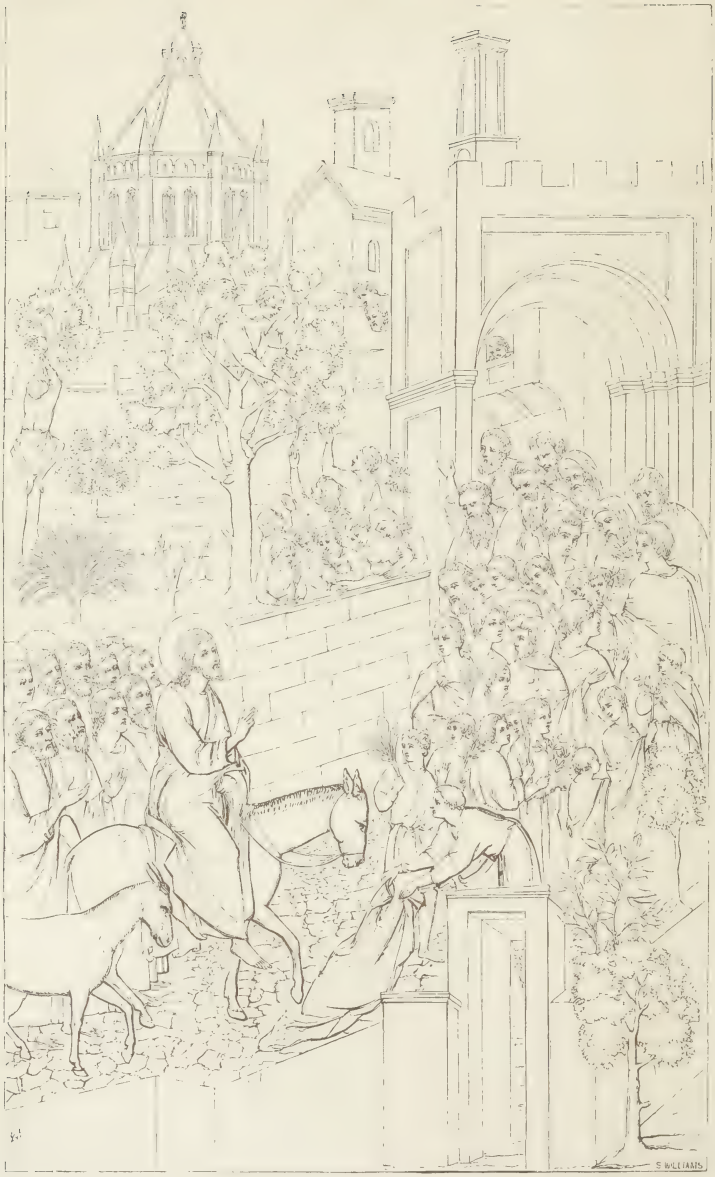
[3] The altarpiece has been split into seven and retouched along the flaws; the flesh tones of some heads are rubbed down as in the S. Savinus, the Virgin, the infant Saviour and some of the angels. Some of the draperies, the Virgin's mantle and others are also injured.

of his genius, however, to preserve a simple or equal grandeur. Like all those whom he followed or preceded, he had no great mean to guide him, and the decorous simplicity of the Florentines was out of his character. In the manuscripts of the twelfth and previous centuries,[1] in the subordinate scenes which explain or develop the interest of the crucifixions in early times, in the mosaics of Monreale or the bronze gates of Ravello and S. Raineri at Pisa, the typical compositions which Duccio reproduced are to be found, and thus the leading genius of the school of Sienna clung to the traditions which Florence rejected or altered. Duccio's "Christ on the Mount of Olives" is remarkable for the same packed company of apostles as that of the Monreale mosaists, differing from it only by the additional boldness of the attitudes. His Christ in limbo is the old picture of the Saviour preeminent in stature, treading on the prostrate Lucifer, triumphant with the cross and banner as in the Barberini Exultet and the Minerva MS. of the twelfth century, drawing the sinners out of Hades, whose gates lie broken on the ground. The only change is in the execution and the study of nature which marks the heads. In the Noli me tangere again, the Redeemer with the triple cross and banner, erect and colossal as in the "capture" of the Upper church of Assisi, is only worthy of attention for a new effort to produce ready action. The vehemence of the early period is still marked in the Magdalen, whose expression is more of grief than longing. Duccio, in fact, repeated the typical episode of the Barberini Exultet at the very period when the pilgrims to Assisi might admire the beautiful conception of the subject which Giotto had left there. Nothing finer had ever been produced in the olden time than the "Marys at the Sepulchre," whether considered in reference to type or to form and action. Duccio could therefore have done no better than to copy

[1] For instance the Menologio, MSS. 1613 at the Vatican and the Barberini Exultet which is executed in the technical manner of the Siennese.

it, as he did, representing the angel seated on the tomb and pointing out the way taken by the Redeemer to the Marys and the Virgin, who in a dramatic and sculptural attitude listen to the words. But, before him, the painters of the crucifixes of S. Marta at Pisa and of Lucca, and those of the Upper church of Assisi had set the example. In the deposition from the cross, where he likewise applied the typical arrangement and distribution known to the painters of the S. Marta crucifix, the founders of the Ravello gates and the sculptors of Pisa and Lucca, Duccio appreciated and did not alter a composition marked by dramatic incident and passion, which strangely enough the Giottesques previous to Antonio Veniziano entirely neglected, whilst they preferred, and the Siennese left out, the Pieta, a subject admirably treated by Giotto and the Florentines. Without much nobleness of type or character, the Christ of Duccio has suffering features; but the intelligence of form and anatomy displayed by the painter was great considering the period. Still he made no attempt to idealize like Giotto and contented himself with an imitation of nature's flesh and bone in somewhat vehement action. Similar force and exaggeration may be traced in the Entombment, where the passion natural to the mother embracing her Son for the last time, is rendered in a degree unusually intense. The Magdalen, with her arms outstretched towards heaven, may be studied as the very reverse of that conceived by the Florentines, by Giotto in the crucifixion of the Lower church at Assisi or in the Pieta of the Scrovegni chapel. This figure alone, in its vehemence, might demonstrate that in Duccio an accurate study of nature predominated; that physical force was before decorous passion, religious character an accessory. Old types, well presented in their old garb, but with something beyond the old imitation of nature, — more could not be required. That this was the direction of thought in Duccio is shown in a fine composition where dramatic arrangement is combined with realistic action and a great study of nature in the development of mus-

Fig. 60. Pteranodon longiceps. Restoration of skeleton.



CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM;

Compartment from a large altarpiece by Duccio of Siena.

cular details. S. Peter sits in the midst of a group, and warms the soles of his feet at a fire. On the left, a woman points at him with indignant decision, whilst he shrinks from her objurgations, and obviously mutters the denial. The entrance into Jerusalem, a double panel at the left lower angle of the altarpiece, opens the story of the Passion, and is a faithful imitation of a time-honoured subject, a tasteful miniature in colour and execution. The last scene of the Passion equal in size to the foregoing, but occupying the centre of the altarpiece, is the crucifixion, in which Duccio may again be compared with Giotto. Here it is at once clear that the two men were of a different artistic fibre. The Christ of Duccio is not the caricature which we find in Deodato Orlandi or others of that time, but it has not the finely chosen form of Giotto. The body hangs supine on the cross. It is long and ill conceived in shape as in movement. Suffering is depicted with some realism in a face aged by pain and privation, and the high forehead and brow are contracted by spasms, and disfigured with muscular projections. The hair streams wildly about. The figure is lean, long, and withered, outlined with an evident desire to render the anatomy of the nude, and thus sought out in the parts to the detriment of the whole. Yet as the other figures partake more or less of the same defects, there is still an unity in the picture. The fourteen angels who form a flight as of birds round the top of the cross, are in that strangely vehement action which is ever present even in the feeblest of the old models; and this, in Duccio, is not only characteristic of the movements, but of the features. The nude of the thieves is not to be distinguished from that of the Saviour, but we may admire the great force and realism of the figures, and Duccio's display of the study of flesh and muscle in them. Below, the action is divided into two principal groups somewhat theatrically arranged. To the left the Virgin, a long and slender form, sinks back into the arms of the Marys and women about her, clutching as she

swoons, at the Evangelist. To the right a multitude of soldiers, and in front the priests and people.

With respect to the eighteen panels forming the pediment of this portion of the altarpiece nothing can be added to that which has already been said. Duccio exhibited in this work alone the energy and power of a man superior to all in his immediate proximity; but, whether we consider the spirit of his composition, or his technical execution, he was not a creator, because he remained true to old typical forms and to the technical methods which characterized alike Cimabue and Deodato Orlandi. More masterly in his work than the former he gave to Sienna a title to claim and hold the position of a school of colour. At once the Giotto and Cimabue of his country he was the most dramatic artist that Sienna had produced, being rivalled in force only by the Lorenzetti, in grace only by Simone. Duccio's career closes in 1320, after which no record of his existence has been found.[1] The historians of Sienna note a Virgin and child by him in S. Donato of Sienna inscribed with the words "Duccius Boninsegne de Senis." But this picture has disappeared.[2] A fair remnant of his manner, a small altarpiece of the Crucifixion with the Flagellation and Entombment on the wings in the Brotherhood of the Madonna below the Spedale of Sienna, remained long a worthy example of his talent. In conception, composition, forms, types and spirit, this was a picture reminiscent of the altarpiece of the Duomo and an interesting relic of Duccio. But in October 1860 the sides had been removed, the centre was regilt and res-

[1] Della Valle (Lettere Senese. Vol. II. p. 69) says, Duccio died in 1340. The annot. of Vas. Vol. II. p. 168 say, the latest date is 1339, but do not prove it. They add that Duccio had two sons Galgano and Ambrogio, but this is manifestly an error, as Gaetano Milanesi would have noted the fact in Doc. dell' Arte Sen. To him we owe the statement that nothing is known of Duccio after 1320. Vol. I. p. 168.

[2] Doc. dell' arte Sen. Vol. I. p. 168. It is proved further, that Duccio was not, as Vasari states, the author of the pavement in the Sienna Duomo. Vide Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 33, and Doc. dell' arte Sen. Vol. I.

tored, and the whole so remodernized as to deprive it of all value.

The Academy of Arts at Sienna, contains two pictures of Duccio, the first of which, a Virgin with saints and attendant scenes, damaged and discoloured in many parts, obliterated in others, is still in his manner[1]; the second likewise a Virgin and child amongst saints, in which his spirit and manner are equally visible.[2] The Saviour in benediction on the central upper gable exhibits the form and character of a Christ in the topmost pinnacle of a complicated altarpiece in the same style, now in the chapel to the right as one enters the Spedale of Sienna.[3] This picture bears an inscription on the lower border of the central panel as follows: "Del tempo di Matteo di Giovanni." The forgery, for such it is, will deceive no one who can compare the altarpiece with those of Duccio, and knows that Matteo di Giovanni lived between 1420 and 1495.

If Duccio left pictures behind at Pisa, Lucca, and Pistoia,[4] they have perished; and though Tolomei notices one of his works,[5] and others are still shown at the latter place, they may be passed over as spurious.[6]

p. 176, and that he is not the author of the design for the Loggia of S. Paolo at Sienna. Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 93.

[1] No. 28 of Cat. a triptych not intended to close. The Virgin enthroned holds the Saviour grasping flowers between S.S. Peter and Paul. Two angels form the Virgin's immediate guard. In the pediment are 8 busts of saints. Above, a coronation of the Virgin with angels leaning their heads on the throne, and saints around. In the gable points, the annunciation between the birth of Christ, the flagellation, the carriage of the cross, the crucifixion, the deposition, and the entombment.

[2] No. 27 of Cat. Half figures. Here the infant brings together the sides of its little dress. Right S.S. Paul and Augustin; left S.S. Peter and Dominick; above, Christ in benediction between four angels.

[3] In a central arched space the Virgin and child are enthroned between S.S. John Evangelist and Agnes, John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen, each of these being in a separate compartment lower than that which the Virgin occupies. The upper course of each of these panels is divided into two, containing, in the centre, Moses bareheaded and David with a diadem; right Jeremiah, Isaiah, Daniel and Malachi; left Joseph, Jacob, Japhet, and Abraham. The altarpiece is much damaged.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 167.

[5] Tolomei. Guida di Pistoia p. 84.

[6] Three life size figures of S.S.

One of Duccio's finest works, a crucifixion, Virgin and child and attendant episodes, second only in importance to the altarpiece of the Duomo of Sienna, is in the collection of late H. R. H. Prince Albert; and was at Manchester.[1]

Another picture of interest by Duccio is in the National Gallery after having been in Pisa and in the collection of Mess. Lombardi and Baldi at Florence.[2] At Cologne in the Ramboux collection, the sermon of S. John Baptist and two apostles Peter and Paul,[3] are by Duccio.

Cotemporary with Duccio, and, like him, a patriarch

John the Baptist, James, and Anthony the Abbot are in the Academy of Pisa as Duccio's. Another part of the same altarpiece, in the Sala Capitolare of the Duomo, representing S. Michael fighting the dragon, a bishop and S. Raineri, is inscribed "Opus Duccii Boninsegne filii Senensis ante anno MCCCLVII confectum." Neither of these parts is by the master, but the character of the painting is not unlike that of Lorenzo di Niccolo Gerini.

[1] A small crucifixion by Duccio, formerly in the Bammeville collection, afterwards in that of the late M^r. Bromley (at whose sale it was sold to M^r. Anthony for 250 guineas) is most important as giving us an excellent example of a rare master. The composition is of about 20 figures perfectly preserved, uniting all the qualities of Duccio's style. It prefigures Simone's style as it may be seen in a picture of the Antwerp Gallery. A morsel by the master is a pinnacle containing the Saviour crucified, with the Virgin and Evangelist above a picture in the manner of the Bicci in possession of Messrs Lombardi at Florence. The Saviour crucified occupies the centre, with two angels above and the Virgin and Evangelist below. The left wing in two courses comprises the annunciation and the Virgin and child enthroned amongst four angels. The right wing contains S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, beneath which the Virgin and Saviour (the Saviour is in the act of benediction) are represented on a common throne surrounded by a choir of angels.

[2] No. 566. Virgin and child between S.S. Dominick and Catherine. Above, David and 6 prophets.

[3] N^os. 68—70. No. 66 S.S. James and John the Baptist, No. 67 the Magdalen and S. Dominick assigned to Duccio, are by another hand, perhaps Nicholaus Segna.

A Madonna and saints, half length from Christchurch Oxford was exhibited at Manchester under Duccio's name but his manner is not to be traced there.

Della Valle mentions a Virgin and child with incidental pictures, and figures of saints in the convent of Mona Agnese at Sienna, and a Madonna in the sacristy of S. Francesco of the same city, but these were not signed by Duccio, and the writer cannot be trusted in his judgment of pictures unauthenticated by records. Della Valle, Lettere Senese. Vol. II. p. 75. Neither of these pictures is now to be found.

of the Siennese school, is Ugolino respecting whom there are no authentic records, and of whom one picture only has an inscription without date. Vasari's statement that he died in 1349,[1] Baldinucci's that he died in 1339,[2] are equally unworthy of credit. It is affirmed that one Ugolino Neri, the grandson of Guido Guarnieri of Sienna, lived at Sienna in 1317;[3] but another record immortalizes also an unknown painter of 1324,[4] Ugolino di Pietro; and copious evidence of the existence of one Ugolino Veri, a goldsmith, is in the Siennese records of 1329—57.[5] The latter is clearly not the man whose life Vasari has written, and Signor Gaetano Milanesi's guess, that Ugolino Neri is the painter alluded to by the Aretine, is but a guess. Nor, strange to relate, is it principally in Sienna that we must seek the vestiges of an artist who not only followed the old style like Duccio, but who exaggerated it even more than that master. It is in Florence that Ugolino laboured most; there that his only inscribed picture occupied an honorable place in the church of S. Croce, and that a number of works in his peculiar manner are preserved. Ugolino, during his stay at Florence, was employed by the Franciscans of S. Croce to paint a picture for the high altar of that church, and as Arnolfo did not begin the edifice till 1294, we may assume that Ugolino's work was subsequent to that date. Again, as there is reason to believe that Ugolino executed a Madonna on a pilaster of Orsanmichele,[6] as this building was erected by Arnolfo in 1284, and the so-called miracles of that Virgin took place in 1291, we may form some opinion as to the period about which Ugolino painted in Florence.

The altarpiece of S. Croce was a truly Siennese production in form, with the Virgin and child enthroned in the centre, saints and apostles in higher courses, and

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 22.
[2] Baldinucci, ub. sup. Vol. IV. p. 125.
[3] Gaetano Milanesi. Della Vera Età di Guido &c. ub. sup. p. 9.
[4] Notes to Vas. Vol. II. p. 20.
[5] Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. II. p.p. 248—9.
[6] Not that which now hangs there.

scenes from the passion on the pediment, the whole signed "Ugolino de Senis me pinxit."[1] Like most pictures of that time, the altarpiece of Ugolino was withdrawn from its place of honour, and stowed away. It remained unheeded for centuries in the dormitory of the convent, where Della Valle saw it,[2] and having been sold for a song found its way in fragments into the Ottley collection. Three panels of apostles in couples, two single figures of saints and six parts of the predella, exclusive of the central Virgin and child, are in the collection of the Rev. John Fuller Russell near Enfield, and were exhibited at Manchester.[3] In these a colour and technical execution like those of Duccio, Simone and other Siennese, may be traced. The figures are long and bony, the movements more vehement and exaggerated, than those of Duccio. Following this trustworthy guide one may assign at once to Ugolino an altarpiece with half figures of the Virgin between four saints, with the Saviour in benediction between four angels in the pinnacle now in the Gallery of M. Ramboux at Cologne. (No. 31—37.) It is a piece showing the passage from Duccio to Simone and the Lorenzetti, and perhaps less sharply contrasted in tone than the foregoing.

A crucifix, in which the Saviour has seven feet of stature, at the Servi of Sienna, is assigned to Stefano Sassetta, a painter of the fifteenth century. It is true, the manner approaches to that of Sassetta, yet the painting seems to be of an older time and of a style such as we find in Ugolino.[4]

[1] Centre, the Virgin and child enthroned between six half length saints. Upper course, six panels with two apostles in each. Gable points, with each a half length of a saint. Pediment, centre, the Virgin and child, with compartments at each side containing the Last Supper, the Capture, the Flagellation, Christ's carriage of the cross, the Deposition and Entombment.

[2] Della Valle, Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 202.

[3] Two half lengths of S.S. Andrew and Bartholomew (somewhat abraded), pinnacles from the same altarpiece were in the late. Mr. Davenport Bromley's collection at Wootton.

[4] In the crucifix at the Servi is a small figure at the base, of a monk in prayer. A crucified Saviour at the Academy of Sienna

To him may be assigned the repainted heads of the Virgin and child by Guido in S. Domenico of Sienna; the technical style of the restored parts being more reminiscent of his comparative adherence to old methods than of Duccio.

A damaged altarpiece in the Siennese form with the Virgin and child enthroned between four saints, the Saviour and saints in the gable points, the Ecce Homo and saints in the pediment,[1] is preserved in the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence, and is like one of his works.

The colossal Madonna in the tabernacle of Orsanmichele, with the infant on her knee, caressing her, and holding a bird, and the glory of eight angels, of whom two in front wave censers, have characteristics of the close of the fourteenth century, and something of Siennese peculiarity, and Lorenzo Monaco is much more likely to have painted them than Ugolino.[2] Nor must it be forgotten, that Vasari does not pretend that Ugolino produced a Virgin on panel at Orsanmichele, but that he executed it on a pilaster, a statement in which he is confirmed by the testimony of Villani.

A coronation of the Virgin with the usual choirs of angels and saints about the throne is exhibited in the Academy of Arts at Florence under Ugolino's name,[3] and supposed to be the original referred to by Vasari as having been painted for the high altar of S. Maria Novella.[4] But the style is that of an inferior artist of the time of Agnolo Gaddi.

(No. 42 of Cat.) is flanked by figures of the Virgin and Evangelist. The Magdalen grasps the foot of the cross, the draperies of all the figures, the whole of the Magdalen are repainted. A Calvary at the Louvre is the usual composition with the Evangelist on one side, the Virgin fainting in the arms of the Marys on the other (No. 212).

[1] Of the four saints at the Virgin's sides, one a S. John the Baptist, another S. Francis showing the Stigma at his side. The Saviour in the gable point is in benediction between S.S. Anthony of Padua, Peter and Paul. An angel is on guard at the extremes of the line. The Ecce Homo in the pediment is between 4 saints, one of them S. Louis.

[2] Lanzi has no doubt that Ugolino painted this Virgin. Vol. I. p. 276.

[3] No. 1 of Cat. Galerie des anciens tableaux.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 21. This altarpiece was removed by the

Vasari, finally alludes to a crucified Saviour, a Magdalen and Evangelist, with two pairs of kneeling monks at the sides executed by Ugolino for the chapel of Ridolfo de Bardi at S. Croce.[1] No such picture exists there now.

Another painter of the early school in Sienna who remained partial to the oldest forms, and who is consequently related to Ugolino rather than to Simone or the Lorenzetti, was Segna, who is said to have finished for the Biccherna in 1305—6[2] a picture, part of which, with his signature, is in the Academy of Arts at Sienna. A better, and hitherto unknown, example of this master is a "Majesty," with the usual garland of angels about the back and arms of the throne and four miniature donors kneeling in the foreground, in the church of Castiglione Fiorentino at no great distance from Arezzo. This picture, in the same form as the Majestys of Cimabue at the Rucellai and Louvre, bears an inscription hitherto concealed by the beading of a black frame to the following effect:

"Hoc opus pinxit Segna Senensis."

The infant Saviour standing, draws together a yellowish veil that covers his mother's head, and with his left hand keeps his own little red mantle about his neck. A certain majesty marks the Virgin's form and proportion, and the face, though of no new type, but oval, broad at the brow and small at the chin, is enlivened by large but regular eyes. Sharp and precise lines confine the parts and mark the details, a wrinkle uniting the brow over a long nose somewhat depressed at the end. A fairly proportioned neck supports the head, whose drapery is covered by the yellow veil. Thin long fingered hands have an additional peculiarity of the Siennese, thumbs resting on no muscular base, and having no apparent bond with the rest of the parts. Aged features, yet plump cheeks and swelling lips, a high round forehead, gazing eyes, and round

Dominicans, as theirs was by the Camaldoles of the convent of the Angeli, for the sake of substituting one by Allori. Vide annot. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 22.

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 22.

[2] Vide annot. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 165.

balled nose, are marked in the Saviour, whose nude form betrays incomplete anatomical study in Segna. The toes are lined as if on lifeless blocks in the old style; but the drapery is broad in fold and richly shot with gold lines. The two angels, resting their heads on the back of the throne, now usual in Sienna, are here, one of them all but gone,[1] but the forms and features of the celestial messengers, of whom six surround the Virgin, are old and ugly,[2] the eyes being large and open, the underlips overhanging and the necks slender and long. On the extreme angles of the foreground S. Gregory,[3] with a diadem and book, a feeble figure of angular forms, and S. John the Baptist with a protruding lower jaw, stand guardians of four donors, whose names are inscribed beneath their kneeling figures: Mona Vanna to the left behind her husband Goro di Fino, Mona Miglia to the right behind Fino di Bonajuncta.[4] This well preserved and most interesting example of Segna shows that the master practised the methods common to Ugolino whose soft and lustrous surface he equalled.[5]

At the top of the stairs leading into the convent of S. Francesco in Castel Fiorentino a not ungraceful Madonna in Segna's manner may be seen. There is, however, some affectation of singularity in the Virgin's manner of holding the infant with her hands between his legs, and the frame of the child is colossal and ill designed.

A large crucifix in the Abbey of S. Fiore at Arezzo reveals the same hand; and the star formed panels at the base and summit of the cross are like those of the crucifix at the Servi at Sienna.

Segna's inscribed works at the Academy of Sienna[6] are four panels representing the Virgin, S.S. Paul, John, Evangelist, Bernard and another saint, all in the lean character peculiar to the master, fine in drapery, and not without an intention of grace in the movement of the Virgin. Time has, however, much injured

[1] That to the left.

[2] The two angels next to those leaning on the back of the throne are injured.

[3] At the extreme left.

[4] This picture is 9 f. 2. high by 4 f. 9.

[5] In some places the fallen varnish exposes and hardens the parts.

[6] No. 29 of Cat.

the flesh surfaces. Originally executed by Segna for the Abbazia di S. Salvatore alla Berardenga it is signed on the sword of S. Paul with the words:

"Segna me fecit."[1]

In the National Gallery, is a well preserved panel by Segna of the crucifixion between the Virgin and S. John.[2]

Two panels in the same gallery representing S.S. Ansano and Galgano and executed by Segna, according to the catalogue, for the Palazzo Publico in 1314, are less characteristic of his manner than other unauthenticated productions.[3]

To conclude with other pictures which have the appearance of a continuation to those of Ugolino and Segna, one may notice in the Academy of Sienna a crucifix disposed in reference to the figures like that of the Abbey of S. Fiore, but darkened, and slightly damaged, assigned to one Masarello di Giglio, with the date of 1305, but evidently of a later time.[4] A Virgin and child of this collection stated to be by Giglio, a painter of 1249, illustrates the well known mania of antedating pictures.[5] The style of this work is of the fourteenth century, and reminiscent of Niccola di Segna, of whom something may be said in this place. He is the author of a crucifix in the Academy of Sienna arranged like that just mentioned and inscribed:

"Nicholaus Segna fecit hoc opus MCCCXLV."[6]

Though here we fund ourselves in the middle of the fourteenth century, the execution and technical method is the old Siennese of the thirteenth century, the Saviour's

[1] In S. Francesco of Lucignano in Valdicchiana, an altar to the right of the entrance is adorned with a Virgin and child in the character of Segna.

[2] No. 567.

[3] Nos. 31 and 32 of Cat.

[4] No. 27 of Cat. With the Saviour in benediction above, the Virgin and S. John at the ends, of the transverse beam. Another crucifix with similar figures, but much damaged, may be seen in the Seminario Vescovile at Pienza near Sienna, and is by the same hand as the crucifix in the Academy.

[5] Vide ante, Giglio. No. 32 of the Cat.

[6] No. 70 of Cat.

head resembling in size that of Ugolino at the Servi, but being more erect as regards the figure [1]

An altarpiece in the Sacristy of the church of S. Chiara at Borgo S. Sepolcro, representing the Resurrection and various saints, with a predella containing five scenes from the Passion, is executed in a manner not unlike that of Nicholaus Segna and would tend to prove that this artist studied the forms of composition peculiar to the Lorenzetti.[2] There is mention of another son of Segna, Francesco, who painted in 1339 a picture for the Loggia of the Palazzo del Comune al Bagno di Petriuolo.[3]

[1] A quantity of pictures by Nicholaus Segna assigned to abler masters may be traced in various galleries. It may be sufficient to note at Cologne N^os^. 38 to 41, 66 and 67 of the Ramboux collection, the first assigned to Lorenzetti, the last to Duccio.

[2] The predella apart from the rest of the altarpiece with five pinnacles, hangs to the parapet of the organ loft. The painter, if he be Nicholaus Segna, was no very correct one. The Saviour issuing from the tomb is energetic in aspect, but the execution is coarse, the extremities ill drawn and the verde shadows very dark.

[3] Vide Gaetano Milanesi Storia Civile ed Artistica, ub. sup. p. 90.

CHAPTER III.

SIMONE MARTINI.

Petrarch, sighing through two hundred sonnets, sings the charms of Laura, and soaring high in realms of fancy imagines her in paradise, whence "Simon" brings her likeness down to earth, convincing humble mortals of her celestial beauty, and giving her all but voice and intellect. It is, in humble prose, that Simone, the great but affected delineator of female beauty, one day retraced, with art more perishable than the rhyme of Petrarch, the charms which were the joy and torment of the poet's life.[1] Yet Petrarch when content to let the muses slumber and drop the classic contrasts of Pygmalion and Polycletus, gave Simone his proper place amongst the artists of his country. "I bequeathe, he said in his will, my picture of the Virgin by the noble painter Giotto, whose beauty, unintelligible to the ignorant, is a wonder to the masters of the art;"[2] and in his letters, "I have known two painters, talented both, and excellent, Giotto of Florence whose fame amongst the moderns is great, and Simone of Sienna."[3]

Simone, second only to Giotto, and famous still after the Florentine had been consigned to the grave, was born in 1283[4] and was son to one Martino. He married, in 1324, Giovanna the daughter of Memmo di Filipuccio a painter.[5]

[1] Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca. Vol. I. Milan 1834. 12°. Sonnets XLIX and L. p. 57.

[2] The passage is in Vas. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 336. But see the whole will in Paul Manutius, annot. by Jo. H. Acker. Rudolstadt 1711. 12°. p. 7.

[3] Opera. Vol. II. p. 725. Epist. 17. lib. V.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p.p. 96 and 98.

[5] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 216.

His relation by marriage to Lippo, Giovanna's brother, contributed to the error of Vasari who calls him Memmi, whilst no excuse exists for the assertion that Simone was a disciple of Giotto.[1] Without pretending to deny that the two greatest painters of their age were acquainted with each other; without contradicting the assertion that Simone visited Rome, one may assume that Vasari erred in saying that he was Giotto's pupil. Simone is obviously the follower of the purely Siennese manner improved by Duccio; and this is clear from the earliest of all his frescos.

The Hall of the Palazzo Pubblico at Sienna is adorned with a wall picture enclosed in a border of medallions and shields, bearing the arms of the Comune and people. It is a vast piece whose total appearance leaves the impression of a tapestry or of a magnified miniature. The Virgin, wearing a diadem over her veil of blue, sits on a throne and gracefully calls attention by a gesture of her right hand to the infant Saviour standing on her knee and supported on her left arm. Her ample dress, minutely engraved with golden arabesques, luxuriously and somewhat studiously clothes a form more feminine and elegant than majestic. A certain affectation clings to her and is perceptible in the movement of the frame, as well as in the action of a beautiful hand. The guardians of her throne, angels and saints, are grouped by her side. On her right S. Catherine looks up to her, next her, S. John the Baptist with worn features and straggling wavy locks, then S. Agnes with her head affectedly bent, and carrying the Lamb, the Archangel Michael, a female with a burning heart and S. Peter holding the keys stand foremost, whilst, in the same order, an angel and six saints form a more distant rank. To the left, a female saint also in a diadem, S. John the Evangelist, S. Mary Magdalen, the Archangel Gabriel, a third female saint, and the apostle Paul with his sword stand similarly in front of an angel

[1] This theory is started by Vasari and finds an eager follower in Baldinucci. But cooler criticism rejects it as absurd, Baldinucci, to give his case a semblance of reality being obliged to fling back the birth of Simone into remote years of the 13th century. Vide Baldinucci, ub. sup. Vol. IV. p. 240. Rumohr, (Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 92) seems to think that Giotto's example inclined Simone to modify old Christian types by a contemplation and varied rendering of nature and life. Ghiberti does not say that Giotto was Simone's master and he was properly silent on the subject.

and six others. SS. Paul, Peter, the two S. Johns and four of those in rear carry the poles of a canopy which overhangs the group. At the Virgin's feet, two angels kneel with offerings of flowers. S. Crescentius and S. Victor are on their knees on one side, S. Savinus and S. Ansanus on the other.[1] In a medallion in the centre of the upper frame the Saviour stands in the act of benediction between Isaac and Moses and David and Jacob in similar ornamental spaces. The four Evangelists are at the corners, three prophets in each of the vertical sides. At the centre of the lower frame, a double headed figure with an octagonal nimbus, in the sides of which the seven cardinal virtues are depicted, holds up with one hand a scroll on which the Decalogue is written, and with the other a scroll also on which are the seven Sacraments. In two small medallions on each hand are the two sides of the Siennese coin with the inscriptions: "Sena Vetus civitas Virginis", and "Alpha et Omega, principium et finis." In the centre of a second border below the first and interrupted by two medallions, one of which is adorned with a Virgin and child between two angels with candelabra, is the following partially obliterated:

"Mille trecento quindici vol . . .
Et Delia avia ogni bel fior spinto . . .
Et Juno gia gridava i' mi rival . . .
S.ˢ A. MAN DI. SYMONE[2]

S. Jerom and S. Gregory on one side of the double headed figure in the principal border, S. Augustin and a saint whose form cannot be traced, form the total of the piece.

This is an interesting fresco not merely because it is certainly by Simone but because it seems to have been

[1] On the pediment of the Virgin's throne are the following words:

"Le angelichi fiorechti rose e gigli
Onde s'adorna lo celesto prato,
Non mi dilettan piu ch' e buon consiglii
Ma talor veggio chi, per proprio stato,
Disprezza me e la mia terra inganna.
E. quando parla peggio e piu lodato
Con ciaschedun cui questo dir condanna.

Responsio Virginis ad dicta Sanctorum.

Diletti mei, ponete nelle menti,
Che li devoti vostri preghi onesti,
Come vorrete voi farò contenti.
Ma se i potenti a' debil fien molesti,
Gravando loro o con vergogne o danni,
Le vostre orazion non son perquesti
Ne per qualunque la mia terra inganna."

[2] The medallion to the right is gone with the intonaco which held the close of the lines of the inscription.

found necessary in Simone's own time to cut out and to renew eight of the heads of the principal figures.[1] The life size apostles and saints in the "Majesty", the S. Peter and archangels, characterized by the attitudes and draperies which distiguish them in later pictures of Simone, the eight renewed heads, displaying perhaps more affectation of grace than the older ones, particularly the S. Catherine and her companion with the diadem, all these figures are executed by one man, and point to the natural conclusion that Simone was obliged to restore a work which he had originally completed.[2] The Virgin, the infant, of unusually slender frame, are the finest part of the picture. The head of the former in its tenderness and regularity, that of the latter in the form which remained characteristic not merely of Simone, but up to Taddeo Bartoli, are pleasing, and an undoubted improvement on those of Duccio. Simone conceived the infant plump and round cheeked, with a pouting lip, a vast forehead, short curly

[1] These are the heads of S. Ansano, the two angels offering flowers, S. Crescenzius, S. Catherine, the female saint in a diadem opposite to her, and the Virgin and child. The incisions and joints of the new intonaco are distinctly visible in these heads which are well preserved, whilst in those of S.S. Savinus and Victor the colours are almost gone. The hands of S. Peter have been retouched in the 15th century; some other heads have been injured by repainting and the picture in general has lost the brilliant nature of fresco from damp and restoring. The left side of the picture is that which has been most essentially damaged, particularly by damp, the saints and medallion figures being reduced to mere outlines, shadowed with a reddish brown preparation. No one will hesitate to admit that the eight heads renewed on fresh intonaco were executed by the artist who had already painted the whole picture, because the same character is displayed in the medallions which are the oldest part of the fresco, and the new heads. In the Saviour who gives the benediction, the spectator will find a clear continuation of the style of Duccio, and the manner of Simone as exhibited in other works produced at a later period. The head of the Redeemer like those of the neighbouring prophets, exhibits the same clinging to old types and forms of expression, the same muscular development and large gazing round eyes as marked the previous efforts of Duccio. But the type of the Redeemer is so far improved that it is less aged, more natural and animated than of old.

[2] Ghiberti clearly assigns the whole fresco to Simone. "Di sua mano e nel Palagio, in su la Sala, una nostra Donna col fanciullo in collo e con molte altre figure intorno." Comm. ub. sup. Vol. I. Vas. p. XXV.

locks, and a glance more threatening than kindly. He clothed him in a rich dress and thus brought the art to a point where it seems to claim admiration more by richness and copiousness of ornament than by simplicity or beauty of shape and features. The graceful female saints reveal the tendency common to Duccio and Simone, to contrast the stern gravity of males with an excessive tenderness in the other sex. A most careful execution marks every portion of the work which can scarcely be criticised as to colour.[1] The composition, too, has the defects of Duccio and is distributed without the perfect balance of the Florentines. It betrays a wish or the necessity under which the artist laboured, of preserving old forms of arrangement dictated no doubt by custom. Many writers have ventured to doubt the originality of this fresco, and pretend that the author was one Mino who is recorded not only to have painted in 1293 and 1303, but to have decorated the council hall of the Palazzo Pubblico of Sienna in 1289 with a Virgin Mary and saints, for which he received twenty seven livres.[2] The smallness of the price might have suggested the possibility of an error; for Simone received in 1321 the same sum exactly for the mere repainting of eight heads;[3] but that Mino is not the painter of the "Majesty" in the present council hall is clear on many grounds:

Previous to 1288 an edifice on the public square of Sienna was used as an excise office for oil and salt and being inhabited in the upper stories by the authorities of the mint or Bolgano and by the Podesta, was called the Palazzo del Bolgano. In 1288, as appears from the records of the Consigli della Campagna and of the Biccherna,[4] it was

[1] Where the intonaco has dropped, as in the medallions of the frame, the original preparation appears, not in verde but of a brownish tint marking the outlines and shadows.

[2] 1289. XII. August. Item XVIII libr. Mag. Mino pintori pro suo salario quia depinxit Virginem Mariam et alios sanctos in palatio communis in Consiglio, pro complemento XXVII quæ debebat habere pro dicto opere. Archiv. Bicch. of Sienna, in Gaetano Milanesi, Della vera Eta di Guido Pittore Senese ub. sup.

[3] Vide infra.

[4] Records due to the research of Avvocato Regoli of Sienna.

resolved that the Palazzo del Bolgano should be transformed into the Palazzo Pubblico, and that for that purpose contiguous houses should be purchased and appropriated. Between 1288 and 1297 the necessary steps were taken for this purpose; and in 1297 the edifice was rebuilt and enlarged, specially in that part which is occupied by the present council-hall. Mino therefore, when he painted a Virgin and saints in 1289, Guido Gratiani, when he executed, likewise in the Palazzo Pubblico, a Madonna in 1295, did not labour in or for the present council-hall, for the obvious reason that that hall was not in existence. It is also in the records that the comune of Sienna held its council up to 1284 in the old Palazzo del Bolgano, where no doubt Mino's virgin existed. Tizio, whose MS. history of Sienna is still extant, further declares that the Sala del Consilio, in which the "Majesty" is depicted, was finished in 1299; but, that even at that time, it remained without its present pictorial decorations is clear from the traces which still exist proving that important changes were made even later. That these occurred about 1311 is authoritatively stated in the records of Sienna. Any one who now chooses to examine the wall on which Simone's fresco was painted in 1315, will remark that it had undergone repairs and alterations before that fresco was executed. Beneath the intonaco on which the lower border is painted, there are marks, to the right, of an opening two feet six in breadth, walled up and forming originally an arch in part extending within the lower edge of the fresco. Another opening, about four feet in breadth had been likewise filled in, and extended to a spot above the inner border of Simone's fresco, cutting with its curve the inscription beneath the feet of the Madonna and taking in part of the medallion of S. Gregory. The inscription of Simone is on the newly walled space; and thus every thing points to the fact that Simone painted the fresco in 1315. It is distinctly recorded that in 1321 he was paid twenty six livres for the renewal (reactatione) of the "Majesty",[1] and critics inquire, how it could be that in six years a fresco should require repair. But many causes might have rendered such a course necessary, and amongst them chiefly the effect of damp upon the fresco and an eruption of salt on the lime of the intonaco. Dr. Gaye lays great stress upon a petition of 1316 for the rescue from the effects of fire and smoke of paintings in the Sala

[1] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 217.

or "curtem domus" in which the Podesta lived and took his meals.[1] He assumes that the hall here alluded to is the Sala del Consilio; but it is now known that the Podesta inhabited quite another part of the building, and it is not likely that he should dwell or eat in a hall where the chief magistrates met to deliberate and distribute justice.

No doubt can exist but that even before 1315 Simone was an artist of considerable powers and name, not only at Sienna but throughout the continent of Italy. Robert of Naples who, as Duke of Calabria, had been in command in Central Italy during the early part of the fourteenth century,[2] was portrayed by the Siennese master. After the death of Louis, bishop of Thoulouse, Simone represented him crowning his brother; and the picture, of life size figures, is still at Naples, in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore. Should it be assumed however that this interesting piece, which bears no date, was executed some years after the incident which it illustrates, records of certain authenticity declare how, in 1320, Father Petrus, a friar in S. Catherine of Pisa caused a picture to be painted by Simone for the high altar of his church.[3] The work authenticated by the master's signature was dismembered after the retirement of the Dominicans from S. Catherine of Pisa, but its parts are preserved and independently of the poetic praise of Petrarch they would suffice to establish the lasting fame of Simone.

In a course of seven compartments he represents the Virgin and child, (the latter clutching at the bosom of the Vir-

[1] Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 429.

[2] In 1305 he commanded the Florentine forces.

[3] "Frater Petrus conversus.. Tabulam pretiosam procuravit fieri majoris altaris." Cron. del convento di S. Caterina de Pisis. Archiv. Stor. Vol. VI. p. 500. Executed in 1320 by Simone, says Bonaini, who proves the fact by record, note to same page, and in Mem. Ined. p. 38, where he quotes from the Annal. mss. S. Cat. of Pisa. "Frater Petrus &c. Ipso etiam urgente et instante, tabula quae nunc est in Ara majori ibi posita fuit anno 1320." Further "Frater Thomas Pratensis ab anno 1320—24 praefuit. Tempore suo statuit tabulam in majori ara manu Symonis Senensis." This altarpiece seems to be that which Förster (Beiträge ub. sup. p.p. 167 and following), describes, carefully abstaining to mention where it is, — pardonable precaution in a collector.

gin's dress), between saints.[1] An upper course dividing each panel into two niches is devoted to archangels and apostles. The gable points are decorated with a central figure of the Redeemer holding the gospel and in the act of benediction and six prophets. The centre of the pediment, divided into three parts is filled with an Ecce Homo between the Virgin and S. Mark, whilst in twelve similar spaces, equally divided at the sides, stand various male and female saints.[2]

Graceful as the Madonna appears with the infant Saviour, on her knee, the female saints at the sides are still more so. Nothing more elegant has been produced by Simone than the slender and bending figure of the Magdalen delicately holding the ointment cup in the tips of her veiled fingers, nothing finer than the red drapery lined with green and falling from her gently inclined head. Finer still, and noble as well as graceful, is the S. Catherine, whose fair proportions, regular soft features and natural attitude are not surpassed in any subsequent effort of the master. Her gentle motion and tender air enhanced by a diadem and veil covering her chestnut hair, by a pale yellow dress all spangled with delicate gold tracery, her fine and regular hands, one of which plays with a book, are truly admirable.[3] Amongst the saints, S. Peter Martyr in the Dominican dress with a cicatrix on his head, S. Dominick with the lily and gospel,[4] are fine. S. John Evangelist, youthful and beardless, is an improvement on the old type, whilst the Baptist with his straggling locks and beard, his meagre and emaciated

[1] S.S. John Evangelist, Mary Magdalen and Peter Martyr, John the Baptist, Catherine of Alexandria and Dominick.

[2] S.S. Agnes and Ambrose, Thomas Aquinas and Augustin, Gregory the great and Luke, Stephen precursor and Apollonia, Ursula and Lawrence, Nicholas and Mary Magdalen. Six of the principal panels with their upper course and pinnacles, rescued from a dangerous situation in a billiard room, are now in the library of the Seminario Vescovile, of old S. Catherine of Pisa. The seventh panel containing S.S. John the Baptist, Paul and James, and the whole of the pediment are now in the Academy, one part containing S.S. Ursula and Lawrence being from the Orfanotrofio and the rest from S. Catherine. On a border, beneath the central group of the Virgin and child, are the words "Symon de Senis m. . . Pinxit."

[3] The hand with the book has been retouched.

[4] The hand is damaged as well as the background and nimbus.

face and form, is but a repetition of a well known model.[1] The Archangels, in the upper course are striking for their long and lean shape,[2] the Saviour in the central pinnacle, for a thin frame. A youthful face, broad at the cheeks, with hair clinging to the head till it falls on the shoulders, a lock on the forehead are noticeable. The draperies are fine and simple and the type expresses a soft tenderness without the weight or noble gravity of Giotto.[3] The Ecce Homo of the pediment is likewise noble, but only an improvement of the older mask in the Italian schools of past centuries, still however soft in character, though of sharp profiled features. S. Agnes, in her yellow dress shadowed in red, is one of Simone's usual graceful females.

This picture does not allow the spectator to forget that Simone was imperfect in expressing the idea of relief, but the tones are the most powerful, and at the same time the lightest that he ever produced on panel.[4]

Whilst Simone was thus sending in 1320 a capital example of his talent to the Dominicans of Pisa, he executed a similar commission about the same time for another Dominican convent; and it is on record that Trasmundo the predicant bishop of Savona caused an altarpiece, representing himself kneeling before the Virgin with attendant saints,[5] to be painted by Simone for the high altar of

[1] He holds a double cross in his left and raises his right arm. The finish is so minute that the hairs on the flesh are given. He wears the camel's hair vest and a red mantle the lights of which are the white ground of the panel.

[2] This is a type and form which may be found repeated in a picture of the Sienna Academy, proving the connection between Siennese art and that which distinguishes the frescos assigned to Taddeo Gaddi at the Cappellone degli Spagnuoli in S. Maria Novella at Florence and the frescos falsely assigned to Simone at the Campo Santo.

[3] Note the perfect horizontal straightness of the line of lower eyelids.

[4] The draperies are coloured in vivid keys and excessively transparent where the nature of the tint allowed the white ground to appear. The luxurious plenty of gold ornament and tracery is excessive and extends to the decoration of the frames. An improvement, as regards type, upon the old forms preserved by Duccio, the picture is executed with perfect finish.

[5] The Virgin and child between S.S. Mary Magdalen, Peter, Paul and Dominick (half lengths).

S. Domenico of Orvieto.[1] The picture itself now in the Fabbricieria of the cathedral[2] without its pediment or pinnacles, is inscribed:

".....n de Senis me pynx.t D. MCCCXX..."[3]

The peculiar grace of the school is conspicuous at a high standard in this piece which illustrates Simone's care in rendering figures on a small scale on panel. The affectation of attitude and action so marked in larger productions is not apparent, and nothing can exceed the minuteness with which the hair outlines and the details of locks and beard are realized. The dresses, in strong primary harmonies, are of the best kind and the colour, though slightly abraded in the flesh tints, is admirably fused in the verde, leaving still however a sense of flatness and general lowness of key.

[1] MS. Chron. Ined. ex-convent of S. Domenico, at Orvieto. Trasmundo, was of the Monaldeschi of Orvieto. He paid 100 florins for the picture.

[2] It had been to Paris and back at the great Peace.

[3] It is doubtful whether the date may not be 1321.

Simone in a graceful manner and after a fashion already used by Duccio presents the infant on its mother's arm holding the orb and scroll in its left (with the words "Ego sum lux mundi") and drawing together the sides of its mantle with its right hand. Material affection beams in the soft and regular features of the Virgin, gentleness in her slender figure. (The glazes of the Virgin's head are slightly abraded.) The green lining of a blue mantle peeps outward as it falls in folds from her forehead, which a transparent muslin partly veils. The more oval face of the Saviour discloses the character of age peculiar to Duccio more than Simone's previous one in the Sala del Consilio at Sienna. A certain gravity and weight, some immobility characterize the form, owing no doubt to the purpose of impressing on the spectator the idea of Christ's majesty. The austere features of S. Peter with the book and keys at the Virgin's side are the traditional ones (S. Peter wears a yellow mantle over a blue tunic and the papal stole. Small portions of colour in this figure are gone.), whilst the Magdalen near him contrasts as usual by a figure full of grace, a slender neck, a pleasing round head, and delicate hands protected from contact with a vase of ointment by a transparent veil. A red mantle drops from the head, like that of the Virgin, in well turned folds. With her right hand she recommends the kneeling miniature of the bishop of Savona, crozier in hand and mitred, in prayer at her feet. S. Paul with the book and sword has the long face and pointed beard of the old models. (The upper part of this figure is injured.) The nimbus of the Virgin and that of the infant, engraved with the usual scriptural passages, the beautifully stamped ornament of the trefoil arches over each figure disclose the patient care and

Nor was this the only picture which the master produced for Orvieto, a city as remarkable for the possession of great Siennese examples in architecture, sculpture and painting as Assisi had been for Florentine works. Another Virgin and child, under a trefoil arch at whose sides two angels[1] are depicted in medallions, whilst the Saviour is placed in benediction between a blue cherub and a red seraph[2] in three triangular pinnacles, fill an altarpiece by Simone which remained in the sacristy of the chiesa de' Gesuiti at Orvieto till it was lately transferred to the Fabbricieria of the Duomo. Though but recently acknowledged as a work of the master, and unauthenticated by a signature, this Madonna belongs to the same period as the foregoing and is equally fine.[3]

Less interesting because of the great injury it has sustained is a third altarpiece of the Virgin and saints by Simone, purchased some years since from a church at Orvieto by the Cavaliere Mazzocchi of that city. Simone displays his feeling for tenderness and grace in the attitude of the infant Saviour patting the chin of the Virgin and striving to take a flower from her right hand.[4]

It is not in Orvieto however, but in Assisi that we find

minuteness as well as the fondness for gilt decorations peculiar to the Siennese.

[1] With double wings inscribed "Troni", and holding orb and sceptre.

[2] The angel to the left carrying two tapers, is dressed in red and inscribed "Seraf", the other in blue with a book, "Cherub".

[3] The same graceful group is formed by the infant and its mother. The Saviour in benediction is more modern in type than that of the Sienna fresco, but still in its essentials the usual one which Simone constantly preserved during the whole of his career. (Beneath him the alpha and omega.) Damaged in its lower part and injured in spots by dropping, the picture preserves its wax varnish and glazes.

[4] The Virgin in blue mantle lined with white, the Saviour in a red mantle. In four side panels. S. John the Baptist, a female saint, the Magdalen, and S. Paul, are depicted. In the pinnacle above the first, an angel sounds a trumpet, above the second, an angel bears the cross, the crown of thorns the spunge and nails, whilst above the third, a similar figure carries the column and flail, and one blowing a trumpet appears over the all but obliterated S. Paul. In the gable the Saviour shows the lance wound.

Simone executing frescos. To the former city the master perhaps sent his altarpieces from Sienna. At Assisi he laboured in person; nor was it unnatural that a man of his talent and fame should think with some pride of rivalling on their own ground the greatest Florentines, and of breaking a lance with Giotto. There, much more than at Avignon, Simone sought to lavish on his work all the exquisite finish and freshness of power which he possessed; and in the frescos which he executed for Cardinal Gentile[1] in the great basilica, his figures, and chiefly those which represent saints in the thickness of the window of the chapel, are finished with the minuteness already conspicuous in the altarpieces of Orvieto.

It may be necessary to premise, however, that Vasari, in a few observations which he makes in the life of Giotto[2] respecting the pupils of that master, pretends that Cardinal Gentile ordered of Puccio Capanna the frescos which decorate his chapel of S. Martin at Assisi. The blunder of confounding a purely Siennese work, the finest of its kind, with those of a direct disciple of Giotto is hardly conceivable, but not the less evident; for although no records justify the belief that Simone painted this chapel, and no mention is made of the time in which this occurred, the style of Simone is so indelibly impressed upon the pictures that no doubt can possibly exist as to the author. Simone therefore decorated the whole of the chapel with scenes from the legend of S. Martin, filling not merely the forepart which is arched, but the inner portion which has a groined ceiling, with ten subjects, the lunette above the entrance with the consecration of Gentile, and the sides of the windows with figures of Saints. As guardians

[1] The Franciscan, Gentile de Montefloris, was made cardinal by Boniface the VIII[th] in 1298, and was employed subsequently by Clement the V[th] and Benedict the XI[th]. He was legate of Hungary. Unfortunately the dates of his missions are not given, nor is there any certainty as to the year of his death. It is said, however, that he died at Avignon whence his body was taken for burial to Assisi.

[2] Vas. Vol. I. p. 337.

of the sanctity of the place, eight holy personages stand in niches in the vaulting of the pointed entrance way.[1] In a double course beginning at the base of the side to the left of the entrance the incidents of S. Martin's life are depicted.

In the first of these, S. Martin on horseback saws at his cloak whose skirt is held by a beggar on the left.[2] The drawing of the horse, outlined and shaded with a preparation of brown, and the nude of the stiff and ill conceived beggar remain. Nor can it be concealed that in the hard form, defective outline and unready action of the figure, Simone showed more anxiety to study natural developments of flesh and muscle than a noble form. A vulgar realistic anatomy, not a grand conception of shape and proportion is the result.

Next, the saint appears smiling in sleep and sees the vision of Christ.[3] Simone had already changed to some extent since he painted the Redeemer in benediction in the Sala del Consilio at Sienna. He gives the Saviour at Assisi a simple and regular form, a soft expression, without muscular protuberances of brow or an angular and depressed nose. He makes a nearer approach to the types which Giotto had left hard by in the transept of the basilica, and creates one more distinct from his own and Duccio's previous conceptions.[4] In this sense Vasari was right, if he intended to affirm that Giotto extended some of his influence to the Siennese master, though literally he had no authority for stating that Simone was Giotto's pupil.

[1] S. Chiara by the side of Elizabeth of Hungary, above them S. Louis Rex and S. Louis of Thoulouse; on the opposite side, S. Mary Magdalen by the side of S. Catherine of Alexandria, and above them, S. Anthony and S. Francis.

[2] The blue mantle has almost lost its colour, the shadows and the red preparation appearing.

[3] To the left behind the bed, the Saviour, wearing the piece of mantle cut from the cloak and given to the beggar, turns towards the angel near him and points with a convulsive energy in the stretch of arm and fingers to the sleeper; whilst the angel bends forward with his arms crossed on his breast and looks at S. Martin.

[4] The angels forming a glory round the Saviour are at the same time of a noble stature,

In the left side of the third fresco[1] where S. Martin refuses the donative, Julian wears the antique Roman costume and affects a certain classicism. The movement of the fingers of the hand, stretched forth and holding the baton, is the caricature of defects which became conspicuous later in the followers of Michael Angelo, and is characteristic in Agostino di Federigo.[2] It would seem, indeed, as if false classicism clung more or less to the Siennese school from its very first beginning, and it is curious to note in the same old painters the types of the declining Byzantine Italian manner, and the mannerisms of the Michaelangelesque imitators of the sixteenth century. A wasplike shape given to the joints of the fingers by Simone, shows a conventionalism hardly to be expected in so early an artist.

The sequel of the interview with Julian is told in the next picture, differently from the narrative in the common legend. S. Martin receives the sword from the Cesar,[3] whilst an attendant buckles spurs on his feet and a third holds a hat on a pole.[4] This almost colourless scene is laid in an interior; and the figures have similar peculiarities to the previous ones. It may be remarked, in addition, that the proportions of distant and nearer

slender in the neck, graceful and birdlike in profiles and expressing penetration in their soft glance; but, whilst some are plump and fat, others are lean; and the grace which the master usually gives to females and angels is not equal throughout, so that he is not free from the general charge of incoherence in style that may be truly made against all the painters of his country.

[1] Lower course to the right on entering the chapel. Three soldiers stand by a fourth who counts the sum of an imperial donative, whilst the Emperor Julian, with the staff of command in his hand, is seated on a Roman chair. S. Martin, holding the cross in his left hand, points to it with his right and pleads for permission to take orders, in a lame and affected attitude. (To the left is a background of tents and horses. To the right of a high rock in the centre distance stand soldiers and a camp.) His frame is small, and action exaggerated.

[2] In Loggia della Mercanzia at Sienna for instance.

[3] Julian stands on the left of the picture.

[4] One behind the Emperor carries a hawk on his fist, and two others behind the saint play a mandolin and pipes. S. Martin himself lifts his head and arms to heaven.

figures are not maintained; that some heads are large and coarse, whilst others have fair profiles; and that, in general, the costumes are more curious than appropriate. Taking the second course in the same order as the first, we find a much injured representation of the resurrection of the boy, at whose sides S. Martin, two grieving females and spectators kneel.[1] The next fresco is sufficiently well preserved to display regular forms in true and natural shape, pleasant features with a gentle expression. The saint, in episcopals, sits in thought as if pondering over the words of a kneeling servant reading to him from a book. An attendant strives to attract his attention by touching his shoulder. Valentinian, in the next scene kneels at the feet of the saint who motions him to rise; and the group thus formed is powerful in action and expression.[2] Passing by the vision of two angels to S. Martin at the altar, which forms the subject of the next compartment,[3] the eye is arrested by the mournful episode of the saint's death on a couch surrounded by kneeling monks. One of them takes the hand of the corpse, whilst another looks grieving at it, and the clergy read a funeral service at the head. In the upper spaces, four angels carry the soul to heaven. Simone clearly remains true to the old types, presenting in the angel's features a contrast of the strongest kind with other figures of the same class in the vision of Christ to the sleeping saint. The last fresco of the series shows S. Martin recumbent on a tomb, in a church filled with clergy and people singing the funeral service. At the head a relic presented by a bishop is embraced by one of the bystanders. At the feet stand the priests and congregation.[4] Cardinal Gentile in the lunette above the door, in frock and cowl, his red hat lying on a balustrade in the gothic church which forms the background, is raised

[1] About 15 figures in all.

[2] The colour of this piece is in parts abraded.

[3] The two angels present a cloth to S. Martin, behind whom a kneeling figure holds a taper.

[4] Here and there the colour is gone.

from his kneeling position by S. Martin.[1] Natural movement marks this well arranged group; and Simone shows that he excelled in portraiture, keeping art at a higher level when he had but two figures and a simple action to delineate, than when struggling with the difficulties of a more complicated subject. Fine draperies and lightness of colour give an additional charm to the scene.[2] The half lengths in the sides of the windows, separated from each other by an ornament and the arms of Cardinal Gentile, are the finest that Simone ever executed, being finished with great care and impressed with a stamp of nature, truth and force, unusually combined in his works.[3] The designs of the coloured glass in the windows represent S. Martin in episcopals and the Cardinal kneeling, the name "Gentilis Cardinal" being inscribed beneath.

The spectator reluctantly admits, after carefully studying the decorations of the chapel, that Simone had not attained the perfect laws of equilibrium in composition, and that he was thus ignorant of a maxim which peculiarly distinguished the great Florentines of his time. The subjects maintain their interest because of their comparative realism, many figures, if separately viewed and analyzed, showing a certain study of nature, but, in their connection with the rest, wanting simplicity. A coarse vigour of expression in some types cast in the old and consecrated mould, contrasts with pleasanter and more natural features in others. Simone

[1] A split in the wall injures this fresco.

[2] Of the saints in the entrance arch, S. Chiara is not without grace, but her movement is affected. Still as a single figure she pleases more than the neighbouring one S. Elizabeth of Hungary, a fat-cheeked person, with an aquiline profile, a long neck heavily wrinkled beneath the chin, and an inordinately small head. (Dressed in a red mantle shot with gold, holding her tunic with her left hand, wearing her hair in puffs.) The Magdalen balancing the vase on the tips of her fingers, recals to mind, in old styled gravity and draperies, certain figures of the fresco in the Sala del Consilio at Sienna. (The colour of her dress is gone and the red preparation alone is visible.) S. Catherine is the most noble and graceful of all these saints, S. Francis, inspired and full of dignity.

[3] Some have unfortunately been injured.

had not that consistent equality and unity of power which Giotto possessed. His style was a series of contradictions. In single figures or portraits he excelled; in action and incident he was frequently lame and exaggerated.[1] Enough original colour remains to show that in technical execution he was of superior merit, but he is still minute to a fault and, as usual, gives but slight relief to his picture by light and shade.[2]

Though Vasari affirms that Puccio painted a chapel evidently by Simone, he admits the presence of the latter at Assisi, when stating, truly in this instance, that he began certain figures of the Virgin, Louis of France and other saints by the altar of S. Elizabeth in the southern transept of the Lower church.[3] These half lenghts, eight in number, low down in the end of the transept to the right of the door leading into the Cappella Orsini, and partly on the western corner, are all good; and though damaged or abraded, are well coloured in a beautifully fused rosy yellow tone. Simone's usual flatness and absence of relief prevail, but the most remarkable feature in the paintings is the exquisite drawing

[1] The draperies never want sweep, but that is a quality which Simone inherited from earlier centuries.

[2] The painter who expended on a fresco the minute attention of a miniaturist, uses the white ground for the high light, indicating the half tones and shadows with a liquid grey, fusing these and the red outlines into a warm yellow light, and glazing the whole sparely, so that no trace of that patchiness which sometimes disfigures temperas, can be found. The several subjects are inclosed in feigned ornament, at the corners of which lozenges are filled with figures of angels. The colour is gone from these frescos in many parts, and some of the outlines are marked out afresh with coal. This has happened particularly to the fresco of S. Martin before Julian, and to the Magdalen in the arch of the entrance. It is needless perhaps to point out that such treatment of valuable frescos by modern copyists is unpardonable. Yet this lining of figures for the sake of copies was done by draughtsmen sent from Rome with the permission of the Academy, and these so-called artists, but real Vandals, destroyed, under pretence of perpetuating, the wall paintings of S. Martin.

[3] Vas. Vol. II. p. 96. He also states, that Simone painted or rather commenced to paint in the great refectory at Assisi; but these beginnings have long since disappeared. Besides the saints enumerated by Vasari there are S.S. Francis, Louis bishop, Elizabeth of Hungary, a male and two females.

of the light red outlines, and the details of hair, beard and ornament in dress and nimbus. Each of the latter is stamped with a new pattern; — one with a garland of flowers, another with human heads as blossoms to a tracery of roses, a third with oak-leaves, a fourth with suns and moons, Simone illustrating in these figures the oriental taste exclusively in fashion at Sienna, and the carefulness in secondary paths of art which made Siennese painters forget the great maxims of composition.[1]

At what precise period Simone laboured at Assisi is uncertain, but published Siennese records confirm, at least, such a diary as the following.

In 1321 he repaired the fresco of the Sala del Consilio at Sienna, and painted a Virgin and saints and a crucifixion above the altar in the chapel of the "Signori Nove".[2] During 1322 he decorated the Loggia of the Palazzo Comune, painted a S. Christopher in the Biccherna and a shield of arms for the Podesta.[3] After his marriage in 1324, he painted (1325—6) a picture for the Palace of the Capitano del Popolo,[4] and later in the same year (Sep. 1326) he seems to have put in order or repaired some of the city possessions in Arcidosso, Castello del Piano and Schanzano, being allowed by the government the hire of a horse and the service of an infantry soldier.[5]

Simone evidently kept a regular "bottega" not contemning orders for such things as lilies of gold, lions for the arms of the Comune or people and ornamental works generally.[6]

[1] Lippo is said to have completed this work which Simone left unfinished (Vas. Vol. II. p. 96), but no one can distinguish two hands in it. Still Simone may have been assisted here as in the chapel of Cardinal Gentile, either by Lippo or his brother Donato, for we know at any rate that the former was frequently his assistant.

[2] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 217. This picture was seen by Della Valle scattered through the rooms of the Palazzo. Vide Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 88. The painter received in payment 40 gold florins.

[3] Ibid. same page. 26 livres 8 soldi for the first, 20 livres 3 soldi for the S. Christopher.

[4] This is mentioned by Vasari (Vol. II. p. 88), and is not now to be seen. Simone received for it 5 florins at 3 livres 7 soldi 8 den. per florin, and later 13 livres 1 soldo 8 den.

[5] Ibid same page. His pay for this was 8 livres 1 soldo 15 den. for seven days.

[6] Ibid. same page. 30 livres, for 720 double gold lilies worth 10 den. each; 3 livres 4 soldi for 16 double lions at 16 soldi a piece.

In 1328 he painted in the Sala del Consilio a fresco representing the equestrian figure of Guidoriccio Fogliani de' Ricci, the victorious general of Montemassi and Sasso Forte.[1] Sienna thus boasts at the present time of two frescos by Simone. Of pictures by the master it might have been said hitherto that his native city possessed none, for the panels of the Academy are not only unworthy of him, but they would hardly do honour to Lippo. There is, however, a picture, fine enough to be his, of the Beato Augustino Novello and incidents from his life high up in the choir of the church of S. Agostino. Should it be a question, however, whether he or Lippo painted it, one might affirm that, if by the latter, it is the best he ever produced, and one in which he successfully equalled his great relative. Full of animation and of bold movement in the figures, the incidental scenes are quite characteristic of Simone's style, and the whole work is coloured in the softest and most harmonious manner.[2]

The year 1329 still saw Simone busy in Sienna painting in August two angels for the altar of the chapel of the "Signori Nove"[3] decorating buildings for the Comune at Sienna and in l'Ansedonia.[4] In 1329—30 he painted a figure in

[1] Ibid. same page. He received for this fresco 16 florins. From the floor the figure, occupying the whole extent of the wall, appears of life size, and sits nobly on a well designed and well proportioned horse in the heavy panoply of the time. As a portrait painter Simone shows his talent in the reproduction of a stout soldier of fine stature and mature age in profile. A head of simple forms is well rendered and modelled with great breadth; and the colour, though it has lost freshness, is powerful and pleasing. A chevaux de frise in front of a rock is commanded by a castle. A second fortified building and a camp are in the distance to the right.

[2] The three parts of this picture are inclosed in an arched rectangle, each of the parts being arched and cusped. In the centre, the saint stands nearly life size, holding a book, receiving inspiration from an angel at his ear. The incidents at the sides are six in number. In the spandrils of the central niche are 2 medallions with half figures of monks. A latin inscription declares the subject and states that the picture was formerly in an altar of the old church of S. Agostino. The Sienna Guide of 1822, by Guido Mucci assigns the panel to Lippo Memmi.

[3] Ibid. same page. Price 1 livre 5 soldi.

[4] 15 days labour at 15 soldi p. diem. Total 22 livres 10 soldi. Ibid. same page.

the "Concistoro de' Nove".[1] In 1331—32 he worked occasionally in the Palazzo Comune, at Arcidosso and Castel del Piano, and he executed the pedestal of a cross in the chapel of the "Nove".[2]

In 1333 Simone completed for the altar of S. Ansano in the Duomo, with the assistance of Lippo, the annunciation now preserved in the Uffizi at Florence.[3] The name of Lippo joins that of Simone in the inscription, yet the presence of two hands cannot be traced in the picture and apparently the ornamental part which is superabundant, and began at this time to take an exaggerated place in Siennese pictures, was by Simone's brother-in-law. This is proved indeed by the record which states that in 1333 Lippo had 70 florins of gold for adorning "the columns and nimbuses of the altarpiece of San Sano".[4]

Tizio[5] relates, and Ghiberti confirms[6], that Simone adorned the front of a space on the square of the Paparoni at Sienna, with a fresco which, according to the former, represented the Virgin and child with saints, and

[1] Ibid. For 4 livres 5 soldi.

[2] Ibid. For the pedestal 3 gold florins, for the rest 22 livres 8 soldi.

[3] Ibid. same page. Nos. 6—8 of the Cat. Vasari mentions a second picture executed for the Duomo, but of this nothing is known. Vide Vas. Vol. II. p. 88. The Virgin in the act of receiving the angel, but shrinking with a sidelong action and with affected softness of motion from him, is rendered with an extraordinary exaggeration of tenderness in the close lids and hardly apparent iris of the eyes. The angel is presented kneeling in a dress and stole, all engraved with embroidery in relief and the words issuing from his mouth are given in a similar manner. This is a picture whose affected tenderness might well have had influence on the school of mystic painters. On one side S. Ansano, on the other S. Giulitta. In medallions above each figure a prophet. The picture is vertically split and restored, so that the figure of the angel is injured. S. Ansano is marked No. 6, S. Giulitta No. 8 in the Gallery of the Uffizi. The picture was still in Sienna in Della Valle's time. Vide Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 83. Beneath the central group the following words are inscribed:

"Symon Martini et Lippus Memmi de Senis me pinxerunt anno domini M.CCCXXXIII."

[4] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 218. The whole picture cost 316 livres 17 soldi.

[5] In Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 259. Della Valle adds the date given by Tizio as 1331.

[6] Ghiberti, Com. ub. sup. Vol. I. of Vas. p. XXVI.

according to the latter a coronation of the Virgin.[1] Above the door of the Opera (of the Duomo), adds Ghiberti, a Virgin and child with angels flying and supporting a standard, besides many saints,[2] was by Simone. On the front of a palace facing the Duomo, if we believe Della Valle, he painted the Virgin and Redeemer on a common throne surrounded by a glory of angels, and guarded below by four saints in niches. An inscription beneath the fresco was obliterated with the exception of the words "Anno Domini 1335".[3] Ghiberti also alludes to two frescos on the front of the Spedale at Sienna which, like the foregoing have perished. One representing the marriage of the Virgin, the other "how she is visited by many dames and virgins, with ornaments of houses and figures".[4]

The Naples picture whose signature has already been transcribed in these pages[5] decorates an altar in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, and is enclosed in a frame adorned with the lilies of France. S. Louis, archbishop of Thoulouse, of life size, sits in gentle majesty with the mitre on his head and a crozier in his right hand; and with his left holds a crown over the head of his kneeling brother Robert of Naples. The colour is throughout abraded and nothing is left but the engraved outline and the preparation.[6]

[1] This fresco is doubtless that which Ghiberti describes as executed "sopra alla Porta che va a Roma". Vasari literally interpreting Ghiberti says, the fresco was on the Portone di Camollia that being the gate which "leads to Rome", but the paintings on that gate were of a later date, as is proved by Milanesi. Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 259.

[2] Ibid. same page, and Vas. Vol. II. p. 89.

[3] Della Valle, Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 98. It is supposed that this and the Virgin above the door of the opera of the Duomo were one and the same fresco. Vide annot. to Vas. Vol. II. note 1 to p. 89.

[4] Ghiberti. ub. sup. Vas. Vol. I. p. XXVI.

[5] Vide antea Giotto.

[6] Two diminutive angels flying above S. Louis hold over his head the crown of sanctity. Five small compartments into which the pediment is divided, are devoted by Simone to the life of S. Louis. In the first he stands with his suite of monks before Boniface the VIII[th]. In the second he receives the episcopal consecration, and in the third he washes the hands of several pilgrims. His death, with priests singing the

It may be noticed that up to 1335 Simone seems very constantly to have resided at Sienna, and that there are no proofs of his presence at a distance from his native city except at Assisi.[1] Ghiberti alludes to no pictures at Rome or at Florence, and the remains in the former capital do not confirm the assertion of Vasari that Simone painted there. The Virgin and child in the portico of S. Peter,[2] a S. Paul and S. Peter in the Vatican are not now discoverable.[3] The Virgin and child is indeed said to exist in the chapel of the Madonna della Bocciata in the "Grotte" of the Vatican, but it is so ruined that no one can tell whether it be or not by Simone.[4]

An altarpiece executed for the Dominicans of S. Catherine has been noticed in Pisa; this however had been commissioned at Sienna. In the Academy of Pisa a figure of S. Nicholas enthroned[5] discloses some characteristic

service at his head, a cripple and a female possessed of a devil held by a man in the foreground, recal one of the animated compositions at Assisi. In the last compartment a miracle is depicted, S. Louis to the right receiving a child, and to the left appearing to its parents. The compositions seem to be of the period when the Assisi frescos were executed, the figures being of a long and slender shape and akin to those of Pietro Lorenzetti.

[1] Vasari says, that Lippo finished in S. Niccola of Ancona a series of the Passion commenced by Simone. Yet Simone can hardly have left as many unfinished pictures as Vasari pretends. Vide Vol. II. p. 96.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 87.

[3] Ibid. same page. These are the figures in which Simone is said to have counterfeited Giotto's manner so perfectly that he was called to Avignon! Lanzi does not dare to deny, though he seems inclined to doubt, that Simone should have imitated Giotto. Vide Hist. of painting, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 279.

[4] A "Redeemer in the act of benediction", being a triangular pinnacle of some altarpiece in the style of the master, may be seen in the first press to the right in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican (with a background regilt and figure retouched). In the 8th press of the same Museum a very pretty picture represents the Saviour crucified and receiving the lance wound from Longinus, the Virgin in a swoon on one side and the usual groups in the other. (The Virgin lies here on the ground in a swoon — an innovation on the arrangement of Duccio.) Medallions in the upper spaces contain the pelican, S.S. Luke and John Evangelist. A pediment is filled with half length saints, amongst whom are S.S. Francis and John the Baptist. The figure of the Saviour, one of the best in the picture, reveals the manner and spirit of Simone.

[5] In episcopals holding a book and cross.

features of Simone, though its inferior execution and old type might point to the feebler talent of Lippo. The frescos assigned to Simone in the Campo Santo are obviously by another hand.

Above the architrave inside the Eastern gate of that burial place, vestiges are preserved of an ascension of the Virgin. The Madonna with her hands united in prayer,[1] is carried to heaven in an elliptical glory, held by the Saviour and supported by twelve angels in groups of three.[2] The painting, altered by time and repainting, is Siennese, but lower in execution than that of even Lippo Memmi, and therefore neither by him nor by Simone. It is poor and different in manner from the series in the Campo Santo attributed to the same hand. Yet Vasari enthusiastically and incomprehensibly praises it.[3] We may inquire with what right he assigns to Simone the three upper frescos of the series devoted to the legend of S. Raineri. They illustrate the earliest incidents in the career of the Pisan saint:

Raineri is represented in the first fresco to the left, arrested in the middle of a dance of men and women by a matron who, singling him out of a crowd, calls upon him to follow the example of the good and pious beato Alberto. Here is a characteristic circular dance of females like those of Lorenzetti at Sienna and others at S. Maria Novella; and a man in a hood, looking on, resembles the so-called Cimabue in the fresco of the Cappellone. In the next episode the saint, kneeling at the feet of Alberto, receives the rays of the Holy Ghost which, in the shape of a dove, hovers over him.[4] Finally Raineri kneeling between a nimbed personage and a female, receives a blessing from the Saviour, who appears to him in a church. In the second

[1] Originally painted with her arms crossed over her breast, as the older and better forms still appear beneath the modern and ugly red ones now conspicuous.

[2] Of these, three to the right are almost entirely new, whilst to the left the intonaco has dropped away. The forms of the remainder betray a certain feebleness and are characterized by coarse and heavy forms.

[3] Vas. Vol. II. p.p. 91—92.

[4] A friar contemplates the scene from the opening of a door. This fresco has been much repainted by the brothers Melani. Vide Rosini, Campo Santo. The distance is architectural with small figures.

grand compartment, Raineri's journey on board ship to the Holy Land and his miraculously ill scented freight are represented. Several persons stand about an open case, one of them looking into it and holding his nose, whilst he shades his eyes with his hand; another starting back with a gesture of disgust and holding his nostrils, the saint, with a natural movement and soft expression of countenance, commenting on the miracle and, as it were, explaining that worldly goods stink in the nostrils of God.[1] On the land to which the vessel is sailing, the Saviour again appears to Raineri, who, further on, distributes alms and assumes the garb of a pilgrim. Finally the Virgin, surrounded by six angels makes her appearance on a throne.[2] The third fresco is devoted to five different incidents, the temptation of S. Raineri by Lucifer, the devil retiring and appearing in the air with the form of the pilgrim in his arms, then heaving a stone at him as he stands in prayer. The saint is then seen taming two lionesses[3] and kneeling before the vision of Christ between Enoch and Elias, and a glory of angels.[4] Lastly Raineri, at the door of the monastery, asks for rest and hospitality, and afterwards distributes his miraculous alms.

These greatly damaged frescos[5] are by a painter of Simone's school and spirit, imitating at least his mode of composition, but making no approach to his perfection of execution. A wearying repetition of the same heads, figures, and action, a perpetual recurrence of the same conventionally drawn features, such as half closed drowsy eyes, low foreheads, brows bridging the nose, and beards of a pointed shape, reveal a painter of no versatility. A vulgar and low nature is betrayed in the nude; broken attitudes are indicated by straight or angular lines; the easy flow of drapery conspicuous in the Siennese has disappeared. A melancholy and equal tone overspreads a surface of a thick and rough texture; opacity has taken the place of Simone's liveliness and vigour. The yel-

[1] This is one of the best preserved figures in the fresco. In the water, fishes disport themselves.

[2] These angels are less damaged than other figures.

[3] These are very strange and quite ideal specimens of the feline tribe.

[4] These are all but obliterated.

[5] Damaged by time and by restoring.

lowish flesh tints, shadowed in red, are defective in relief; the draperies of undecided tones are copiously adorned with arabesques of the same colour, and the drawing is rude, mechanical, and coarse. Damaged by time and by restorers, the series is remarkable for the total absence of all Simone's qualities; and if it should appear that the compositions were originally his, the execution will surely be found to have been that of a later painter of an inferior order. Happily evidence proves conclusively enough that the frescos of S. Raineri at Pisa were only commenced thirty years after Simone's death. The book of receipts and expenditure of the Campo Santo contains a discharge from the painter Andrea di Florentia, acknowledging the payment of five hundred and twenty nine livres ten pence of Pisa, being the balance of a sum due to him for painting the story of the Beato Raineri; and it seems that this Andrea, a Florentine, was commissioned to execute these stories by Piero Gambacorta; that he bore the title of "pictor opere," lived in a house in close proximity to the works upon which he had to labour, and that the payment was made on the 13th of October 1377/1378 (Pisan style).[1] Three years later, the series being still incomplete, a message was sent to Genoa to Barnaba da Modena, requesting him to come and finish it;[2] Barnaba came, but he seems to have added little or nothing to the work of Andrea; and the series was successfully brought to a conclusion in 1386 by Antonio Veniziano.[3] Judging artistically of the three upper frescos of S. Raineri at the Campo Santo, they would appear to have been executed by a painter taught in the Siennese rather than in the Florentine school, yet Andrea is described as of Florence. It is not with Andrea Orcagna that we have here to deal, as there is proof that he was dead in 1376.[4] But the choice lies between

[1] See the original records in Bonaini, Not. Ined. p.p. 105—6.

[2] Bonaini, ub. sup. p.p. 141. 142.

[3] Vide antea. Antonio Veniziano.

[4] Vide antea. Orcagna.

the following, whose names are on the roll of Florentine artists or in other records of the fourteenth century:

Andrea Ferri 1347[1] and 1357. Andrea del Passano[2] 1363. Andrea Bonaiuti 1374.[3] Andrea di Mito 1377—1415.[4] Andrea di Puccino 1367.[5] Andrea di Currado 1379.[6] Andrea Ristori 1353, 1391, called, in his funeral inscription at S. Maria Novella, Andrea Ristori de Mugello.[7] Were this Andrea connected with the Cioni through Ristori, the brother of Orcagna, another link between Siennese and Florentine painters might be traced. It may be interesting now to see, whether Florence yields an example presupposing that combination.

Simone is said by Vasari to have painted at Florence the chapterhouse of the convent of S. Spirito, and the chapterhouse of S. Maria Novella better known as the Cappellone dei Spagnuoli.[8] The time when the frescos of S. Spirito were painted has already been fixed at about 1339 and 1346,[9] when Simone was absent from Italy. One of the subjects which decorated the chapterhouse was exactly the same that now adorns the Cappellone of S. Maria Novella. Following Vasari's train of thought in the life of Simone, one may see that he assigned the frescos of S. Spirito, those of the Cappellone and those of the Campo Santo to one hand, because they had all a Siennese character, and preserved a reminiscence of Simone Martini's style.[10] The Dominicans gave to the painter whom they employed at the Cappellone dei Spagnuoli the subjects which he was to depict; and he endeavoured to demonstrate in one vast picture a theory which found many opponents in the fourteenth, more in later centuries. He illustrated the theme, that paradise

[1] Bonaini, ub. sup. p. 106.
[2] Ibid. and Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. II. p. 36.
[3] Ibid. Ibid.
[4] Ibid. Ibid.
[5] Gaye, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 37.
[6] Ibid. Ibid.
[7] The date of Andrea's inscription in the register of painters at Florence is given as 1333 by Bonaini, ub. sup. p. 106, as 1353 by Gaye, Vol. II. p. 37.
[8] Vas. Vol. II. p.p. 89 and 117.
[9] Vide antea. Taddeo Gaddi.
[10] The frescos of S. Spirito were destroyed in Vasari's time. Vide Vas. Vol. II. p. 89.

is to be attained through humble devotion to the church, temporal and spiritual, and especially by confessing the doctrines enforced by the founders of the Inquisition.

To the left of the picture on the Eastern wall of the chapel, the militant church is symbolized by S. Maria del Fiore on the original model of Arnolfo. In front of it, Pope Benedict the Eleventh on a terraced throne, presides over a cardinal, a bishop, an Emperor,[1] a king,[2] and a prince occupying chairs at each side of him. The flock of the church before them is expressed by sheep on an altar, the irrefragable truth of church doctrine by groups at the sides including monks, nuns, knights, and dames in prayer or in thought before a preaching bishop, and numbers of persons of various classes or conditions, of divers ages and sex. Here the painter had, it was said, introduced Cimabue in profile and wearing the hood and short mantle, Arnolfo, Petrarch and Laura, with a burning heart.[3] Yet we may inquire what inducement the Dominicans could have to immortalize a poet who had written that the pope, the Emperor, the bishop, and the prince enthroned hard by and triumphant, "had abdicated their station by an inglorious retreat to the Rhone and Danube;"[4] or if Simone were the painter of the picture, how he could have obtained the portrait of a lady whom he had not yet seen.[5] But the triumph of the church owed its accomplishment to S. Dominick, who, accordingly, appears in the centre foreground directing the onslaught of his order in the shape of black and white dogs, upon the wolves who would rob the church of its lambs. To the right again, he reasons with heretics and preaches to unbelievers. Above this series of groups expressing the triumph and the power of the church militant and S. Dominick, others are intended to show the happiness awaiting those who practise obedience to their doctrines. To the right, a dance of three females is timed to the cymbals of a playing girl, and a

[1] The Emperor with a skull in one hand, a sword in the other, one of the few well preserved figures here.

[2] Also a well preserved figure, supposed to be Philip the Fair of France.

[3] It may be doubted whether any of them be really portraits, and one might ask why Philip the IV[th] who contested papal authority should be introduced as a devoted follower of the temporal church. The heads in the group are fairly preserved.

[4] Gibbon. C. LXX. Dec. and Fall.

[5] For Simone never saw Laura till he went to Avignon, and from Avignon he did not return.

circular one moves to the sound of a pipe in presence of four persons of both sexes seated with viols, falcons and dogs. The latter group, in front of a hill overshadowed by trees, recals to mind the spirit of a similar scene in the so-called Orcagna fresco at Pisa; the former is similar to the dances in the wall paintings of Lorenzetti at Sienna. By these groups, signifying the harmlessness of human pleasure, when innocent and recreative, S. Dominick again appears confessing a knight. Once more he appears pointing out to a group whose consciences he has set at rest by confession, the road to Paradise lying up a path and through a gateway at which S. Peter stands, inviting a procession of saints to enter after receiving garlands from angels in waiting. Behind the gate, Paradise lies open, peopled by the happy of all ages and sexes,[1] presided in the upper centre by the Saviour, enthroned under the guard of angels and attended by the Virgin Mary.[2]

This enormous work of 3 or 400 figures all of life size, is symmetrically distributed into groups, having a fair bond of union in themselves. The painter's talent as a colourist must not be hastily denied, because the whole piece is so altered by restoring that but a few parts remain from which the original aspect can be judged.[3] Still one may note a great resemblance with the Raineri series at Pisa, the same melancholy yellow tones, the same dresses embroidered with traceries of the colour of the stuff, shadowed of a disagreable wine red, the same heads and figures of uniform character hardly relieved by spare red shadow, similar ill studied nudes, coarse outlines and extremities. The Saviour in glory has the lean form, the straight and broken outlines, the tight draperies, the broad head peculiar to Siennese painters. There is some individuality in the lower foreground figures,

[1] Amongst them S.S. John the Baptist and Paul, Moses, Noah, and many female saints.

[2] With a lily in her hand. At the foot of the throne the symbols of the Evangelists, above it the cross.

[3] This wall has indeed like the others in the chapel been barbarously repainted. All the backgrounds and part of the dresses have been coloured anew in a tone that has finally changed to a sort of orange. Beneath, the old colour still fresh, may be traced. Many of the heads have been repainted, so as to conceal the nimbuses in part.

some grace in the dances, some noble and gentle faces in the groups, and some elegance in the angels of the paradise; but there is little display of vigour, and the characteristics of the inferior painter of the Pisa series are more apparent than those of Simone Martini.[1]

On the North wall, the space above the arch leading into the choir is filled with a crucifixion in the style described by Vasari as peculiar to that of S. Spirito. In the left foreground the Saviour carries his cross, turning as he does so to cast a glance of compassion at the Virgin and Marys threatened by a guard. Headed by soldiers on foot and horseback the procession moves on a road turning in serpentine folds through Jerusalem and onwards to Golgotha, in the centre of which the Saviour is crucified and wailed by the usual flight of vehement angels, whilst the crowd below insult him; the Virgin faints and the Magdalen, with outstretched arms, shrieks by the side of a soldier bending from his horse towards her. The good thief smiles in his dying moments and his soul is already in the arms of angels taking it to paradise. The impenitent dies tormented by a devil and tortured by an executioner, who breaks his leg with a staff, and two imps await his soul to carry it off to Hades. The soldiers are dicing for the garment to the right, whilst a sentinel close by threatens the crowd. On the right hand foreground, the Redeemer has descended into Limbo, trodden down Lucifer under the gates of the infernal region, and gives his hand to Adam, who heads a group behind which stands a mass of the condemned.

In this subject, as well as in the rest of the vast picture, one who has studied the Siennese school may find the spirit of its painters and its confused overcharge of figures. In each group, the action, movement and forms are Siennese, but in the Limbo, the composition is actually that of Duccio and such as he arranged it on the models of older times; the attitudes and types are those which

[1] Rumohr says, the works that are preserved of Simone and Lippo do not at all resemble the frescos assigned to Simone in the Cappellone of S. M. Novella at Florence. Notes to Schorn's Vas. Vol. I. p. 262. G. M. Mecatti, in his Notizie, supposes that the paintings of Simone and Lippo had been replaced by others. He therefore considered the present ones more modern. Ghiberti does not say that Simone painted at Florence.

Taddeo Bartoli preserved at the close of the fourteenth century. The nimbuses are stamped and adorned in the Siennese fashion, in relief upon the intonaco and gilt where the restorer has not daubed them of a yellow colour.[1]

The painter of the whole of this work is the same who began the series of S. Raineri at Pisa. If Andrea of Florence executed the latter, he also completed the former, but he is of the Siennese school. In the fourth wall described in previous pages, it has been observed,[2] that the types, character and stature of the figures had something foreign to the Florentine school, and akin to the Siennese, and that they might be by Andrea. This may be considered a fair assumption on a close inspection of the whole, and thus it would appear that with the exception of three parts of the ceiling which are by another hand, a painter, Siennese by education, but a Florentine by birth, not Simone Martini, was employed by the Dominicans of S. Maria Novella.

Simone therefore painted no great work in Florence. The altarpiece which, according to Vasari, he furnished for the Gondi Chapel, may have been sent from Sienna,[3] and the drawing of a crucifixion clearly in his style, now preserved at the Uffizi, is a relic that we may easily conceive to have been transported thither from abroad. In conclusion, if it be conceded that Simone painted miniatures, as some infer from the sonnet of Petrarch, a

[1] But the work is not by a single hand. The foreground figures, many of which have the heavy Siennese underjaw, are inferior to the rest and extraordinarily common, and may be the production of assistants. Above the entrance door scenes from the lives of S.S. Dominick and Peter Martyr, executed by the same artists, remain. Vestiges exist of a miracle in which S. Dominick restores a woman raised from the ground by her companions, of another in which a sick man rises in his bed and stretches his arms to heaven. Again, the saint may be observed preaching, whilst the audience is obliterated, all these remains being of the rudest execution.

[2] See antea. Taddeo Gaddi.

[3] Vas. Vol. II. p. 89. It represented the Virgin and child, S. Luke and other saints, and was signed with Simone's name.

Richa mentions a picture by Simone on an altar of the church in the monastery delle Murate at Florence. The subject, Calvary. Chiese, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 110.

Virgil with pictorial ornaments in the Ambrosiana at Milan may be considered impressed with his peculiar style more than any other work of the kind.[1]

In Sienna Simone's industry and acknowledged talent, enabled him to earn, and the fruit of these earnings was invested in the purchase of houses in the town, and lands in the neighbouring country of Vico. Being childless, he saved, not for himself, but for his nephews and nieces, the children of Donato to whom he left by will a great part of his property.[2] But in spite of his prosperity in Sienna and of the ties which bound him to his native place, he was induced to leave it in Feb. 1338—39, and to settle with his wife and Donato at the papal court of Avignon. There he made the acquaintance of the poet of Vaucluse, that of Laura, whose likeness he drew,[3] and at the same time he carried on certain law proceedings for the Dominicans of Sienna. Amongst the old records of the convent of S. Domenico of Sienna, one of the year 1339 is preserved, in which Simone and his brother are legally empowered by Andrea Marcovaldi, rector of the church of S. Angeli, to receive and make opposition to certain apostolical letters in matters evidently pending at the court of Avignon. They are authorized to discuss the place where, and the judges to whom, these cases are to be submitted, and in general to do all that may be requisite and customary; and it is characteristic of the slow justice in the papal court, that the matter was still pending in 1344.[4]

Of Simone's artistic works at Avignon little or nothing

[1] A figure of Virgil indeed has undoubtedly his character and peculiarities. An eye is gone, parts obliterated and others retouched. This Virgil was seen and assigned to Simone by Della Valle, ub. sup. Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p.p. 101—2. The MS. is supposed to have belonged to Petrarch.

[2] Worth, according to his own computation, about seven hundred livres.

[3] According to Vasari, Pandolfo Malatesta was the person who sent Simone to Avignon, and for no other purpose than to paint the likeness of Petrarch. Vol. II. p. 98.

[4] See the records in Milanesi. Doc. Sen. p.p. 216—8.

has been hitherto known, and from the time of Vasari to that of Della Valle, nay up to the present moment, it has remained untold that he decorated two of the principal chapels and other parts of the palace of the Popes with frescos which still exist. A correspondent of father Della Valle, in the last century, informed him that the portico of the cathedral of Avignon was decorated by Simone "about 1349" at the request of Cardinal Hannibal Ceccano. S. George was to be seen on horseback killing the dragon; and a young lady in green, kneeling at the side, was generally taken for the beautiful Laura.[1] Beneath the frescos were verses assigned to Petrarch as follows:

> Miles in arma ferox bello captare triumphum
> Et solitas justas pilo transfigere fauces
> Serpentis tetrum spirantis pectore fumum
> Occultas extingue faces in bella Georgi.

Were the date of 1349 altered to 1339 when Simone lived in Avignon, one might grant that Cardinal Ceccano who lived there till 1350 as Bishop of Frascati could have employed him.[2]

But the S. George has perished probably from exposure. The column of the porch, however, the lunette of the architrave of the entrance and the pediment above it are still adorned with frescos. In the lunette, the Virgin sits enthroned holding the infant with bare arms and shoulders on her knee. The patron, perhaps Monsignor Ceccano, though he is not in cardinal's robes, kneels to the left at the Virgin's feet and is introduced by one of the angels at her sides,[3] a pleasing and graceful composition.[4] In the vaulting of the recess of the lunette

[1] Della Valle, Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 95.

[2] The prelate was a patron of letters and the author of a life of the apostles Peter and Paul in verse.

[3] The angels are two in number, each holding back a curtain and, as it were, disclosing the scene. Their forms are good and their action graceful but the fresco is much injured.

[4] Vasari describes Simone's custom of drawing and shading the outlines of his subject on the rough cast wall, enlarging the figures contained in a little drawing, which he held in his hand.

six heads of angels are beautifully parted by an elegant ornament.[1] In a triangle above the lunette, the Saviour sits in benediction between six angels floating in space, in graceful motion, and airing their draperies in the wind.[2] This undoubted production of Simone shows him to have laboured here in his prime, free from the fetters of the old style as far as it was possible for a Siennese painter to be so, and graceful if not severe in the rendering of form.

Besides the portico of the cathedral, Simone adorned the hall of the consistory in the Papal Palace with frescos, but this sacred room is now or was till quite lately a dormitory for the "Enfans de troupe"; and of four groined ceilings cut by the usual diagonals one triangular section alone is clear of whitewash, and contains eighteen prophets in rows above a sybil in each of the angles.[3] The life size figures, bearing scrolls in their hands, conversing or in pensive silence, are now and then affected in movement; but Simone varied the gravity and squareness of the types of the old time by an occasional approach to the pleasanter suggestions of nature.[4]

The fresco was afterwards repainted on intonaco laid over the rough cast (Vas. Vol. II. p. 97). In the upper part of the lunette of the porch at Avignon the wall has been laid bare. By its side a piece of rough cast is seen containing the shaded outlines of the wings and head of the two angels, part of the arm of the infant Saviour and of the Virgin's dress, all in red and corresponding exactly with the design on the upper intonaco, which is of the same thickness as the rough cast-layer. On the final intonaco again Simone did not use the general tone of verde in flesh tints which was invariable in his pictures on panel, but the white ground of the plaster which served for the lights, whilst the shadows were indicated with red.

[1] In the centre is the dove. The outer frieze of the archivolt is painted architecture. Above the right hand capital supporting the architrave a painted vase with a lily is surmounted by the remains of an angel; and probably the subject of the annunciation of which the opposite figure is obliterated was here depicted.

[2] Part of the head and lower folds of the dress of the Saviour have dropped.

[3] Standing on a cloud and side by side one sees Habakkuk, Malachi, Obadia, Mica, Nehemiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Moses, Enoch, Job, Solomon, David, Daniel, Hosea, Amos, Joel and Zephaniah.

[4] His usual breadth of drapery and conscientious drawing are apparent, as well as his favorite profusion of ornament. Some heads are slightly discoloured and one, of Malachi, is gone altogether;

Two chapels formed part of the palace of Avignon, one on a ground floor called the chapel of the Pope, a second exactly above it and of the same shape called the chapel of the "Santo Uffizio". Both occupied a square tower of immense thickness lighted by three windows with sloping and very deep embrasures, and were painted throughout; the Pope's chapel with scenes from the life of S. John the Baptist and other saints, that of the Holy Inquisition, with incidents from the legends of SS. Martial, Stephen, Peter, and Valerian.

The first subjects which strike the visitor on entering the papal chapel are the birth of S. John the Baptist and his presentation to Zachariah, in the highest course to the left of the wall facing the entrance.[1] The upper part of the lunette on that side is bare; but in the sloping embrasure, a division is filled with groups of people, the two foremost of which, females in profile, are interesting for the costume and as being evidently portraits. Beneath the birth, S. John may be seen preaching in the wilderness, in a red dress which is a modern addition, with traces of an audience behind him, and of figures in the slope of the window commenting the sermon. Of these, two heads are preserved, one, that of a listener, who alludes to S. John by pointing backwards at him with his thumb, a vulgar gesture which the Siennese painters often used. In the left hand side of the lunette, to the left of the entrance, there are traces of S. John baptizing the Saviour, of Christ in prayer on the mount of Olives, and of the Lord appearing to him in a glory of angels. In the upper spaces of the window recess, are vestiges of apostles. The left side of the lunette, where numerous figures were once grouped together, is almost obliterated. The dance of the daughter of Herodias forms the lower course to the left of the window. Throwing her figure and head back and timing her step with the jerking motion of her hands, whose palms are all but

but the rest are fairly preserved. The light flesh tones, flat in their general appearance and relieved by little shadow, are further characteristic of the Siennese master.

[1] S. Elizabeth, youthful and handsome, sits up in a square bed behind which two females attend, and a male whose large bearded head alone remains, looks on. (In proportion to others this is a larger head than the rest.) In front to the right a woman of grand presence and fine profile holds the infant, whilst Zachariah sitting to the left writes the Baptist's name on a long scroll.

folded on the wrist, Salomé is one of the strangest examples of affectation in Siennese art.[1] Behind a table to the left, Herod and his two guests are still visible. These two figures wear the most ludicrous long horned caps, and their profiles are almost caricatures. A total absence of perspective in the walls, roof, and table, give the picture a most unfavorable aspect. Here the student may compare the result obtained by Simone, for he undoubtedly is the author of this work, with that of Giotto in the Peruzzi chapel at S. Croce of Florence; and the contrast will strike him as a telling and powerful one.[2]

The wall to the right of the entrance is decorated with subjects taken from the life of another saint. In the lower course to the left of the window, Christ erect with the double edged sword issuing from his mouth, dressed in a white tunic and holding the keys, imposes his right hand on the kneeling figure of a long haired and bearded saint in prayer before him. A natural and simple attitude and action, a tender religious mildness in the face distinguishes this figure of the Redeemer. The distance of trees and landscape extends to the recess of the window; and above it is the call of James and John the sons of Zebedee, with the resurrection of Tabitha beneath it to the right. Behind the rising Tabitha, one of a group of females raises her hands in wonder above her head, an action common in Simone, repeated from the cappella S. Martino at Assisi, and derived from Duccio who introduced it into his Entombment in the picture of the Duomo at Sienna. The spirit which dictated this movement is in fact as essentially Siennese as the composition of these scenes generally, and is reminiscent not only of Simone's own productions at Assisi and in the picture of S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples, but of those of the whole school.[3] The series is continued in the right side of the wall facing the entrance. In the lower course, the Saviour, erect and gentle rather than majestic, faces the recess in which vestiges of trees only remain, and seems in the act of speaking.[4] Two angels stand

[1] The arm and hand of the soldier bringing in the Baptist's head on a dish are all that remain of that figure.

[2] On the right side of the window the executioner has struck down the head of the Baptist, and a crowd in the recess await the completion of the sacrifice.

[3] The usual individuality of heads marks the group about the apostle; but unfortunately the lower half of the fresco is obliterated.

[4] The colour of his blue mantle is all but obliterated.

behind him, the nearest in front view, pointing across his breast to the Redeemer, conspicuous in his long thin shape and close draperies, and remarkable for the crisp button curls of his hair; the furthest, in profile shrugging his shoulders, and bowing with protruding elbows in the affected attitude of a dancing master. Whilst the first of these forms may be seen repeated in the Siennese school up to Taddeo Bartoli, the second is one of the pure bits of affectation peculiar to Simone.[1]

The crucifixion decorates the lunette above the entrance, but the principal figure is almost devoid of colour and can only be criticised as to outline. Erect on the cross and not dead or hanging,[2] the Saviour converses as it were with S. John Evangelist who stands open-mouthed beneath to the right, mindless of the grief of the Virgin on the opposite side.[3] The whole composition is as usual wanting in the great Florentine laws of distribution.[4]

[1] Above the episode a solitary figure in the act of speaking stands gesticulating with his right hand to an audience of which the traces are almost obliterated. The red dress of the speaking figure is repainted.

[2] A fine nude of fair proportions and a soft expression of face may still be traced, and it seems the best representation of the Redeemer crucified that had yet been produced by the Siennese school.

[3] The Virgin's head is unhappily abraded. At the foot the Magdalen grasps the cross and an angel of long form in close dress flies at each side of the horizontal limb. Behind S. John are the usual attendant priests and soldiers.

[4] In the course below the lunette vestiges of two men carrying stones and the heads of two nimbed saints may be distinguished, and to the right in an interior are two half figures of apostles, a flight of steps and a female. The ceiling is groined diagonally, and at the corners above the crucifixion are S. John Evangelist and an almost obliterated Virgin. In the next space, S. John the Baptist, without a head, faces S. Elizabeth. The next two figures are damaged and the last are S.S. Zebedee and Anna. The ground of the ceilings is landscape and trees. S. John Evangelist erect is in face the same saint to whom the Saviour below appears with the two edged sword and keys. He bears in both hands a scroll. (The red dress is repainted.) A hole in the ceiling occupies the place on which the Virgin stood. S. Zebedee is represented holding the nets. (The head is wanting.) S. Anna is a well preserved soft featured Siennese saint, in a landscape enlivened with a stream issuing from a spout. Equally soft but somewhat feeble is the S. Elizabeth in a flowery meadow holding up her dress with her right hand. Part of the head of S. John the Baptist is gone. He wears a red mantle over his camel's hair dress and points downwards with his right. The lower part of the figure is feeble. A shield of arms fills the centre of the diagonals which are painted with the usual ornament.

No doubt can exist as to the painter of these frescos. Here laboured the same Simone who painted the ceiling of the hall of the consistory, and the porch of the cathedral of Avignon. That he worked with his assistants is natural, and no doubt Donato his brother was one of those who helped him. Of colour in general these damaged frescos give little idea and they justify but a guarded opinion, yet it is obvious from the remains that the system of execution was Simone's whose characteristic flatness of yellowish warm flesh tones may here and there be traced.

The next story of the tower is the chapel of the Holy Office, in the same form and similarly painted throughout in courses resting on a feigned architectural skirting.

The centre of the ceiling is a medallion of the Saviour in part discoloured, but regular in form. The figures in the triangles are damaged and difficult to distinguish; but, in one of them, the Saviour appears amongst angels to S. Peter attended by a group of saints, one of whom bears the name "S. Martiale." Close by, this saint, as a bishop, kneels before S. Peter and his suite, and on a lower corner he touches with a cross the form of one entitled S. Austelinus, lying sick in a bed.

In the next space, a religious ceremony seems to take place in a church. Choristers sing hymns, whilst S. Martiale casts out a devil from a female kneeling before him. Next, S. Martiale gives his benediction to a kneeling figure and, lower down, performs the rite of baptism.

In the third triangle, an idol on a column is defended by an imp against two angels who overthrow the image, and S. Martial below is surrounded by kneeling and converted idolaters. Next, the saint is on his knees before Christ and the twelve apostles, and in the distance, he distributes alms or cures the sick.

The last section filled with an equal number of incidents shows the spectator the Saviour amongst the apostles, S. Martial amidst other saints preaching with a model of a castle in his hands, whilst, lower down, S. Peter baptises the saint, and in a neighbouring episode the Saviour, again supported by the apostles, imposes his hands on him, the whole completed by a figure in the foreground in the act of drawing a net out of the water.

To these complicated and multifarious subjects in the ceilings are added others equally numerous in the walls,[1] from which it appears that the chapel was dedicated to SS. Martial, Peter, Paul, Stephen and Valerian. In character and execution the frescos, though inferior to the rest in Avignon, are of the same class as those in the lower chapel, and are therefore by Simone and his school and not by Giotto.[2]

Avignon boasts no other frescos of the master. No pictures by him or his followers exist from which to judge the effect produced by the Siennese on the art of France. Hard by arose the school of Dijon. But there the Flemings had the upper hand; and one single picture, originally at Avignon and now in the hands of Mr. Reiset in Paris, betrays a mixture of the Flemish and Italian style of Simone. It is a piece remarkable for softness of character,

[1] In the upper part of the lunette to the left of the entrance, S. Stephen kneels before S. Peter, above a group of nine prostrate persons; beneath whom again are remains of one on his knees, headless, with crutches lying at his side. To the left of the window, a bishop casts out a devil, whose form appears in the air in chains, and below, traces of a dead body remain. In the left side of the wall facing the entrance, S. Martial kneels before Christ guarded by angels, and in the recess S. Valerian kneels before S. Martial. In the lunette are traces of a martyrdom and the soul carried to paradise by angels, whilst a similar incident fills the vaulting of the window. The right side of the windows is abraded. The upper part of the lunette to the right of the entrance represents S. Martial having freed a kneeling figure from chains; S. Martial with an escort of priests moving towards a church in the midst of a crowd of figures, some of whom are recumbent. Beneath this, on one side is a church interior in which are two bishops, and in the other, ten churches in rows with inscriptions. Above the door S. Peter is crucified, as usual, with his head downward, and to the left, S. Paul is decapitated, whilst in the sky the soul of the former is taken to paradise. (The fallen intonaco, as usual, shows the red design on the rough cast.) A destruction of idols by order of a female is depicted in the lunette, and by its side are numerous figures flying from the effects of a fire represented in the distance to the right. Beneath this scene the following words remain inscribed: "Sigibertus. comes. Rur. d. Galen.. benedicta."

[2] On the wall to the left of the entrance in the cathedral of Avignon, a Baptism of the Saviour is depicted, and there are remnants of his form, of that of two angels and part of a kneeling family; but, though some trace of the Italian manner of the 14th century is apparent in the work, it is of a common order and much damaged.

and care in execution, but with little vigour of conception or movement, and flat in general tone.[1]

It was, however, impossible for Simone to live at Avignon for years, as he did, without painting many pictures on panel. Two years before his death he completed the interesting "Return of the Saviour from the Temple" which now adorns the Liverpool Gallery, and which bears the inscription:

Simon de Senis me pinxit sub anno MCCCXLII.

Simone seldom lavished more care on nimbuses and embroideries, on the other hand he seldom produced figures so short or so superabundantly laden with drapery as here.[2]

The trustees of the Antwerp Gallery bought at Dijon, in 1826, a very pretty, good conditioned and characteristic little work of this time containing the annunciation, the crucifixion and deposition from the cross.[3] Mr. Reiset possesses further a well preserved picture of the entrance into Jerusalem, all but a copy of the same subject by Duccio in the Duomo of Sienna, exquisitely executed of a vigorous tone.

Simone died at Avignon in July 1344 in full possession of his faculties,[4] having had time to make in June a will[5]

[1] The subject, a martyrdom.

[2] The University Gallery at Oxford boasts a crucifixion in the manner of Simone.

[3] No. 3. Antwerp Catalogue.

In the two extreme panels are the angel and the Virgin annunciate. In two other parts the crucifixion and the deposition. In the latter, fourteen or fifteen figures are fairly divided into two groups, and in the centre foreground a bishop, the patron in prayer, kneels, with the word "Symon" written beneath him. In the former, the Saviour on the cross receives the lance-wound from Longinus. The Virgin, to the left, lies on the ground in a swoon, partly raised by the Marys and surrounded by people. This again is Simone's modification of Duccio's well known old form of composition, which Barna afterwards followed at S. Gimignano. The Magdalen grasps the foot of the cross, whilst children and other persons stand by pointing at the Virgin. The Saviour in this piece is not alive as in the chapel of the Pope at Avignon, but hangs at length between two angels who fly by his arms. Beneath this scene is the word "pinxit".

[4] The register of deaths at S. Domenico of Sienna has the following entry under Aug. 4. 1344: "Magister Simon pictor mortuus est in curia: cujus exequias fecimus in conventu die IIII° mensis Augusti." Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 244.

[5] See the text of that act in Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 243.



CHRIST FOUND IN THE TEMPLE; a picture by Simone di Martino, in the Royal Institution, Liverpool.

in which he left his house and furniture at Sienna to his wife Johanna and the rest of his property to his nephews and nieces.

His relict in the brown garb of the widows of the time, returned to Sienna almost immediately after his death with Donato. In evidence given by her on a trial between the heirs of Simone and Donato in 1355 (Donato having expired in Aug. 1347[1]) she declared that her husband had died at Avignon.[2] Masses and vigils for his soul were said and held at Sienna on the fourth of August.[3]

Donato, who obviously painted in company of Simone at Avignon, has not left any pictures behind; and hence he may be supposed to have been a second rate artist.

A picture which seems to have been executed by a follower or assistant of Simone, was lately in London in the hands of Mr. Donnadieu,[4] representing a Virgin and child on gold ground, with a garland of little half figures in medallions, inscribed: "Naddus Ceccharelli de Senis me pinsit MCCCXLVII." This painting, quite in Simone's style and method, discloses his care and minuteness. Yet it is strange that no trace of this Ceccharelli should have been found elsewhere.

In the Munich Gallery, a Virgin ascending to heaven in the midst of a choir of angels with the Saviour between four prophets above her, the coronation in the upper gable, female saints in dead colour on the sides, and an annunciation in the pinnacles like that of the Antwerp picture, may be seen under the name of Gentile da Fabriano.[5] It very much

A vineyard at Vico and a house to his nephew Francesco Salvucci, a vineyard and 220 florins to his niece Catherine, Donato's daughter, a vineyard at Vico to his two remaining nieces Agnola and Diambra, daughters of Donato, and the rest of his property to his nephews Johannes, Barnabas and Simon, Donato's sons. He had left in the hands of the trustees of the Spedale di S. Maria della Scala of Sienna no less than 282 florins of gold, or about ninety pounds of our money. Milanesi, Doc. Sen. ub. sup. p. 219.

[1] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 216.

[2] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 244.

[3] These absorbed all but 23 livres 4 soldi, of 7 gold florins, the difference of which was paid to Lippo Memmi on the 7th of the same month. Ibid. same page. There are notices of Barnaba who followed the profession of a goldsmith till 1436 when he died leaving a numerous family. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 245.

[4] No. 8. Duke St. London.

[5] No. 551. Cab. XIX.

resembles the work of Naddus Ceccharelli and Lippo Memmi, being copiously adorned with tracery and gold.

A large life size Virgin ascending amongst angels with five prophets at each side of the arch of the niche, painted flatly, but damaged by varnishes partakes of this character and may be seen in the Gallery of Sienna,[1] where likewise, a Virgin and child amongst angels in the same style may be studied.[2] These two pictures, however, are under the name of Lorenzetti.[3]

[1] No. 63 of Sienna Catal.

[2] Ibid. No. 62.

[3] In order to leave no record of these times unnoticed, an order of King Robert of Naples may be quoted. (Reg. Rob. reg. 1316. B. p. 255, apud Schulz, Denkmäler, ub. sup. III. p. 165.) This order, dated Casasana apud Castrum maris de Stabia July 23, 1317 assigns to Symon Martini, Knight a yearly salary of 50 ounces of gold to be drawn on the salt dues of Principato and Terra di Lavoro. Future research alone can determine whether this Symon be or not our painter.



MADONNA AND SAINTS; a fresco in the Public Palace of S. Gimignano, by Lippo Memmi

CHAPTER IV.

LIPPO MEMMI. BARNA AND LUCA DI THOMÉ.

The companionship of Lippo and Simone clearly dates from a time antecedent to that which brought them into relationship by the marriage of the latter. Lippo was born at Sienna,[1] and though he was at times content to take upon himself the mechanical portion of Simone's altarpieces, he was not the less an artist of the same school as his brother-in-law. They had a common workshop at Sienna, yet they frequently undertook separate commissions; the most important of which to Lippo seems to have been that of 1317 for the adornment of the Palazzo del Podesta at S. Gimignano. Sixteen years before, Dante, as envoy of the Florentine republic, had solicited in the very hall which Lippo came to adorn, the aid of S. Gimignano in favour of the Tuscan league. The same podesta who now employed Lippo, had promised that aid to Florence; and now that peace had succeeded to long years of strife, Mino, of the Tolomei of Sienna, sought to rival the magnificence of his countrymen by adorning the hall of Justice at S. Gimignano with a "Majesty" similar to that of Simone. Lippo decorated the wall of the council room with a fresco whose spirit and composition very much resembled those of his future relative. He depicted on an area of one hundred and seventy five feet[2] the Virgin

[1] See postea, the signature of a picture by him at Orvieto which attests this fact. [2] 27 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$.

and child amidst twenty eight angels and saints, prominent amongst whom S. Nicholas introduces the kneeling Mino de' Tolomei.[1] A red and blue striped dress encloses the form of the Podesta and warms him with its fur lining. Red socks in black shoes, dark hair in a net, the pointed cap or hood in his hand, complete a very characteristic and doubtless faithful portrait.[2]

In this vast miniature, Lippo placed his figures with a fair and rational symmetry, giving with tact the best places to the most important persons. The Virgin in her blue star spangled tunic, and her mantle fastened with a broach, has a plump oval face supported on a broad neck,

[1] With the following words inscribed on a scroll in his left hand:

Salve, regina mundi, mater dei
Quæ sine pena peperisti xpũm,
Vobis commendo devotum infra scriptum
Nellum Dñi Mini Tolomei,
In ulnis vestris rogo amore mei
Ut placeat vobis suscipere istum
Et inter sanctos vestros esse mixtum
Angelos, Patriarchas vivi Dei.

[2] Beneath the Virgin the words: "Lippus Memi de Senis me pinsit MCCCXVII." (Yet it must be borne in mind that the second syllable of "pinsit" and the date are a restoration of a later period.)

And lower down in Roman character:

"Al tempo di Messer Nello di Messer Mino de' Tolomei di Siena, onorevole potestà e chapitano del Chomune e del Popolo della terra di San Gimignano MCCCXVII."

In a corner to the right one reads further "Benozius Florentinus, pictor restauravit A. D. 1467," and this leads us to consult a record of 1466, from which it appears that in April Benozzo Gozzoli contracted with the magistrates of S. Gimignano to "refresh and repaint all the figures of the hall and tint the background in blue"; (See the original in Pecori, ub. sup. Storia della Terra di S. Gimignano. p. 650.) and in pursuance of this contract he cut out and replastered and then repainted on the right the legs of S. John the Baptist, S. Peter, and the angel holding the pole of the canopy, and an entire figure of S. Louis king of France with a friar behind him. To the left, S. Anthony the Abbot and a female saint near him, the virgin S. Fina. Besides this, he touched up the hair and beard of S. John the Baptist and the hands of the Virgin. The date of the signature of Memmi was likewise renewed by him; but in his restoration Benozzo doubtless replaced the new saints on their old lines, as the final syllable of the word "abate" in the name of S. Anthony is original, and of Memmi's time, whilst the rest is more modern. The painted frame is entirely by Angelico's pupil, nor did the authorities, who employed him, think it of much moment that they cut the lower part of the fresco at its two extremities for the opening of two doorways which impinge on and disfigure Lippo's work, a proof, if any were needed, that the bad taste of the 15th century was very like that of the present day.

and wears a diadem from which a veil with gold stripes depends. Her thin hands have the well known Siennese affectation of movement. The mouth has the usual pursy lip, the Saviour, an old type, the favorite of Lippo and of the school. Softness marks the features of a S. Agatha or a S. Agnes, and contrasts with the heavy forms and broad faces of angels. The ancient consecrated mould yields to Lippo the heads of S. Peter, S. John the Baptist and S. Paul, whose gravity and fair proportion are however allied to thinness of body. S. Nicolas on one side, S. Gimignano on the other are fine and expressive; but what most characterizes Lippo is a minuteness without example in works of a similar kind. The red outlines appear under the light grey shadows which hardly relieve the forms. A warm but feeble rosy tint overspreads the flesh; and every hair as well as every ornamental detail is patiently realized.[1] A gay but not vivid key of light harmony is peculiar to the softly turned draperies, whose embroideries are copious. It is a magnified miniature that one sees, a picture utterly flat, unrelieved and careful to a fault. It shows Lippo a patient but not a great executor, a painter of tempera on the wall. Of his works as a miniaturist, S. Gimignano evidently possesses examples, the choral books of the Collegiata being full of miniatures, the finest of which have the finish and gay colour of the "majesty" in the hall of the Podesta.[2]

An example of Lippo's manner is to be found in an

[1] If the spectator approaches, he will find the play of light and reflections in the iris of S. Peter's eye.

[2] One of these, an "antifonario di Canto fermo" is adorned at p. 22 with a figure of S. Gimignano in episcopals, surrounded by four angels (one of them bearing the crozier); above, six kneeling figures in groups of three at each side, a splendid example of its kind as well for the beauty of its draperies and the perfection of its finish, as for the softness of its character and liveliness of its tones. Twenty two miniatures, all of this quality, in style Siennese and of Lippo's manner, fill the volume. In a MS. mass for the poor, of the same collection, a "Redeemer appearing to the apostles" is of equal value and similar character. It might be desireable that books so full of interest should be withdrawn from daily use.

ascension of the Virgin with saints, much damaged, in the sacristy of the church of Monte Oliveto near S. Gimignano.[1] These may be the panels of an altarpiece mentioned by Vasari as originally in S. Agostino at S. Gimignano,[2] where no altarpiece now exists, though, above the altar of the Madonna delle Grazie, a damaged fresco in Lippo's manner represents the Virgin enthroned giving the breast to the Saviour between the archangel Michael and another saint now obliterated.[3]

S. Gimignano was not the only city in the vicinity of Sienna for which Lippo laboured. A picture bearing his name is in the chapel of the Santissimo Corporale at Orvieto, inscribed on the pedestal beneath the Virgin's feet:

"Lippus, de Sena nat̃, nos picx̃ amẽna."[4]

or "Lippo, native of the pleasant Sienna painted us." The Virgin stands with her hands joined in prayer, between fourteen angels, one of whom at each shoulder loops back her mantle, beneath which kneels in three rows a noble crowd of kings, princes, monks and nuns. The Virgin with an oval face and broad neck, the angels with full faces and throats, and hair waving round broached fillets in attitudes affecting grace, recal the fresco of S. Gimignano.[5] The colour is lively, rosy, and flat, and the execution careful beyond measure.

If Lippo is the author of the picture of the Beato Augustino in S. Agostino of Sienna, he is great as Simone, but besides this, his style is represented at Sienna by a fresco above the door leading into the sacristy and convent of the Servi, in which the Madonna holds the infant

[1] Centre, the ascension and a glory of 18 playing and singing angels. Wings, each two saints, all less than life size, two of which are S.S. Bartholomew and Catherine, the latter the least damaged of the four.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 94.

[3] According to Coppi (apud Pecori, ub. sup. p. 540) a knight of the Salvucci family in armour had originally been painted above this fresco, the whole having been completed in 1330.

[4] This inscription can only be seen by removing the beading of the frame. The Virgin, of life size, wears a red dress damasked with flowers, a diadem and veil.

[5] The Virgin's mantle is blue lined with white fur. The drapery of two figures kneeling on the left are repainted, as well as that of a figure in front to

in a graceful and affectionate action.[1] The softness of Simone engrafted on the type of Duccio and powerful tones of colour are characteristic in the infant, whilst the broad round head of the Virgin bends affectedly on a slender neck; and the closed lids give their usual exaggeration of extasy and tenderness. The frame is exquisitely stamped and gilt. Each letter of the inscription is in a separate ornament and runs:

"Lippus Memi pinxit."

But for the signature it would be presumptuous to affirm that the man who painted a picture so like those of Simone, could have executed also the fresco of S. Gimignano and the altarpiece of Orvieto; but Lippo evidently painted more in the manner of his brother-in-law when they were together, than when they were separated; and another example akin to that of the Servi is the small altarpiece, formerly belonging to Hofrath Förster now in the Berlin Museum inscribed:

"Lippus Memmi de Senis",

in which a tall and slender Virgin holds to her bosom the form of the infant Saviour.[2]

Two life size figures of S. Ursula and another saint with a sword, assigned to Simone in the collection of the late Mr. Bromley are two creations in Lippo's style, such as it appears in the wall picture of S. Gimignano, and may be classed amongst the best that he produced.[3]

In the same class may be noticed ten figures of apostles in the Ramboux collection at Cologne.[4]

the right. The ornaments are all beautifully stamped.

[1] In the Saviour's hand is a bird and scroll. His dress is red and shot with gold. The drapery which falls from the Virgin's head is engraved with scriptural sentences.

[2] The Virgin holds the back of the standing Saviour to her bosom. Dressed in a white tunic and red mantle, he points with his right hand, and holds with his left a scroll on which is written: "Nullus surrexit M.... Johs Batis..." Two angels are engraved in the ornament of the trefoil niche. The flesh tints are abraded particularly in the head of the infant, and some restoring is noticeable. On the back of the panel is a seal with the words Campo Santo Pisano on it.

[3] The S. Ursula was purchased at Mr. Bromley's sale by Baron Marochetti for 113 gs; the other saint, by Mr. Bathhouse for 81 guineas. Both were in the Ottley collection.

[4] No. 75 of Cat. A little en-

Further one may notice in the palace of Cosimo Alessandri at Florence fragments of a picture injured more or less, representiug SS. Zenobius, Peter, Paul and Benedict. On the sword of S. Paul are the words "Lippus Memmi."[1]

The following list completes all that can be said of Lippo, who died, according to Vasari, in 1356.[2]

The pictures in the Berlin Museum, of the Virgin and child,[3] and the Virgin giving the breast to the infant,[4] having the character of Simone without his conspicuous beauties and with some heaviness of form, may be by Lippo Memmi or Barna. A third picture in the same collection, an annunciation with saints,[5] undoubtedly belongs to the school of Sienna, but has more the character of Barna and his school than that of Simone. The Madonna, between saints in the Academy of Sienna,[6] is assigned to Simone, and the Saviour in the pinnacle is most like a work of his hand, but the ugly faces of the Virgin and infant are less so, whilst the S. Michael is of the Siennese type to be found in the picture of S. Catherine of Pisa and in those parts of the Cappellone at S. Maria Novella which are assigned to Taddeo Gaddi. Another Madonna enthroned with the child between saints,[7] is likewise assigned to Simone in the Academy of Sienna, as well as an altarpiece in the Compagnia della Madonna of the same city representing the Virgin between two angels and the kneeling SS. Anthony and Catharine. Two other parts represent SS. Peter and Paul; and the Saviour in benediction is as usual in the pinnacle. A fourth Virgin and child in the chapel del Rosario of S. Domenico at Sienna assigned to Barna, but less ugly than the three foregoing, is like them of a character which may be called the exaggeration as to types and form of that peculiar to the fresco of Lippo in the Sala del Podesta at S. Gimignano, with

feebled in colour, and flat. No. 63 of this Gallery a Virgin and child much damaged, assigned to Simone, may be classed amongst the productions of Lippo. No. 62 a Virgin and child. No. 64 a Virgin with figures under her cloak, both assigned to Simone, are feeble and of the school.

[1] The central portion, a Virgin and child is in the same place with little heads of angels, all renewed.

[2] Vol. II. p. 97.

[3] No. 1067 of Cat.

[4] No. 1072 of Cat.

[5] No. 1142 of Cat.

[6] Half lengths. No. 43 in Sienna Acad. Catalogue.

[7] Full lengths. No. 94. Sien. Cat. The saints are: John Baptist, Bartholomew, Bernard, Stephen, with a garland of angels round the Virgin.

something of the features common to the frescos of Barna also at S. Gimignano and to the works of Luca Thomé. If it should ever be ascertained that these pictures were executed by Lippo, one must suppose that he declined with the lapse of years from the standard of his earlier days, and that he had learnt at last to paint with coarse colour and to draw defective articulations and extremities.

A better example of the manner of Simone, Lippo and Barna, is a series of four pinnacles in the Sienna Academy[1] representing SS. Catherine, John Evangelist, John the Baptist, and Paul, above each of which a medallion contains respectively a prophet.[2]

Vasari's vague remarks that Lippo painted in fresco at S. Croce in Florence, in S. Paolo Ripa d'arno at Pisa, in S. Niccola of Ancona, may be passed by, as no traces confirm the truth of his assertions. He mentions an altarpiece of the Virgin between SS. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist and other saints signed by Lippo in S. Paolo Ripa d'arno at Pisa, which is not there now, an altarpiece of three half length figures in the Vescovado of Arezzo, two pictures in S. Croce of Florence, which have also disappeared, and a picture which found a place on the high altar of S. Francesco of Pistoia.[3] The "Campione", which records the principal facts in reference to S. Francesco of Pistoia, states that, on the high altar of that church, there was a Virgin between SS. Paul, John the Baptist, James, Francis, Louis, Mary Magdalen, and Chiara, inscribed: "Lippus Memmi de Senis me pinxit." This is absent, and in its place a S. Francis assigned to Lippo is really by Margaritone.[4]

Barna or Berna, who like Lippo laboured at S. Gimignano, survived till much later, if we credit Vasari's statement that in the act of painting the right aisle of S. Gimignano church he perished (1381) by a fall from a scaffolding.[5] He died young adds the Aretine, yet if Luca di Thomé was his pupil as the same authority affirms, he must have been old at his death, since Luca

[1] Nos. 97—100 of Cat.

[2] In this class we may place a Virgin and child with saints. Nos. 10 and 11. A Virgin and child between two female saints, No. 13 in the Dresden Gallery. Baldinucci (Vol. IV. p.p. 320. 321) notices a fresco in S. Domenico of Sienna (the cloister) of the Virgin and child receiving an offering of flowers from two angels with S.S. Peter, Paul, and Dominick, at the sides; the whole inscribed: "Lippus me pinxit, Memmi rem gratia tinxit." This has disappeared.

[3] Vide Vas. Vol. II. p.p. 93—7.

[4] Vide antea. Margaritone.

[5] Vas. Vol. II. p. 162, and Baldinucci, Vol. IV. p. 493.

is already recorded as a master in 1355, 1357.[1] Be this as it may, Barna[2] was considered an excellent painter by Ghiberti who found praiseworthy qualities in certain scenes from the life of a penitent youth depicted in a chapel of the church of the Augustin friars at Sienna,[3] as well as in frescos at S. Gimignano and Cortona.[4] According to Vasari, Barna painted in S. Margarita of Cortona, where no more traces of his work remain, than of those at S. Agostino at Sienna.[5] In 1369, he came to Arezzo, where the Tarlati had lately caused the monastery of S. Agostino to be completed, and he painted there, in the Cappella S. Jacopo, scenes from the life of S. James, having already finished the same subjects in S. Spirito of Florence.[6] In the Vescovado of Arezzo he executed for Guccio di Vanni Tarlati a crucifixion with the usual groups at the sides of the cross and the patron himself in armour and prayer before the instrument of torture.[7] The enemies of Guccio or Ciuccio tried their utmost to destroy the very semblance of his existence by sticking at the plaster of his effigy with daggers, says Bottari,[8] but in spite of them the fresco remains. The Saviour is still seen on the cross, with Ciuccio kneeling in armour at its base.[9] All that can be said of this much damaged work is that it looks like a Siennese painting, yet has less power than the general run of Barna's frescos. Of other productions in the Pieve, in S. Bartolommeo, and in S. Spirito of Arezzo nothing remains.[10] In S. Gimignano, however, the

[1] Milanesi, Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 28.

[2] Barna from Barnabas, as Berna from Bernabo. See the discussion on this point in notes to Vas. Vol. II. p. 160, in Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 109. Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 284, and Baldinucci. Vol. IV. p. 491.

[3] Ghiberti in Vas. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. XXVI.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Vas. Vol. II. p. 161.

[6] Ibid. The frescos of S. Spirito at Florence and those of Arezzo are both gone.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Roman edition of Vasari.

[9] To the left are the Virgin and S. Michael, to the right S.S. John Evangelist and Francis, whilst in the vaulting of the recess in which the principal subject is placed, S.S. Catherine, Peter, Andrew, Paul and other saints stand guard in medallions; and the Saviour in benediction fills a triangle at the top.

[10] Vas. Vol. II. p. 162.

injured remnants of a long series of the Lord's Passion still exist, and, damaged as they are, must be considered as those best calculated to impart a true notion of Barna's manner. In five compartments divided into three courses he painted twenty two different episodes, using the lunettes entire for one incident, placing the entrance into Jerusalem in a double, the crucifixion in a fourfold larger space than the remaining subjects.

In the lunettes beginning from the corner nearest the entrance door and to the left of it, he represented the annunciation, the nativity, the wise mens' offering, the circumcision and the massacre of the innocents. Proceeding from beneath the latter towards the door, and dividing the compartments arched by the lunettes into two, he painted the dispute with the doctors, the baptism of Christ, S. Peter called to the apostolic mission, the marriage of Cana, the transfiguration, the resurrection of Lazarus, and in a double division, the entrance into Jerusalem. The lower course begins from near the portal with the last supper, continuing with Judas bargaining in the synagogue, Christ in the garden, the capture, Christ before Caiaphas, the flagellation, the crown of thorns and the scoffers, Christ carrying his cross and finally, in a compartment filling two courses, the crucifixion. The remaining subjects of the Passion divided into further sections of the aisle, are now obliterated. They represented the entombment, resurrection, ascension and other scenes.

The spectator may observe in the annunciation that species of composition which Giovanni da Milano followed in his picture at Prato, the Virgin shrinking with a gesture of alarm from the kneeling Gabriel in an affected attitude of grace and tremor, whilst the angel in his reverent motion, with arms crossed on his breast, displays more elegance than religious feeling. Outside the room a maid sits on the ground and has dropped her spinning to listen through the partition. Endeavouring, no doubt, to distinguish the form of the servant from the nobler one of the Virgin, Barna gave her a fuller and more developed figure, and at the same time a less strained action. The servant is therefore more pleasing because the more natural of the two, the round outline of the head being improved by a

pretty turn of the hair in the usual Siennese fashion. The space in the lunette is at the same time well distributed, and the draperies are broad in fold after the fashion of Simone. It is a subject worthy of being remarked because it is in better condition than the remainder[1] which are in most parts barbarously repainted.

The Saviour in the Baptism, a heavy nude, less attractive even than those of Simone, stands in the act of benediction and is fairly if not nobly defined. Two diminutive angels with large heads minister in flight, contrary to the usual custom, whilst on the opposite side[2] the Baptist, high up on a bank, pours water over the Redeemer's head. Regular soft features mark the bride in the marriage of Cana, whilst in the resurrection of Lazarus, Mary and Martha pointing to their revived brother are in vehemement action and stretch their long necks as they draw their garments together with one hand. Barna indeed exaggerates in these fairly preserved figures the close fitting draperies, the muscular limbs and stiffened action of long thin hands[3] peculiar to Simone, and in the faces, the long thin nose and arched brows which meet the student's eye in the pictures of that master. These, indeed, are characteristics observable in the whole of the series which need not for this reason be further described. It is stated that Barna's pupil Giovanni d' Asciano[4] painted after his master's death at S. Gimignano and completed the decoration. His may be the hand to which the feebler parts are due. Barna in the whole of this work shows himself a continuator of Duccio with respect to distribution, not only in the general division and spacing of his subjects, but in forms of composition. As regards type, he maintains the character of Ugolino and Simone. More than one style of colour may be found in the frescos which are all more or less injured, but in the best maintained parts, the tones are in low keys, and though

[1] Another fairly preserved fresco of this series is that of the capture.

[2] The right.

[3] Mark the position of the fingers pointed and bent backwards by the stiffening of the muscles.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 163.

warm and powerful, an exaggeration of Simone. The drawing is minute, the ornament copious, and the general aspect of the painting flat. Barna may therefore be considered to have risen out of the school of Simone on account of his exaggeration and vehemence, though he inherited some peculiarities that characterized Ugolino. Nor should we be surprised to discover that Barna was once an assistant of Simone; for the date of his death, resting as it does merely on Vasari's authority, may be contested; and were it proved that he is identical with one Barna Bertini of the popolo S. Pellegrino, a painter whose name is in a Siennese record of 1340,[1] the former supposition might be maintained. The spandrils of the arches which support the nave of the church of S. Gimignano are filled with injured figures of prophets holding scrolls, which still reveal the hand of Barna or his pupil. A life size Virgin holding the Saviour in the church of S. Pietro is likewise in Barna's manner, whilst at Asciano,[2] the birth place of Giovanni his disciple, the church of S. Francesco contains portions of frescos once whitewashed and since rescued, representing scenes from the passion whose character, technical execution and colour, are similar to those of S. Gimignano.[3] A Virgin and child on the high altar, repainted in the draperies, with a small kneeling donor, has the same character, which is that of Barna and Simone. Without the name of Giovanni d' Asciano, the student finds a work in his native place disclosing a follower of Barna and one who may have helped him at S. Gimignano. What Vasari assigns to Giovanni in Sienna and Florence, is not now to be seen.[4]

[1] See annot. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 160, and Milanesi, Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 28.

[2] 17 miles from S. Gimignano.

[3] To the left as one enters, is a modification of the subject called the Pieta, the Saviour between S.S. Peter and Paul, to the right the nativity, a S. Peter, a Trinity, a Christ in the garden, and part of a Last Supper beneath which again appear marks of older paintings of the 13th century.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 163. At Cologne in the Ramboux collection is a crucifixion having the character of the fresco of S. Gimignano, but rude in execution (No. 60).

As before remarked when treating of certain productions of Lippo Memmi, a Virgin and child in the chapel del Rosario of S. Domenico at Sienna is assigned to Barna; and has in truth something of his style; yet it shows less power than his works in general. The life size Virgin seems to make an effort as she carries a heavy infant Saviour. Her head and closed eyes are like those of the master, but the picture may be by another hand and only confirms what need hardly now be dwelt upon, namely the family likeness of many second rate Siennese paintings and the difficulty of distinguishing them. In one of the shops in the court of the same convent of S. Domenico, and close to the church, there are remnants of a fresco of the Virgin and child, of an angel offering flowers, and of S. Peter and S. Paul. The head of the angel is much in Barna's style, whilst that of the Virgin recals both his and Lippo's at the Servi.

Luca Thomé is supposed by Vasari to have been Barna's pupil, and this is not impossible, though his painting shows the influence of Simone who heads the whole branch of artists now under consideration. Luca is the third painter on the register of the Siennese company of S. Luke which was confirmed as a guild in 1355,[1] and is a third rate artist.

He and one Cristoforo di Stefano restored in 1357 a Madonna by Pietro Lorenzetti executed in 1333 above the portal of the Sienna Cathedral.[2] A crucifixion painted by him in 1366 is preserved in the Academy of Pisa; and an altarpiece finished in the following year may still be seen in the Cappuccini of the castle of S. Quirico in Osenna. An altarpiece in honour of S. Paul and the Siennese victory over the mercenary company of the Cappellucci was executed by him in 1373 by order of the general council of which he was himself a member for two months of that year.[3] Married in 1375 to Miglia del fù Giacomino, he

A picture much damaged by repainting, but carefully finished, a crucifixion, falsely assigned to Giotto, in the Museum of Brussels (No. 265), is in the style of Barna.

[1] Milanesi, Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 28.

[2] Note to Vas. Vol. II. p. 163.

[3] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 28, and Della Valle, Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 119.

again sat in the general council of Sienna in 1379,[1] and in 1388—89, was of the council of the Duomo.[2] Finally in 1389 he assisted Bartolo di Maestro Fredi and his son Andrea in the production of an altarpiece for the cathedral chapel of the guild of shoemakers.[3] His existence as late as 1392 is proved by the signature of a Madonna seen by Della Valle in the chapel della Concezione of S. Francesco of Sienna,[4] His life was not spent entirely in Sienna, as Vasari truly indicates certain frescos and an altarpiece, of which all trace has vanished, in a chapel of the Dragomanni or Dragondelli at S. Domenico of Arezzo.[5] The Dragomanni, or Lancia Serzaglia are an extinct Aretine family in whose honour a monument by Francesco de Florentia was erected in the fourteenth century, and adorned with frescos which still exist in part. Four evangelists in medallions decorate the vaulting of a recess, and of those all but S. Mark are preserved, S. John being the least injured, and exhibiting the Siennese style of Simone and of Barna, but particularly Barna's. Luca Thomé is probably the painter because his other works betray the influence of these two masters and support the belief that he, Barna and Lippo Memmi, were companions, and hence that Simone was their common teacher. Little more indeed can be required to strengthen this belief than the altarpieces of the Sienna Academy assigned to Simone and Lippo, that of the Compagnia della Madonna in the Spedale of Sienna and that given to Barna in S. Domenico, all of which have a common character.[6]

Luca's crucifixion in the Academy of Pisa is inscribed:

"Luchas Tom̃e de Senis pinxit hoc s MCCCLXVI."

It represents the Saviour, gaunt, withered, a mere scabbard

[1] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 28.

[2] Ibid. Vol. I. p.p. 354. 363. He ballots twice in favour of a design for wood carving by Mariano d'Agnello.

[3] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 36, and Vol. I. p. 28. He receives for his share 8 florins, the whole altarpiece being contracted for for about 130 florins of gold payable at intervals of 4 months at the rate of 32 florins each time.

[4] Della Valle, Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 119.

[5] Vas. Vol. II. p. 164. As to the altarpiece, it has disappeared from the chapel. In the church, however, is a much repainted picture of S.S. Paul, Michael and another saint, in character like the remains in the chapel itself which are much in the manner of Barna.

[6] On a landing at the inn "Alle arme d'Inghilterra" in Arezzo is a Virgin and child with four angels, life size, like Luca di Thomé's second rate productions. The type of the Virgin is an exaggeration of that to be found in some of the latest Madonnas by Lippo, the body bent and the extremities defective. It is a picture of the declining Siennese school like those of the Academy assigned to Simone and Lippo.

of bones muscles and skin shadowed with dark verde and of low yellowish tone in lights.[1]

Such productions as these need not have exercised any influence at Pisa; yet they were taken as models by Pisan imitators; and a Virgin in the Academy, signed:

Cecchus Petri de Pisis me pinsit a. D. MCCCLXX

proves the author to have been a close follower of the style and technical execution of Luca Thomé.[2]

One might suppose that Luca, like Mino of Sienna, respecting whom Sacchetti tells one of his broadest pleasantries, kept a shop full of crucifixes.[3] One of these, exactly similar in its defects to the crucifixion of Pisa, stands in a chapel to the right of the entrance at S. Spirito of Sienna.

The picture of S. Quirico in Osenna is a "conception" inscribed:

"Lucas Thomé de Senis pinxit hoc opus MCCCLXVII."

A pinnacle at the top with a figure of S. Bartholomew by some other painter has taken the place of the original one, no doubt containing the Saviour in benediction. At each side are S. John the Baptist and a medallion of S. Mark, S. Anthony with a medallion of S. Luke, whilst part of the same altarpiece, a S. Agnes, with a medallion symbol of an evangelist, and S. Catherine with a similar addition hang separate in the sacristy. These figures taken apart show how unequal the Siennese painters were. S. Agnes holding up her red mantle with a hand of delicate and slender shape, wearing a diadem from under which copious hair falls downwards, is a graceful Siennese figure. S. Catherine also in a diadem and dressed in a close red robe lined with fur, bends and is feebler than the S. Agnes. But the pair are the finest creations of Luca di Thomé, and contrast singularly with the S. John of the same altarpiece, where a lean dry form stands on large feet, or with the infant Saviour caressing the Virgin, — a disagreable type. S. Anthony, darkened in colour, is less unpleasant, and the tones of the altarpiece generally are not without the liveliness common to Siennese masters.

The ex-convent of S. Domenico at Rieti is in possession of a Madonna clearly by Luca[1] the list of whose works may be completed with a notice of a Virgin and child

[1] The removal of the gilding from the background adds to the melancholy appearance of the work.

[2] His Virgin has the same attitude, the same heavy type in the infant, the same hard colour as Thomé's.

[3] Vide Sacchetti, ub. sup. Vol. II. Nov. LXXXIV. p. 45.

[4] The picture hangs in the up-

between S. John the Baptist, a bishop, S. Francis and another saint, an altarpiece of life size figures in the oratory of the monastery called "alle Tolfe", two miles outside the Siennese gate of S. Viene. The piece adorned with the usual pinnacles of the Saviour in benediction between S. Paul, S. Peter and other saints is greatly injured and signed "L . . as Thomé hoc opus"

Lucas' cotemporaries are Lippo Vanni and Giacomo di Mino or del Pellicciaio, of whom the following notes may be read by the more studious:

Lippo Vanni is inscribed first on the list of the Siennese guild in 1355, and known as the author of miniatures and paintings of which the majority are lost. Like Luca he was of the council of his native place in 1360 and 1373.[1] He painted miniatures in 1344 for the Spedale and in 1352, a coronation of the Virgin for the Biccherna,[2] which Rumohr erroneously assigns to Lippo Memmi,[3] because he misread the record, and had not in mind the inscription preserved by Della Valle:

"Lippus Vannis de Senis fecit hoc opus anno domini Millesimo trecentesimo LII."

His circumstances were such that in 1344 he had pawned a book in which he was to execute certain miniatures.[4] He laboured with Nello Betti, in 1359 in the Sala del Consilio of the Palazzo Pubblico,[5] and in 1372, executed an annunciation in the Chiostro of S. Domenico of Sienna, of which the life size heads remain, proving that he was a second rate painter of the class in which Luca Thomé holds a place.[6] The last notice of him is dated 1375 when

per coretto, represents the infant standing on the Virgin's knee and holding a scroll, in which are the words: "Qui vult venire post me." The Virgin holds one end of this scroll and the Saviour has a cross in his right hand. The type of the latter is quite Siennese and the genuine continuation of Simone, Lippo, and Barna. A long frame affectedly bent characterizes the Virgin who originally stood enthroned between S.S. Peter and Paul, Dominick and another saint, figures now separated and hanging injured by almost total repainting in the 5th chapel of the convent. (Above the group in the birth of the arch are 2 medallion prophets. The Virgin's blue dress is repainted, — the figures life size.)

[1] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 27.

[2] Ibid. For 85 livres 16 soldi 8 den.

[3] Rumohr (Forschungen). Vol. II. p. 119.

[4] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 27.

[5] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 34.

[6] Ibid. This fresco was signed "Septanta e due e trecent' anni da Siena, qui dipinse Lippo Vanni."

he received payment for the shutters of the crucifix of the Duomo.[1]

Giacomo del Pellicciaio who in 1373 was appointed to tax the value of one of Luca di Thomé's pictures,[2] falls into the same class with him as to style, but a step lower in talent. Enrolled after Lippo Vanni, and before Luca in the guild of Siennese painters, he appears in numerous records between 1362 and 1389,[3] assisting Bartolo di Maestro Fredi in ornamental painting at the Duomo in 1367.[4] Of interest, as showing his third rate talent, is a very damaged Coronation of S. Catherine with numerous saints in the Academy of Sienna[5] inscribed: "Jachobus Mini de Senis pinxit anno domini MCCCLXII tempore presbiteri Mathei Rectoris Sancti Antonici." This altarpiece, originally painted for the church of S. Antonio at Fontebranda is of a hard colour and much repainted. Of the same class and one year later in date as Milanesi proves,[6] is the Madonna called "Del Verde" now in the Servi at Sienna. The infant, in the act of benediction sits on the Virgin's knee; and four angels guard the throne. The colour is clear and rosy, the ornament copious, and the execution careful, clean and flat as that of a miniature. A contract for an altarpiece for the church of the monastery of Passignano in 1372, representing the descent of the Holy Spirit and numerous Saints has been preserved.[7] Giacomo painted book covers for the Biccherna like Guido and Dietisalvi,[8] furnished a design for the "opera" in 1382, and with others of his class was two or three times elected to the grand council of Sienna.

Of Paolo di Giov. Fei, enrolled with the early painters of Sienna, nothing exists but the records.

[1] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 28. He received 6 florins of gold 31 soldi.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. Vol. I. p.p. 31. 40. 50. 264. 269. 271. 272.
[4] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 264.
[5] No. 113 of Cat.
[6] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 271.
[7] Ibid. He was to receive for it 80 florins.
[8] Ibid. in 1369 at 8 soldi 10 den.

CHAPTER V.

THE LORENZETTI.

The unchangeable attachment of Siennese painters to old typical compositions and to a time-honoured method of painting, to peculiar richness of ornament and to forms and contrasts essentially distinct from the Florentine, might, in the apprehension of our times, involve an absence of variety in their productions. Yet the same language has its lyric and epic muse, and the Lorenzetti contrast with Simone by dramatic energy and original wildness. Pietro,[1] the eldest of two brothers, was a cotemporary of Simone, yet stood in relation to him much as Petrarch's tender sonnets to Dante's manly strophe. Whilst Simone affected grace and lacked energy, Pietro's vigour disdained the polish of his rival. The student feels the affectation of the first, he pardons the casual vulgarity of the second. Vasari was fain to admit that Pietro imitated and surpassed Cimabue, Giotto and other painters of Italy;[2] but he was unjust to the great Florentine, if he meant all that he said; and whilst Pietro boldly innovated on the technical processes of his country, he can only claim preeminence over the immediate followers of Giotto. Son of one Lorenzo, he was born in the close of the thirteenth century and appears as an artist in Sienna as early as 1305, having painted in that year some part of an altarpiece called "la tavola dei Nove."[3] Though

[1] It is remarkable that Ghiberti who greatly admired Ambrogio, does not seem acquainted with the existence of Pietro Lorenzetti.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 26.

[3] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 194. He receives 110 livres.

young and called in the record of the period Petruccio, the receipt of 110 livres might point to the execution of some important work. From that time till 1326 no trace of his labours exists. He is noticed then to have executed in the "casa dell' opera" of the Sienna cathedral certain pictures for which a payment on account has been preserved;[1] and as four sides of an altarpiece still remain in the very house to which the record refers, they may be of that year. Of these the first is a half length S. Mary Magdalen of the finest type, rivalling the best productions of Pietro's brother Ambrogio in the Public Palace of Sienna, and a prophet in a triangular pinnacle. The second, S. Catharine, better preserved than the Magdalen, a most graceful creation and in features the most noble that had yet been produced in the school, is surmounted by another figure of a prophet holding a scroll. The third, a S. Francis in prayer with a seraph issuing from his breast, is joined to a S. Paul in the upper space, and the fourth, S. Romualdo, has S. Peter above him. No doubt the centre represented the Madonna with the Saviour in benediction in the pinnacle. The technical execution, which shall be described at leisure, is undoubtedly that of Lorenzetti; and the noble elegance of the figures, far more striking than the affectedness of Simone, reveals in the master a meritorious rivalry of the Florentines and a praiseworthy freedom from the old prejudices of his countrymen. Pietro's maturer style had doubtless been preceded by a period of struggle during which he less successfully disclosed his independence of the customs and habits of his teachers. A panel which displays his manner yet reminds the spectator so much of Duccio that it might be taken for a production of the great patriarch himself, still exists in the church of the ex-Dominican convent at Città di Castello between Perugia and Arezzo.[2]

[1] Ibid. p. 194.

[2] It hangs to the left in the choir. The figures all but life size, the altarpiece eight feet high and five broad, with a triangular projection, shorter in base than the

The earliest altarpiece signed by Pietro is that of the Cappellina del Martirio in the little church of S. Ansano, belonging to the Compagnia a Dofana outside the Pispini gate of Sienna, in which the Virgin, almost life size, is enthroned under the guard of four angels, between S. Anthony the abbot and S. Nicolas, erect at her sides. On the step of the throne are the words:

"Petrus Laurẽtii de Senis me pinxit A. D. MCCCXXVIIII."

The figure of the Virgin deserves to be distinguished as the finest of the Siennese school, being youthful, noble and well draped in a mantle under which a veil, falling from the head, is twined round the bosom. Pietro gives to the head a juvenile roundness, to the eyes a peculiar openness near the canthus, to the nose some breadth and flatness of extremity, and to the small mouth somewhat drooping corners. A well proportioned neck and hair in tresses add to the pleasant impression created by the face. The slender fingers are parted widely at the junction with the palm. The Saviour, less agreeable than the Virgin, turns in a broken movement towards S. Anthony, and the angels, with heavy projecting foreheads, are the original of a type which Lippo Memmi exaggerated. The two saints, in natural motion, are energetic in face and of fair proportion. The dampness of the chapel has sensibly affected the colours which threaten to disappear in the course of time; and the student can only judge of the painter's character by the firm clear outlines whose softness and precision are striking. Ornament was never more exquisitely or more judiciously used. As for the execution, it shows that Pietro had in 1329 already abandoned the dark verde system of his Siennese cotemporaries and substituted for it the lighter tinge of the same colour common to

upper side. The Virgin, enthroned, holds the infant Saviour on her knee, he draws the folds of a white veil hanging from her head. This conceit is one common to Duccio, Segna and the primitive Siennese, but the execution, the type and form, the peculiar shape of the eyes and mouths, the drawing are those of Pietro Lorenzetti. At the Virgin's feet, to the right, a miniature Dominican kneels in prayer. Three angels in rows above each other are on each side of the throne, and that on the foreground to the right is striking for the comparative beauty of the head, the three on the left being completely repainted. A gentle expression in the faces charms in spite of the flattened noses, and the figures have the slenderness and length peculiar to Pietro. The careful drawing already reveals an improvement on that of Duccio.

the Florentines, the flesh tones being light and the shadows warm.

Whether Pietro had visited Florence and studied its masterpieces before this time it is impossible to say, but we have it from Vasari, that he painted a tabernacle near the portal of S. Spirito, in which the soft delicacy of the heads deserved the admiration of every true judge.[1]

In the same year which witnessed the delivery of the altarpiece at S. Ansano, Pietro executed another for the Carmine of Sienna representing the Virgin, S. Nicolas and other saints; a picture which, according to Milanesi, was sold in 1818, and has found its way to England.[2] It was finished for 150 livres, of which one third was paid out of the public funds, the Carmelites being too poor to give so large a sum out of their own treasury.[3] A part of a predella supposed to have belonged to it is in the Academy of Sienna in two fragments, one of which represents a vision of an angel to a dreaming monk, the other, Pope Honorius confirming the rule and granting a new habit to the order.[4] Here in truth Pietro's style may be traced in the energy and animation of the slender figures and in the fine colour which distinguish all his works. Eight small panels, originally part of a predella and certainly by Pietro, are in a press in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[5] Their resemblance to the fragment in the Academy of Sienna might suggest that they also belonged to the altarpiece of the Carmine. Small, well arranged, and executed with all the master's vigour, they are interesting in spite of injury. The subjects are the stoning of Stephen, the martyrdom of four saints at the stake and their funeral, a saint in prayer before another, a dead saint brought to burial, a woman released from a devil before his dead body, and people

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 27.

[2] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 194.

[3] Della Valle, Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 209. and Milanesi, Vol. I. p. 193. who records a further gift of 1 livre for the altarpiece to the Carmelites in Dec. 1329. Doc. ub. sup. p. 194.

[4] No. 60. and 61. Sienna Academy Catal.

[5] Press II.

in prayer about the same. Tizio mentions yet another picture executed in the same year for the church of the Umiliati of Sienna of which Della Valle noticed as remaining, a fine figure of S. Benedict.[1]

In 1333, Pietro painted a Madonna above the new portal of the Siennese Duomo which Luca Thomé is said to have restored at a later period,[2] and in 1335, an altarpiece for the cathedral, called "di San Savino",[3] respecting which it is interesting to note, that the incidents of the saint's life represented in it were translated for Pietro from Latin into the Vulgar by the "Master of grammar" Ceccho.[4]

His great masterpiece of that year, which Vasari describes as imitating the manner of Giotto,[5] was the Sposalizio or marriage of the Virgin on the front of the Spedale of Sienna executed in company with Ambrogio and destroyed shortly after the removal of a roof which protected it in 1720. Della Valle had the advantage of seeing its remains; and Pecci, a writer at the close of the eighteenth century, records that it was signed:

"Hoc opus fecit Petrus Laurentii et Ambrosius ejus frater MCCCXXXV."[6]

In 1337 Pietro delivered the altarpiece of the church of S. Martin of Sienna noted by Tizio and seen by Della Valle.[7]

The year 1340 saw him finish for S. Francesco of Pistoia a picture supposed to be that now preserved at the Uffizi at Florence,[8] and inscribed:

"Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit A. D. MCCCXL."

Vasari, misreading this signature calls the painter Pietro Laurati, thus ignoring the relationship between him and Ambrogio, and showing that, when he examined the frescos of the Spedale he forgot the signature which

[1] Della Valle. Vol. II. p. 208.
[2] Vide antea and Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 194.
[3] Ibid. He receives 90 livres or 30 florins on account.
[4] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 194.
[5] Vas. Vol. II. p. 26.
[6] Pecci apud Della Valle, Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 209.
[7] Ibid. p. 208.
[8] Annot. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 28.

proves them to have been brothers.[1] The injury done to this picture, whose milk and coffee tone conceals all the original vigour of handling and colour peculiar to Pietro, renders it a poor example of his manner.

A far more characteristic and equally certain production of his pencil is the "nativity", painted for the altar of the "Congrega del Duomo" at Sienna, now in the sacristy.[2]

There Pietro, preserving as ever the time honoured compositions that preceded the Florentine revival, represented S. Anna recumbent in bed, whilst in the foreground, a woman seated on the ground holds the infant on her lap and tries the temperature of the water poured into a basin by another female. As an additional piece of realism he adds a third woman to the group who fans a little breeze about the child. On the side panel to the right, the subject is continued by the usual representation of two servants carrying a vase and linen. On the left side, a young man — servant enters a room where Joachim and his friend sit awaiting the event. The group recals in its vehemence of motion that of the sybils and prophets of Michael Angelo in the Sixtine chapel. The infant in the nativity is feeble, the females with the vase and linen defective in type, flat nosed, ill drawn as to the extremities and articulations, conventional and at times false in the analysis of form, as in the hands, yet the picture creates a vivid impression by the decisive force remarkable in the action of all the persons present, and the careful firmness and clearness of the outlines.[2] Close by, a part of the predella represents the Saviour crucified between the two thieves with the usual animated and purely Siennese attendant incidents.[3] The central panel of the nativity is inscribed:

"Petrus Laurentii de Senis me pinxit MCCC.XLII."

Better preserved and of the utmost interest as exhibiting the pure style of Pietro is the altarpiece in the Pieve

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 28.

[2] Of the colour which time has darkened, less can be said, but at present its aspect is somewhat flat and unrelieved.

[3] Eight small panels in the same room representing the legend of the cross, and found some years ago in the tubes of the cathedral organ, have been considered a part of the predella attached to the nativity, but their flatness of tone and feeble execution accuse the weaker powers of a pupil.

of Arezzo, built up in compartments with pinnacles in the true Siennese manner, undated but signed:

"Petrus Laurẽtii hãc pĩxit dextra Senis."[1]

The principal course represents half lengths of the Virgin and child standing between S.S. John the Baptist and Mathew, John Evangelist and Donato. The Virgin wears a white dress damasked with blue flowers and lined with fur, and whilst she draws it together at the side with her right, the Saviour keeps it fast at her bosom with his left. Her attitude is the drooping affected and conventional one of the Siennese, and the expression is gazing, which is an equally marked peculiarity of the school. Her figure though long is not too thin. The child smiles, but with a gaze. Yet the group combines the grace of Simone with a force which is only in Pietro Lorenzetti, and the thin hands are not without elegance of motion. An upper course containing the annunciation and the ascension in a pinnacle, complete the centre of the altarpiece. The Evangelist, bearded, of grave and stern character, is broadly and grandly modelled and holds the gospel, whilst the right hand grasps the mantle. S.S. Luke and Vincent are in the course above, S. Catherine in the pinnacle. Above S. Donato are S. Paul and another saint. S. Reparata tops the whole. A wild sternness, well suited to the character of the Baptist, a high forehead, long straggling and curly beard and shaggy hair characterize S. John, whose movement is a little bent, as with the thumb of his right hand he points to the Virgin and holds in his left a cross. Yet on analysis of the features, the eyes, in Pietro's usual cornered forms omitting the canthus, are near the root of the nose, the lips close, with the sides of the upper drooping and overlapping the lower. Above him S.S. James the elder and James the less, a female saint with a bow complete the panel. A vast brow marks the head of S. Mathew whose type has a little of the old grimness, whilst the hand is fine in shape and action.[2]

[1] Yet Rumohr doubts the genuineness of the signature. The picture is however certainly by Pietro, and was executed according to Vasari in 1355, at the request of the Arciprete Guglielmo (Vol. II. p. 28). The annot. think, there is an error of date here, as one Guglielmo was incumbent of the Pieve in 1345.

[2] Above him are S.S. Marcellinus Augustin, and Agatha. In the birth of the niches of the chief course, eight angels adorn the medallions, and four prophets fill similar spaces above the double niches

Such an altarpiece as this could only have been executed by a man of a powerful fibre, who combined thought with technical skill. Here Pietro defined light and shade with a breadth unknown to his predecessors, and at the same time with a truthful simplicity undoubtedly telling. He rivalled the tempera of the Florentines, and kept himself free from all killing research of detail, casting aside the old habits of his school and trampling on the barriers which separated him from his rivals. But whilst he showed in this a spirit superior to that of his cotemporaries, he preserved the advantages of broad and easy drapery coloured in brilliant and powerful tones which were the special gift of his countrymen.[1] The stamp of Pietro's genius is in fact everywhere, and the picture, though it remains below those of Giotto, because its subject did not require the development of great laws in distribution, is more powerful and able than any produced by his pupils.[2]

Ghiberti strangely omits to mention Pietro Lorenzetti, but with unaccustomed rapture dwells on the beauty of a series painted by Ambrogio in S. Francesco of Sienna.[3] It is not long since a part of these paintings was rescued from whitewash and placed in two chapels of the convent church. Amongst them is a crucifixion unnoticed by Ghiberti or Vasari and composed of figures larger than life. There the Saviour, a powerful and robust nude, not unnoble in its muscular development, but with a low forehead and eyes like those of Pietro Lorenzetti, hangs on the cross, wailed by a flight of the usual vehement angels. At the foot of the instrument of torture, S. John grieving and the Virgin motionless in the arms

of the second course, that above the annunciation being a figure with a crown and double wings.

[1] Warm glazes are nicely spread over the shadows, and a warm yellowish tone over the lights. The whole is clearly defined and conscientiously drawn with a dash and boldness which makes lines cut each other angularly at times. Every part is handled with unequalled firmness.

[2] There is no predella to this picture, which, with the exception of some abrasion in the face of the infant Saviour, is perfectly preserved.

[3] Now the Seminario.

of the Marys, form the usual accompaniment to the principal figure. S. John, of muscular frame and great size, expresses the most realistic and grimacing grief, with contracted brow, openmouthed and disfigured by a pointed chin and massive hair, cut straight across a high forehead. Yet there is such tremendous energy in the head that its vulgarity disappears. The power of Niccola Pisano and the exaggeration of Michael Angelo seem combined in the group of the Marys, and the Virgin, with wrinkled brow and eyes contracted into angles by spasms, has cast her arms wildly over the shoulders of her attendants. Her high forehead, close eyes and mouth with the upper lip drooping over the lower at the corners, are essentially characteristic of Pietro Lorenzetti, and convey the impression that he studied most masculine female models. Yet the genius of the painter enables him to give interest to a form otherwise disagreable, by the extraordinary force which he displays.[1] The energy and power which mark this fresco are found equally strong in a figure in the refectory of. S. Francesco representing the Saviour rising from the tomb in the usual attitude and holding the staff of a banner. His form is grave and majestic, though the features have no beauty; and the expression is so fine, the drawing so bold in its angular force, the somewhat broken movement of the joints so vehement that one forgets the defects in the vigour which the master displays.

The variety which distinguishes the Siennese from the Florentine school is now sufficiently clear. It may be noted in a series of frescos in the North transept of the Lower church of S. Francesco at Assisi assigned by Vasari to Pietro Cavallini.[2]

The Siennese school was characterized from the first by a peculiar mode of distributing the subjects of the Passion.

[1] The colour is of course removed by the scraping of the whitewash, but the preparation is the more visible, and one sees the shadows indicated in brown on a smooth intonaco.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 83.

Duccio and Barna, preserved it alike, commencing with the entrance into Jerusalem, to which they gave a double space, and closing with the crucifixion to which a fourfold area was devoted. The last scene of the mournful drama thus received additional importance, and was intended in every sense to possess overwhelming interest. The Florentines, it is hardly necessary to say, devoted to each incident an equal space, and their simplicity in this respect may be studied not only in Florence and Padua but in Assisi, by the side of these Siennese frescos which have so long been assigned to a Roman painter. They are indeed distributed not only as Duccio and others were wont to do, but as was usual with the painters of crucifixes in the eleventh and twelfth century, who made the Redeemer colossal and the scenes of the Passion subordinate. They occupy the sides, the vaulting and the end of the transept.[1] The pictures are parted in the usual manner by ribs of ornament, at the corners of which lozenges contain figures of prophets or apostles, and smaller medallions inclose angels. The character, the type of these apostles and angels, so clearly derived from the examples of Duccio and his predecessors, would alone prove the frescos to be by a painter of Sienna; but looking at the entire series, the impression which it creates is that of a work conceived and carried out by one hand, in general features like the cappella S. Martino of Simone, because it is by an artist of the same school, though stamped with the individuality of another and perhaps greater genius, unlike those of the Southern transept or the Orsini chapel, because they are by painters who laboured

[1] Beginning on the Eastern curve with the entrance into Jerusalem and the Last Supper, beneath which the Saviour washing the apostles' feet, the capture, the self murder of Iscariot, and S. Francis receiving the Stigmata were placed; and continuing on the Western with the Flagellation, the road to Calvary, and the Crucifixion which, with its fourfold size and colossal figure of the Saviour, is thus made to face the miracle of S. Francis and the Stigmata. In two courses on the Northern end of the transept and about the arch leading out of it, are painted the Deposition, the Entombment, the Resurrection and the Limbo.

on different principles and in another spirit. Setting aside, however, all other considerations for the sake of going into the analysis and study of the matter, the frescos of the North transept are Siennese in distribution and composition, and are the development of the manner of Duccio, Ugolino and Segna. The types are theirs, the old ones modified by the spirit of one who possessed a superior genius. The figures, vehement in action, often vulgar in shape and face, frequently conventional, and in some cases downright ugly, are rescued by the extraordinary power with which the movement and expression are rendered. The broad and sweeping draperies are more closely fitting than the Florentine and cut on different models. All this sufficiently characterizes a painter whose style can be distinguished even from that of his brother, and that is Pietro Lorenzetti. Passing from the general to the particular and taking the subjects in their historical order, the spectator can not fail to remark that the entrance into Jerusalem is conceived and executed as Duccio conceived and executed it, with the same figures, crowd and edifices, but bolder and more vehement in action, as if the soul of Duccio had entered the frame of Lorenzetti. None but Pietro ever painted such a Last Supper as this, where Christ gives the meat to Judas, an ignoble mask, and outside, the cooks clean the dishes near the kitchen fire, the cat steals the scraps and the servant points with his thumb in the direction of the supper as if commenting upon the conduct of the guests, whilst the moon and stars symbolically suggest an evening meal. Who but Pietro could impart to vulgar types and attitudes such power and animation as are to be found in the apostles in a room stripping their feet, whilst S. Peter reluctantly permits the Saviour to kneel and wash him? In the capture one may see the illustration of the well known custom which assigned to the Saviour a superior stature and grave features, mindless in their serenity of the cares of this little world; whilst in the face of Judas, the expressive ugliness which Leonardo da Vinci sought

with so much labour, proves Pietro's talent and study of the human features.[1]

At the column again, the Saviour appears, as in all Siennese pictures, with his back to the spectator and receives the stripes from two soldiers in the usual vehement action. A natural, well studied nude, muscular and energetic in its movement, but unnoble in form, reveals as ever the tendency of Pietro Lorenzetti. One may note in the procession to Calvary the two thieves in long convulsive stride and common in features, a soldier galopping on horseback, a guard rudely keeping back the Marys, the Saviour carrying his cross, the Virgin masculine in the angular energy of her step, in features resembling those of the fresco in S. Francesco at Pisa, S. John Evangelist quite to the left, and the horsemen closing a long array, the whole in a distance whose houses are crenelated not with the double Florentine pointed, but with the Siennese square, embrasure.

The crucifixion is mutilated by a large stone altar which cuts off the figure of the Saviour at the knees; and agreeably to Siennese custom, he contrasts by his size with the thieves in torture at his sides. With more simplicity, his form is identical with that of Duccio, thin, long, hanging forward, lifeless, low in forehead, with bony brow, nose depressed and mouth drooping at the corners. Well studied and harmonious in the parts, it proves Lorenzetti's study of nature. Terrible grimace, herculean frames and vulgar grief mark the circling angels about the cross, which contrast, as all Siennese angels do, with those of Giotto and prove once more, how different the genius of the two schools was where it might be desireable to create an ideal. As regards type, order, symmetry and balance of composition, which were Giotto's field, Lorenzetti shows his inferiority to the Florentines. The good thief on the other hand with his arms over the cross, as ever, a muscular nude, proves

[1] The apostles may be seen retiring in the background.

Pietro's rare talent and study of nature and his successful rivalry with, and superiority over, the Giottesques. The impenitent, vulgar in face, in agonizing pain as the executioner breaks his bones, realizes the idea of terrible suffering and is convulsed in every fibre. No one had as yet so completely rendered torments.[1]

Low down to the right of the altar, the Virgin sits between S. Francis[2] and another saint, talking to the infant and pointing back with her thumb. With some slight variation her form is a repetition of that in Pietro's altarpiece at Arezzo. Beneath this, and between two shields whose blasonry is gone, the crucifixion is repeated in miniature and a figure in prayer, said to be a portrait of Cavallini, but probably the patron, kneels to the right.[3] The Deposition is a composition of the usual vehemence in action and improved by Pietro's vigour from the original of Duccio.[4]

The type of the Saviour in the Entombment is as fine as the composition, in the pure Siennese style, is animated. The four busts of saints below are all but effaced. As for the resurrection and limbo, they illus-

[1] Beneath the penitent thief, the Virgin falls swooning into the arms of one of the Marys, forming a purely Siennese group. A figure looking over her, with an ugly face and a broad nose, is one of the types most common in Lorenzetti, whilst the Marys have the usual pointed and projecting chin. Close by, on the contrary, a youthful and fine female profile contrasts with the curiously exaggerated one of an aged woman. A nimbed figure on horseback standing in profile in front, affected in the action of the arms (much discoloured), is said to be a portrait of the Duke of Athens, and near him is supposed to be a likeness of Cavallini; but these are fables to captivate the idle, not to convince the serious observer. The group is completed by soldiers, as it is on the opposite side where two guards on horseback fraternize by giving an arm to each other.

[2] Part of the figure is gone.

[3] The colour has dropped off in parts; the white ground thus appears and the light preparation is visible.

[4] Whilst he represented the body of the Saviour held by two apostles, and still lissom in death, with Nicodemus drawing the nail, and the hands kissed by the Virgin and one of the Marys, he depicted the Magdalen kneeling on the ground to embrace the feet, and another of the Marys holding her cheeks and shrieking. The lean but not unnoble nude is rendered with the convulsive vigour which forms the groundwork of Pietro's talent, as it did that of Michael Angelo. Beneath the fresco four saints are placed

trate at once the well known tendency of Pietro to repeat subjects in consecrated forms, and his peculiar mode of impressing on them a stamp of his own. His excessive and uncompromising realism is further shown in the Judas hanging from a beam with his bowels dropping out,[1] a fresco at the side of a door, in the archivolt of which S. Francis in a medallion shows the Stigmata.

But where Giotto and Pietro may be advantageously compared is in the S. Francis receiving the Stigmata. The saint, kneeling on his left leg, looks up to his left at the Saviour on the cross swooping down with his seven wings like a hawk. Giotto would never have conceived an attitude so unnatural or uncomfortable as Lorenzetti here invented for the sake, no doubt, of novelty. The type of the saint's head combines all Pietro's characteristic features, a small chin and mouth, angular eyes close to the root of a long thin nose; in the glance menace and fear commingled, whilst the face of the Saviour is ignoble and without repose.[2]

Such is the perfect harmony of all these scenes, such the vigour, lightness, and brilliancy of their colour, that they are quite imposing, and they show Pietro Lorenzetti in a most advantageous light. As a colourist, indeed, he was enabled to maintain his work at a level above that due to it in consideration of the types and distribution; and in the north transept of Assisi he appears in this respect superior not only to the cotemporaries of his own but of other schools. In the power which he displays he surpassed the pupils of Giotto, whilst they excelled in composition and distribution which were Giotto's bequests to them. First amongst the artists of

in squares, and S. Catharine, one of them, rivals and resembles the Virgin of Pietro at S. Ansano.

[1] The lower part of the figure is retouched.

[2] The draperies, however, are fine, though in the simplicity with which they should clothe the form they are unequal to those of Giotto. The figure of Hilarius reading, in the right hand corner, is cut away by the frame of a projecting orchestra.

Sienna, he made a near approach to the perfection of Florence. He was beyond measure dramatic and powerful, and for this he deserves to be classed above Simone who, for his part, is entitled to claim attention for the extraordinary softness of his creations.

Assisi, however, does not alone contain examples of great works by Pietro. One has been noticed in S. Francesco of Pisa. The Campo Santo contains a series conceived and executed by him. On the southern wall of the inclosure and at its eastern extremity he illustrated the legends of numerous hermits and saints in a landscape of rocks scantily provided with trees and picturesquely capped with huts to which steps cut in the solid stone seem deviously to lead. In character exactly similar to the so-called Orcagnas at its side, this fresco is studded with about thirty different episodes partly on a foreground road leading by a bridge over a stream, partly in the crags or huts which have already been described. Unfavorable as this mode of representing subjects was and remained, it was too much in accordance with traditions sacred to Siennese painters to be abandoned. Yet, in spite of this disadvantage, it still gave occasion to Lorenzetti to form groups full of his usual energetic wildness, and the more suited to that tendency in him as he had but to depict the weatherbeaten features of inhabitants of a wilderness, to whom he could impart all the sternness of character and aspect, all the savage grandeur, of which he was a well chosen exponent. The age, the individuality, the occupation of each of these hermits, are rendered by him with original power, with great knowledge of nude form, great breadth of drapery, vigour of light and shade and admirable design. Whichever of the groups may more particularly attract the observer, he will find in it the same severe grandeur. For instance on the extreme right, where S. Panunzius covers up the frame of the dead S. Onofrio, lying at length on the ground and partly naked, the nude, in Pietro's characteristic style, is rendered with great intelli-

gence, the drapery with breadth and truth, the drawing with excessive firmness. One may note with what reverent care the surviving hermit, in his cowl and frock, bends down and brings the folds of the garment over the bare breast, — how natural and true is the action and how good the group. Considered alone, this is indeed one of the finest productions of its time. Well preserved, it is coloured with boldness on a white ground, the shadows, of a liquid grey tending to verde, defining the inner forms already lined in red, and contrasting with a natural yellowish flesh tint in light. The parts are modelled and searched out as a sculptor might have sought them, exhibiting Lorenzetti's excellence in rendering natural forms his preeminence in this over the followers of Giotto, and his superiority when he had to reproduce a quiet scene.[1]

Taking another incident that in which a woman tempts a hermit in his cell, who only resists by putting his hands in the fire, — the same female lying prostrate in death, and kneeling after her resurrection repentant near a tomb, Lorenzetti will be found equally able in producing feminine softness as he had previously shown himself in depicting the masculine sternness of the hermit. High up on the same side, S. Hilarion may be seen grave and fearless on a mule repelling a dragon with the sign of the cross, whilst the sentiment of fear and surprise is ably given in the attitude of one by him.[2] Near them, two devils before a hermit display the same fancy as dwells in the neighbouring fresco assigned to Orcagna. At no great distance the Saviour appears to Brother Antonio in prayer and has the type, the character and movement, the form and articulations, the draperies of the Saviour in the so-called Orcagna. Passing over a series of episodes in the life of the same beato Antonio, and pausing where he kisses the hand of

[1] His boldness in rubbing in the hair and beards transparently and drawing in the locks afterwards is beyond measure masterly.

[2] This figure is new as to the head.

the dead hermit, S. Paul, lying on the ground whilst two lions scratch in the hard ground a rude and shallow grave, the same grand variety of form and type may be discovered. The lions in their strength and elasticity are classical and seem to live; and wherever animal life is depicted the painter is great. A fallen mule, a camel entering a gate, exhibit his knowledge of their natural forms. Nothing can be finer than the groups of Paul and Antonio in prayer, of the bishop Zosimus giving the communion to S. Mary of Egypt shrouded in her long hair, or other subjects declared of old by inscriptions now worn out.[1]

The notice of Pietro's works may be completed by a short description of pictures scattered throughout many galleries.

In the church of S. Lucia near the Palazzo Gaetani at Rome is a small half length Virgin and child hanging to a pilaster near the high altar. A Christ before Herod by Pietro is also in one of the presses of the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[2]

Many panels with his name are to be found in Italy and abroad. The Virgin and child guarded by two angels between S. Augustin and other saints, S.S. John the Baptist, Agnes and Dominick;[3] four small panels in one frame representing scenes from the passion,[4] Christ on the cross,[5] all in the gallery of Berlin are not in the spirit of Pietro's genuine works.

Part of a pinnacle of an altarpiece with the subject of the annunciation, in a room leading to the Sala di Balia in the public Palace of Sienna, is the only work by Pietro remaining in an edifice for which he is known to have

[1] Damaged by time like its neighbours assigned to Orcagna, the fresco has undergone change from damp even in those parts which are best preserved, whilst some parts have been repainted; and clamps unite the intonaco where it was split and threatened to fall out. It is still inclosed in a painted frame having nine angels in medallions, executed, with the exception of a portion already described as repainted by Antonio Veniziano, in the same style as that which surrounds the two neighbouring ones supposed to be the work of Andrea and Bernardo Orcagna.

[2] Press III.

[3] Berlin catalogue No. 1091.

[4] Ibid. No. 1092.

[5] Ibid. No. 1093.

painted so much. A half figure of an apostle,[1] a half length of S. Gregory,[2] a Virgin and child guarded by two angels, with seraphs in the angles,[3] all of them flat and giving no idea of the master's talent, are in the Academy of Sienna, together with half lengths of S.S. Thomas and James,[4] Thomas and Bartholomew which were once pinnacles of an altarpiece.[5]

One may further assign to the school, though much damaged, a "dossale" representing the Virgin and child between S.S. Giuliana, Peter, Paul and Giusto with the annunciation, and eight saints in the upper spaces, originally executed for the church of S. Giusto of Sienna, much repainted in oil and now in the Sienna Academy;[6] half figures of S.S. John the Baptist and Paul from the convent of S. Marta in the same gallery.[7] Here indeed may be the hand of Paolo di Maestro Neri, who is to be considered a pupil of the Lorenzetti.

As for a small panel in the Uffizi at Florence representing the Thebais of Egypt,[8] subjects similar to those which illustrate hermit life at the Campo Santo, the composition has neither the qualities nor the power of Pietro, though it may be of his school and the execution by his pupils.

The date of Pietro's death is not more certain than that of his birth, but it is known that he lived in the parish of S. Pietro in Castelvecchio and that he was married to Giovanna di Mino del Cicerchia. The most probable supposition is that the plague of 1348 put an end not only to his, but to his brother Ambrogio's, life.

Of the latter, who was obviously younger than Pietro, little more is known. His birth and his death have not been recorded and the first notice of his existence dates no further back than 1324.[9] His earliest productions were frescos in S. Francesco of Sienna executed, according to Tizio, in 1331,[10] and described with such enthusiasm by Ghiberti, that his words may with advantage be quoted.

[1] Sienna Acad. cat. No. 57.
[2] Ibid. No. 58.
[3] Ibid. No. 59.
[4] Ibid. No. 54.
[5] Ibid. No. 55.
[6] Nos. 114. 115. 116.
[7] Nos. 117 and 118.
[8] No. 9. Uffizi Catal. much restored.
[9] Milanesi, Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 195.
[10] Tizio. Mss. ap. Della Valle. Vol. II. p. 213.

Ambrogio's admirable story, says the Florentine, fills the whole side of a cloister, where a youth may be seen preparing to take the frock, assuming the monastic habit, and with others requesting permission to pass into Asia to preach amongst the Saracens. Then follows the departure of the brethren on their way to the Soldan: how they begin to preach the faith of Christ and are brought before the Soldan, who orders them to be bound to a pillar and scourged by two executioners. There again is to be seen, how two, who have already given their share of stripes, surrender the duty to two others and rest themselves with hair bathed in moisture[1] and forms dripping with sweat, with such sorrow and trouble in their faces, that it is a marvel with what art the master presented them. The people stand by and look at the naked friars. The Soldan sits in Moorish fashion, all in costumes and dresses so varied, that one might fancy the figures were alive. Finally the Soldan issues the order that the brethren shall be hanged to a tree, and it appears than one of them speaks and preaches as he hangs from the bough, on which the Soldan orders the executioner to decapitate them. The scene is represented where they are so executed amidst a great crowd of spectators on foot and horseback, with the executioner and many armed people. Here are men and women, and as the heads are separated from the trunks, a dark storm arises, with hail, thunder, lightning and earthquake, so well depicted that one might fancy one saw the fall of heaven and earth. All appear anxious to get under cover, in great trepidation. The men and women bring their garments over their heads and the soldiers cower under their shields, whilst the hail gathers and clatters upon them. The trees bow to the ground, or break, and every one tries to fly. The executioner falls from his horse and kills him as he does so. So great was the miracle that many people were baptized. For a painting this seemed to me a marvel.[2]

So far Ghiberti. What remains of these frescos since their recovery from whitewash, consists of two large fragments sawed from the cloister-wall and now in the second chapel of the church of San Francesco at Sienna.

[1] Rumohr (Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 101.) translates 'Capelli' hats!

[2] Ghib. Comment. II. ap. Vas. Vol. I. p. XXIII—IV.

The Pope enthroned imposes hands on a kneeling friar distinguished by a nimbus. A potentate in a diadem and a row of cardinals stand at the Pope's sides, and brethren of the Franciscan order kneel on the right foreground, whilst a crowd look on near the prince and cardinals. This damaged and colourless fresco is designed in the manner peculiar to the Lorenzetti, and permits no doubt as to its authors. Its style is that common to Pietro and Ambrogio and not dissimilar from that of the so-called Orcagna's at the Campo Santo of Pisa.[1]

The second fragment represents the Soldan, sword in hand, surrounded by guards intended for Africans, but more like Chinamen, and dressed in the strangest and most fanciful habits. The Soldan's expression is stern and passionate. On the left, three men kneeling with their backs to the spectators, await the stroke of the executioner. Three others have already been decapitated, and very ugly children throw stones at their corpses. On the extreme right, an executioner restores his sword to the scabbard. Defective as regards type, form and action, this fresco exhibits not only exaggerated but frequently false design.[2] The surface has been completely abraded, but the execution seems less worthy of the master than of his assistants.[3]

Of the frescos in S. Agostino at Sienna, where, according to Ghiberti[4] and Vasari,[5] Ambrogio illustrated the creed and the legend of S. Catherine, there are remnants only in the archivolt of a door leading into the Collegio Tolomei, but so injured as to defy criticism. Vasari further mentions scenes from the legend of S.

[1] The head of the prince for instance, with a diadem, stretching forward, is especially remarkable; and the variety of costumes, the squareness of muscular forms are characteristic.

[2] The architecture of a portico under which the Soldan sits is small and feeble as it appears in old miniatures, and is adorned with little figures in dead colour on triangular pinnacles.

[3] From this series of frescos by the brothers Lorenzetti, two heads of females are in the hands of Mr. Under secretary Austen Layard.

[4] Ghib. ub. sup. p. XXIV.

[5] Vas. Vol. II. p. 66.

Nicholas executed together with an altarpiece for S. Procolo of Florence;[1] and Cinelli alludes to the latter as having borne the signature "Ambrosius Laurentii de Senis 1332".[2] All that remains of it is two small predella panels in the Academy of Arts at Florence, one representing S. Nicolas of Bari throwing the gold into the room of his neighbour asleep near his three daughters and another scene,[3] the other two, incidents from the life of S. Proculus,[4] both much damaged, but still stamped with Ambrogio's character. The rest of the altarpiece has disappeared together with that part of the predella in which Ambrogio painted his own portrait, but it produced an order for him to visit Cortona in 1335, to execute for a bishop of the Ubertini certain frescos in S. Margarita, which are not now in existence.[5] From thence he returned to Sienna, where he is recorded to have repaired the face, hands and book, of the Virgin in the Duomo and, as has already been stated, he painted with his brother the front of the Spedale at Sienna.

Early in 1337, and for two entire years afterwards, he was employed in adorning the Sala de' Nove or della Pace in the public Palace at Sienna with frescos which were completed on the eighteenth of Feb. 1339.[6] Here Ambrogio depicted three vast allegories illustrative of the advantages to be derived from justice and peace, and of the evils ensuing from tyranny. The first, above a door which unhappily cuts off a part of its right corner, has given occasion to mighty contest and argument, yet seems capable of sufficient explanation.

High up on the left hand, a half length figure of Wisdom, inscribed "Sapientia", crowned with a diadem and wearing a veil round its neck, hovers on the wing with a book in

[1] Ibid. p. 67.
[2] Note to ibid. same page.
[3] No. 60. of Acad. cat. Salle des Petits tableaux.
[4] Ibid. No. 66.
[5] Vas. Vol. II. p. 67.
[6] See the records in Milanesi. Vol. I. p. 195. Though the subjects are not given in the records, one may assume that the payments refer to the frescos in the Sala de' Nove.

her left hand.[1] She holds with her right the handle of a gigantic balance whose beam reposes on the head of Justice, looking up as if for inspiration to the figure of Wisdom, and poising at an equal height the disks.[2] In that to the left a winged angel[3] bends outward and decapitates a kneeling man, whilst with his right hand he places a crown on the head of another kneeling in prayer. This is distributive justice as the word "distributiva" indicates. A similar angel[4] bends out of the disk to the right, dipping one hand into a box held by a kneeling person and giving a lance and sword to another in a similar attitude. This obscure allegory is explained by the inscription "Comutativa".[5]

Apart from the allegorical conception which was obviously studied and invented by the fancy of an unartistic mind, the figure of justice is one of the noblest and finest produced in the school of Sienna. It deserves indeed to be classed amongst the greatest creations of art of the time. A noble mien, supreme dignity, adorn the figure and sit on the brow of a youthful female whose mighty tresses are plaited out beneath a diadem, leaving the cheeks, the neck, free to display their rich and well filled forms. The face is soft in its foreshortened roundness, the features regular, and the high-waisted red dress richly embroidered in gold. No one after Giotto better or more artistically coupled dignity with elegance and grace; and if severe simplicity is not attained in the Florentine measure, it is that the Siennese were of a different stamp and spirit from their rivals. And now let us carefully trace the somewhat delicate thread of the allegory.

A couple of lines pass from the waists of the angels in the disks. One is red, the other white. These lines fall and unite themselves in the left hand of "Concord" seated

[1] Her mantle is yellow spotted with black. The book is red.

[2] The words: "Diligite justitiam (justitiam is now obliterated) qui judicatis terram" indicate her symbolic character which is likewise revealed by her occupation.

[3] In red tunic.

[4] In a white tunic.

[5] Förster has not caught the spirit of the allegory, he calls this Justice "communicativa". Vide Beyträge ub. sup. p. 183.



ILLUSTRATIVE OF PEACE. A fresco in the Public Palace of Siena by Ambrogio Lorenzetti

on a throne immediately beneath "Justice", a gentle figure crowned with a diadem, with a flame burning in its centre, and holding in its hand a carpenter's plane inscribed with the word "Concordia". She passes the double line to a miniature personage standing near her, who hands it on to his neighbours, forming a long procession of twenty four persons, advancing in couples to the foot of a throne on the right, where a vast figure sits with a sceptre in one hand and a seal in the other, symbolizing the government or "reggimento" of Sienna. The idea seems to be, that Wisdom, Justice, and Concord are the results of Siennese administration regulated by the "twenty four" of the nobles and people, evidently painted from life by Ambrogio and distinguished in the arms of each by the red and white colours, both in the thread which unites them, the cap which covers the head of the enthroned "Sienna", and the loop with which it is bound to his chin. This colossal figure represents a man in the ripeness of age, with silvery hair and beard, a baronial cap on his head. Round the cap, as may be clearly seen in similar figures on the book-covers of the Biccherna at Sienna, were the initials C.S. C.V.[1] now altered by restoring. A mantle, white to the waist and black from that downwards, clothes the figure in the colours of the "Balzana" or shield of the Comune of Sienna, and is embroidered and fringed with gold.[2] A she-wolf giving suck to two babes and licking one of them with her tongue forms a footstool to the figure.[3] Faith, Charity and Hope hover about the head of the "Comune".[4]

[1] The present letters are C. S. C. CV. the second C. an addition. One may interpret the initials as "Commune Senarum civitatis Virginis."

[2] The seal in his left hand represents the Virgin and child between two kneeling angels with the motto: "Salvet Virgo Senam veterem quam signat amenam," and is the same which Simone placed beneath the frame of his fresco in the Sala del Consiglio, Sienna being then under the patronage of the Virgin Mary.

[3] The same in a similar form may be seen in a book-cover of 1344 at Sienna with a white cap; in a book-cover of 1363 (No. 354) in the Ramboux collection at Cologne; and in a book-cover of 1473 in the Academy of Sienna by Guidoccio Cozzarelli (No. 264. Acad. Cat.), the seal only being altered. Both, like that of Ambrogio's fresco, represent the "Comune" of Sienna. (Mr. Förster, like many others fancies this figure to be the "Kaiser", an evident error. Vide Beyträge ub. sup. p. 182.)

[4] The first, in a diadem carrying a cross, the second with a dart and a burning heart, the third longing towards the vision of the Saviour's head above it.

On a long bench at the sides of the "Commune" sit six virtues, "Prudence" to the (spectator's) left pointing to the flames

The majesty of Sienna is guarded by soldiers in armour to the right and left of the throne, standing on foot and on horseback, whilst in front of these, on the right foreground, is a group of captives. On a narrow border are the words: "Ambrosius Laurentii, de Senis me pinxit utrinque."[1]

The impression created by this ably distributed fresco is that which might be produced by the enlargement of a picture on an Etruscan vase, a pretty rather than a seriously grave character being peculiar to it. The arrangement of Wisdom, Justice, and Concord, is good and the highest degree of elegance and grace is combined in them. Ambrogio in this work represents the Siennese school at its zenith, and shows himself a far abler composer than Simone. In Assisi we saw Pietro grand in the energetic rendering of passion. Here is a calm and noble repose.

The results of a good government are illustrated on a second wall of the Sala by Ambrogio in a vast fresco representing the arts, the trades, the business and pleasures of Sienna. Divided into town and country by the profile of a wall and gate with a moat and drawbridge

in a platter held in her left hand (with the inscription: "Preteritum, presens, futurum"). "Fortitude", by her side, wearing a diadem and holding a sceptre and shield. Peace again, in the corner, is recumbent on her arm supporting her head on her hand. In white and holding a branch of olive she rests her feet on a shield and helm, the useless emblems of war. Nothing can be more elegant than her form and attitude. On the opposite side of the "Comune", "Magnanimity" holds a triple crown and a bushel of pieces. Temperance points to the sand glass in her right. Justice, rests the hilt of a sword on a severed head and holds a crown in its left.

[1] A painted frieze, above, contained four medallions with emblematical figures of the seasons now cut in half by a new roof. In a part of the same frieze beneath the fresco are two figures of "Grammar", a female teaching a child, and "dialectics", a figure glancing from the mask of an aged man in its left to that of a youth in its right. Between them an inscription runs thus:

"Questa santa virtù, là dove regge,
Induce ad unità li animi molti;
E questi a ciò ricolti,
Un ben comun per lor signor si fanno;
Lo qual, per governar suo stato, elegge
Di non tener gia' mai gli occhi rivolti
Da lo splendor de' volti
Delle virtù che torno a lui si stanno.
Per questo, con triunfo a lui si danno
Censi tributi e signorie di Terre;
Per questo, senza guerre
Seguita poi ogni civile effetto
Utile, necessario e di diletto."

defended by a high square tower, and a barbican, on which the she-wolf and twins stand guard, the distance to the left is filled with houses, with towers in one of which workmen are busy, with the belfry and dome of the cathedral. People of both sexes stream in at the gate with provisions on sumpter mules, with goats and cows. It is a glimpse of public life in the fourteenth century. In a shop, a tailor makes and sells clothes, the teacher at his desk presides over a class, whilst other children play. In the middle of the foreground ten girls, in pretty head dresses and closely fitting costume, dance in a circle, passing under the arms of two whose hands are joined together, all to the sound of one singing and striking a timbrel. Elegance, elasticity, motion are well rendered by the painter. On the left a lady and gentleman on horseback are followed by an attendant, carrying flowers. Another couple of the same kind have issued from the gate into the country on the right, followed by a page. The man carries a hawk. Others in front are crossbow shooting, mules and travellers pass over a bridge of two arches on the right. In the distance, hunters galop on the brow of a hill behind which a castle inscribed "Talam" is intended to represent Talamone the port which Sienna in vain endeavoured to make a source of wealth by erecting it into a harbour.[1] Peaceful pleasure in town and country, trade and traffick undisturbed declare the prevalence and consequent prosperity of peace. A youthful genius of a beautiful shape flies by the side of the entrance tower, veiled in part and inscribed "Securitas".[2] In the frieze at the base of this fresco three figures of Geometry, Astrology, and Philosophy remain.[3]

[1] This part is all repainted.

[2] In her left hand is a gallows with a criminal dangling from it. In her hand a long scroll contains the words:

"Senza paura ogni uom' franco camini,
E lavorando semini ciascuno,
Mentre che tal comuno
Manterrà questa donna in signoria,
Ch' ella ha levata a' rei ogni balia.

[3] Geometry holding a compass, Astrology the sphere, Philosophy in the garb of an antique priestess with laurel on her brow, and her hand on three books on a chair. Astrology is a graceful figure

The whole of this wall has been injured more than the first one, and damp has removed some of the colour, whilst in other parts the intonaco has fallen out or repainting has taken place. The landscape to the right is in fact new.

On the third wall, Ambrogio painted the allegory and consequences of bad government.

On the part to the right sits a figure of "Tyranny" in front of a crenelated wall flanked with a high towered gate.[1] This is a squinting monster with two white horns and tusks issuing from his mouth, his hair in tresses like those of a woman, in armour concealed by a long red cloak. In his right a knife, in his left a cup for poison, a he-goat lies at his feet. Avarice, pride and vain-glory flutter over his head, the first a hag with a coffin and hook, the second with a knife and a yoke and red horns on her head, the last a girl with a reed, admiring her attire of gems in a mirror. Right and left of Tyranny sit fraud, treason, and cruelty,[2] fury, division and "war",[3] fraud with bat's wings, and claws grasping a staff, Treason with a benignant face, but holding a lamb with a scaly tail and the legs of a crow, the same emblem which is placed in the hands of the Duke of Athens in the fresco of the Stinche at Florence; Cruelty, aged, gnawing at a serpent whose folds are twined round her and strangling a child. Fury is represented as a boar with human breast and arms, the forelegs of a horse, the hindlegs of a dog, and grasping a knife and a stone; — Division, a female half dressed in white and black, inscribed "Si" and "no", and sawing a log in half; War, a soldier waving a sword and holding up a shield with the word "guerra" upon it. "Justice" lies prostrate at the feet of "Tyranny" and has lost her "balance." To the right are vestiges of thieves and highwaymen. Below prostrate justice are the words:

with a fine head. Though differently conceived and of lower merit than others, Philosophy is a beautiful and elegant allegory. Along the lower border of the picture are the words:

"Volgete gli occhi a rimirar costei,
Voi che regette, ch' e qui figurata,
E per su' eccellenzia coronata;
La qual sempre a ciascun suo dritto rende,
Guardate quanti ben vengan da lei,
E come è dolce vita e riposata
Quella della città du' e servata
Questa virtù che più d'altra risprende.
Ella guarda e difende
Chi lei onora, e lor nutrica et pasce;
Da la suo luce nasce
El meritar color ch' operan bene,
Et agl' iniqui dar debite pene."

[1] In the extreme right of the pictures.

[2] Left.

[3] Right.

"Laddove sta legata la justizia,
Nessuno al ben comun già mai s' accorda
Ne tira a dritta corda.
Però convien che tirannia sormonti;
La qual, per adempir la sua nequizia
Nullo voler nè operar discorda
Dalla natura lorda
De' Vizi che con lei son qui congionti.
Questa caccia color che al ben son pronti
E chiama a sè ciascun che a male intende.
Questa sempre difende
Chi sforza, o robba, o chi odïasse pace;
Unde ogni terra sua inculta giace."

In the ornamental frieze are remains of dead-coloured figures of Nero, Geta, Caracalla, and other tyrants.

The left half of the painting is meant to exhibit the effects of bad government, but a great part of the scene is obliterated. In the distance, the town appears in the same order as in the fresco of peace. Persons on a tower are throwing it down. Figures on the foreground lie dead, soldiers commit thefts, and the keepers at the gate rob an old woman of her fruit and vegetables. An armed troop issue into the country; and above the tower a hag inscribed "Timor" half naked, sword in hand and with a patched dress, flies waving a scroll on which is written.

"Per voler el ben proprio in questa terra,
Sommess' è la Giustizia a Tirannia;
Unde per questa via
Non passa alcun senza dubbio di morte;
Chè fuor si robba e drento della porta."

The illustrations of tyranny outside the walls are obliterated. In the upper part of the frame are still allegorical figures of Tubal Cain, an aged man with red and white grapes in one hand, a tree uprooted in the other, a crowned figure, a man holding a white ball or a coin, a fighting soldier, all these interspersed with the arms of the Comune and people, and the signs of the Zodiac. At the base are the following lines of which the first part is gone:

.
. . Cosi probabilmente e per effetto;
Che dove è tirannia è gran sospetto,
Guerre, rapine, tradimenti e'nganni
Prendonsi signoria sopra di lei,
E pongasi la mente e lo intelletto
In tener sempre a Justizia suggetto

Ciascun, per ischifar sì scuri danni,
Abbattendo e tiranni;
E chi turbar la vuol, sia, per suo merto,
Discacciato e diserto,
Insieme con qualunque s' ha seguace,
Fortificando lei per nostra pace."

So ruined is this fresco, that its colour is quite black and the allegorical figures must be closely examined to be understood. As a work of art the painting is of no further value.[1]

Representing the art of Sienna in its greatness, it is a pity that these works should be irreparably injured precisely in those parts from which Ambrogio's talent might be most perfectly appreciated. Yet enough remains to justify Ghiberti's raptures and his clear belief that, though Simone was a noble and famous painter, Ambrogio was better endowed and greater.[2] We may add that Pietro deserves the same praise as Ambrogio, though Ghiberti forgot to mention him. The two brothers seem to have been nearly of the same age. They often laboured, and they disappear from records together. Their manner in certain pictures is so like, that it might be confounded. If they be compared with Simone, they will be found grander, more classical, and of a far more manly fibre. In their composition, comparatively speaking, they had the quality of balance and order; and they are the only Siennese who made a near approach to the great standard of Giotto. Their figures had no longer the predominant antiquated types and forms, but a broader, simpler and more Italian style.

Ambrogio had hardly completed this great series, in which perhaps he had been aided by the talents of his brother, than he undertook the composition of an altar-

[1] The following seems to refer to these frescos: April 29. 1337. payment: 10 fl. gold. 31 liv. 16 sol. 8 den. June 30. same year, 10 fl. gold. — Feb. 18. 1338. 6 fl. of gold. Sept. 24. 10 fl. of gold. Dec. 8. 10 fl. — Feb. 18. 1339. 6 fl. gold. June 20. 10 ff. gold. Total 62 fl. This, however, evidently does not represent the whole sum payed for this vast work. Vide Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 195.

[2] Ghiberti ub. sup. p. XXV.

piece called tavola di S. Crescenzo for the cathedral of Sienna, which, with two figures of angels and a candelabra for its front, were completed in 1340.[1] His name appears in a record of the same year in connection with certain works in the chapel of the cemetery at Sienna.[2]

In 1342 he completed for the Spedaletto of Mona Agnese at Sienna the presentation in the temple, now in the Florence Academy of Arts inscribed:

"Ambrosius Laurentii de Senis fecit hoc opus anno domini MCCCXLII."[3]

The picture is much altered by restoring and varnish, and gives little idea of the master's talent as a colourist and draughtsman. Frescos said to have been executed by him in the same edifice have perished. His annunciation finished in 1344 in the Palazzo Pubblico, and called Madonna dei Donzelli, is in the Academy of Sienna.[4] Damaged and of a vitrous colour owing to many varnishes, this is still a valuable example of the master.[5]

The latest record of Ambrogio is a payment for figures in the Camera de' Signori Nove[6] in 1345, but these are not known to exist at the present time; and the student is thrown back upon works unauthenticated by inscriptions.

Amongst these one of much interest is an allegorical figure of the Comune on a book-cover preserved in the

[1] For about 135 gold florins. — Vide Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 196. The altarpiece as well as two others mentioned by Ghiberti, is gone. Ghib. ub. sup. p. XXV.

[2] Ibid.

[3] No. 17. Sala Grande, Acad. of Florence.

[4] No. 49. of Cat. With the inscription: "XVII. de Decembre MCCCXLIIII fece Ambruogio Lorençi questa tavola. — Era camarlengo Dom. Francesco Monaco de S. Galgano e assecutori, Bindo Petrucci, Giovanni di Meo Baldinotti, Mino e Andreoccio; scrittore Agnolo Locti."

[5] The types and character of the two figures are weighty. The angel with a laurel crown kneeling and pointing backwards with his thumb, the Virgin, with a highly ornamented head dress, listening to the message, have the qualities and characteristic plump forms and features of all those by Ambrogio. In the birth of the arches, in which the separate figures of angel and Virgin stand, is the Eternal.

[6] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 197.

"Direzione del Registro della Prefettura," at Sienna and ordered by the assessors of the Gabelle.[1] For these very officials Ambrogio had already executed the annunciation. He doubtless also completed the book-cover which is painted in his manner, and if not by himself, at least by his assistants.[2]

Another book-cover in the same archives, but dated 1357 and darkened by age, represents the presentation in the temple, but is more in the style of pupils than of the Lorenzetti themselves.

A much damaged descent from the cross, with a half length Virgin and child between the Magdalen and S. Dorothy above it; the whole between four erect full lengths of S.S. John Evangelist and Baptist, Augustine and Anthony, is in the Academy of Sienna, whither it was taken from the convent of S. Petronilla.[3] Much injured and repainted, especially in the "descent" which is a composition of many animated figures much in Pietro's manner, the altarpiece is a little feeble. Yet S. Dorothy is graceful in the plump forms peculiar to Ambrogio in the fresco of the Palazzo Pubblico. Another little Virgin and child amongst angels and adored by six saints,[4] almost completely rubbed down, has also the character of Ambrogio and particularly recals to memory that of a colossal Virgin and child painted in fresco in a balcony of the upper story at the Palazzo Pubblico in Sienna.[5] There the Saviour, lightly clad, seems to play with a seal in the Virgin's right hand representing the half black and white arms of the "Comune" and people and holding a scroll on which are the words: "Mandatū nov. do vobis ut dilig" This is the only work that remains in the Palazzo in addition to those of the Sala della Pace. It is clearly and transparently coloured

[1] Headed "Book of receipts and payments of the general Gabelle of the Comune of Sienna for July January 1344. Don Francesco monk of S. Galgano being Camarlengo, Bindo Petrucci, Giovanni de Meo Baldinotti, and Mino di Andreuccio being assessors."

[2] The "comune" sits enthroned in black and white with the sceptre and seal in hand, and his feet resting on the she-wolf suckling the babes. A white cap with a red slip in the top covers his long silvery hair. (At the sides as usual the initials C. S. C. V.) The beard is divided into points, the head is fine, harmoniously and softly coloured in clear tones, the figure in an attitude of noble repose. This small work is so well preserved that it gives a better idea of the power of the Lorenzetti as colourists than any of the pictures at Sienna or Florence.

[3] No. 50—51.

[4] No. 56. Acad. of Sienna.

[5] A balcony looking out on the market place.

in a good key, but the figures are massive and not very pleasing.

The war of Asinalunga, as Vasari calls it,[1] in the Sala del Consiglio, where Simone's masterpieces are placed, is a series of frescos in dead colour representing, first, a large figure inscribed "Doct. Min." being a likeness of Orsini of the Signori di Monte-Rotondo, and a series of battle scenes, most of them executed by disciples of Lorenzetti's school, but not by himself, as is evident from the date of 1363 at which the incidents depicted took place. That part of the work nearest the Majesty of Simone has been visibly restored or repainted. Again the chiaroscuro frescos in the convent of Lecceto, so fully described by Della Valle[2] are by Paolo del Maestro Neri, evidently a pupil of the Lorenzetti, on the roll of painters at Sienna in 1355,[3] and who finished this series in 1343.[4]

Frescos less important even than these, but by one of the Lorenzetti school, decorate the choir of the church of S. Leonardo in Selva del Lago near Sienna, and represent scenes from the life of the Saviour, the Virgin and saints, much damaged and rudely executed.

As regards pictures in various galleries few deserve mention.[5]

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 66.

[2] Lett. Sen. Vol. II. p. 227.

[3] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 30.

[4] In the primo chiostro of Lecceto, Paolo depicted Paradise, the infernal regions, and the works of mercy, the seven sacraments, some profane subjects, hunts, a sea-fight, and the assault of a town. In the second chiostro he decorated the walls with incidents from the lives of the Augustin hermits, exhibiting the second rate power of one who had been a student of the Lorenzetti's manner. Notices of Paolo in his native place, between 1343 and 1382, may be found in Milanesi. (Ibid. Vol. I. p.p. 30. 31.)

[5] Those which most display the character of Ambrogio's school, though not of much importance in themselves, are in the Berlin gallery. One representing two incidents in the life of S. Catherine of Sienna (Berlin gallery, No 1077.), recals the style of the picture falsely assigned to Buffalmacco in the Academy of Florence. Yet the representation of incidents in the life of a saint who lived to the close of the 14th century, precludes the Lorenzetti. Of the same class in the Berlin gallery are scenes from the lives of the hermits Paul and Anthony (No. 1085. Berlin cat. and 1086.) and a scene from the life of S. Dominick. (Ibid. 1094.) Another picture of the Virgin and child and Saints (Ibid. 1100.), of an inferior class, resembles the works of Giacomo di Mino Pellicciaio. A martyrdom of S. Catherine of Sienna, part of a predella assigned to Ambrogio in the collection of Lord Ward at Dudley House is not of the Siennese school, but is more properly assigned in the Catalogue to the Bicci. Waagen, Treasures ub. sup. Vol. 2. p. 233, also assigns to Ambrogio five pictures in the collection of the late Mr. Daven-

From these poor and uncertain works of obscure or unknown followers of the Lorenzetti school one may pass to those of Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, the founder of the noble Siennese house of the Bartoli Battilori, and the companion in art of Andrea Vanni. Born about 1330[1] he was registered in the guild of Sienna in 1355. He married in 1359 donna Bartolommea di Cecco, by whom he had many children, all of whom, however, died before their father, except Andrea Bartoli, a proof sufficient to refute Vasari's assertion that Taddeo Bartoli was of that family.[2] His companionship with Andrea Vanni dates as far back as 1353,[3] and in 1361, he was employed in the Sala del consiglio at Sienna. In 1362, however, he left his native place for S. Gimignano, where, according to Vasari, he had already, in 1356, decorated the whole side of the left aisle of the Pieve with scenes from the old testament.[4] A few heads and figures which have escaped repainting still bear the impress of Bartolo's hand, as it may be found on pictures presently to be noticed, but the date given by Vasari is obliterated. His presence at S. Gimignano in 1362 is proved by a letter without date or address, treating of matters which occurred in that year. He informs the "Signoria" of Sienna, namely, that the mercenary company of the Italians had been seen on the frontier of the state, and appears to have the intention of invading the "Maremma", and he thinks it right, as he has been informed of this matter, to communicate it to the authorities.[5] A further proof of his stay at S. Gimignano until 1366 is afforded by a resolution of the council of that city, in

port Bromley representing Christ, with two angels, between S.S. Peter, Francis, Paul, and James. This, however, is not a Siennese picture but as has been said antea, is in the manner of Jacopo di Casentino. At Wootton they were called Giotto.

[1] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 36.

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 218.

[3] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 304. and Vol. II. p. 36.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 219. He gives the inscription. "An. Dom. 1356. Bartolus Magister Fredi de Senis me pinxit," which is now absent.

[5] See the original letter in Gaye. Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 70. and Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 260.

which the monks of S. Augustin and Monte Oliveto, having composed long pending differences, Bartolo was commissioned to paint two brothers of that order in the Palazzo Pubblico with an inscription "in large letters" to keep the matter in the memories of the people.[1] These figures have long since perished, but in S. Agostino of S. Gimignano a chapel to the right of the high altar is evidently decorated with frescos by Bartolo, a part of which have been recently rescued from whitewash. Joachim may be seen receiving the news of the Virgin's birth which is depicted close by. S. Anna appears in a foreshortened attitude in bed, washing her hands, and in that sort of bold movement which Taddeo di Bartolo so frequently applied at a later period. In front, a female holds the child, whilst another stretches her arms towards it, and servants appear at the door. Bartolo was then in the prime of his talent such as it was, and painted better as regards composition, action and type, than later at Montalcino. His return to Sienna took place in the early part of 1367/1368 when he was employed with Jacomo di Mino in decorating one of the walls near the chapel of S. Ansano in the cathedral.[2] In 1372 he rose to the honours of the government at Sienna and was one of those sent to greet the new Podesta on his approach to the city in October of that year.[3] At some time between this and 1380, Bartolo had been induced by the bishop of Volterra to paint the choir of his cathedral. Having done so the payment was withheld, and this gave occasion to the government of Sienna to write to that of Volterra claiming the debt and threatening, if it were not paid, to retaliate on any Volterrans who might be found having just claims of money in Sienna.[4] A second more pressing demand in August, followed by

[1] Pecori. Storia d. S. Gimignano ub. sup. p. 189. He was paid 10 livres for the work, less than 3 gold florins.

[2] Vide antea Pellicciaio and Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 263.

[3] Gaye. Carteggio ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 71.

[4] July 1380. Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 285.

a haughty reply from Volterra,[1] is recorded; but in October, a house was sold by the Comune with the bishop's consent and Bartolo received the payment of his frescos[2] which, however, have disappeared. Bartolo became a member of council shortly after,[3] and again in 1382, when he appears labouring for S. Francesco of Montalcino.[4]

In the sacristy is a descent from the cross by him, the usual Siennese composition of about eleven figures, with the addition of four angels in couples, hovering above the sides of the cross, a mixture of the styles of Simone and Lorenzetti. Bartolo drew out the figures in lean and paltry forms; he gave a bony shape to the nude of the Saviour, and to the Virgin, the ugly types and vehement action peculiar to Pietro Lorenzetti, without the spirit which rescued his works from vulgarity, or the warm brilliancy which gave them charm. His drawing and colour are both hard; the latter flat and of a purple red in shadow. Had Bartolo's position been measured at Sienna by his talents, be would never have occupied a leading place. He was not only inferior to those that preceded him in the first half of the century, but to Barna and Lippo on one side[1] and Luca di Thomé, Andrea Vanni and Giacomo Pellicciaio on the other, a numerous and influential array of painters in its relation to Pisa and other cities, where art remained at a low level, but incapable of competing with Florence. Bartolo's Descent from the cross bears the remnants of an inscription as follows:

"....lus Magistri Fredi de Senis anno domini
MCCCLXXXII."

Five scenes of the life of S. Philip of Montalcino in three panels and other fragments representing S.S. Peter, Paul, Francis, the Baptism of Christ and angels, all more or less injured, remain in proximity to the larger senes of which they, no doubt, once formed a part. Another picture of greater magnitude was completed for the same church in 1388, and remains partly in the sacristy with the deposition, partly in the academy of Sienna.[5] It is the least faulty that remains of Bartolo's works, displaying his close

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid. The sum claimed was 55 flor. of gold.
[3] 1381/1380. Ibid.
[4] The picture was commissioned of him in May 1382 for 170 florins of gold. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 293.
[5] In its original state the al-

imitation of the animated scenes depicted by the Lorenzetti and filled with figures on a very small scale showing less defects than larger productions. Still the colour remains as hard, as red and as flat as ever, and much gold is lavished on the accessories and ornament.

An Adoration of the Magi by Bartolo remains in the Academy of Sienna[1] and is remarkable for the number and exaggerated ugliness of the figures.[2]

A Virgin giving the girdle to S. Thomas, by Bartolo or his companion Andrea Vanni, and imitating at once Simone and Lippo Memmi, is in the church of S. Maria of Bettona near Assisi. Reduced to a square form, medallions have been introduced into a modern frame. This is one of numerous false Giottos clearly by Bartolo, but damaged by two vertical splits.[3]

Mr. Ramboux of Cologne has an Adoration of the Magi much damaged, but in the true spirit of the master.[4]

In 1389, Bartolo assisted by Luca Thomé painted the altarpiece of the Shoemakers' company in the cathedral of

tarpiece resembled the front of a cathedral, with a central and two side gables flanked by two towers standing with the apex of their angles to the spectator. In the central gable now at Montalcino, Bartolo painted the coronation of the Virgin in a glory of seraphs and cherubs with angels in front, playing and singing, and a garland of the same, six in number, on the upper borders of the frame. Beneath this panel are the words:

"Bartholus Magister Fredi de Senis me pinxit anno domini MCCCLXXXVIII."

Each of the side gables is divided into two horizontal parts. In the upper part of the left gable, is the Virgin in the midst of the apostles, beneath it her marriage, in the upper part of the right gable, her death, and beneath it, the salutation, both the first and third being compositions which Taddeo Bartoli afterwards used. (All under No. 87. in the Acad. of Sienna.) In a pinnacle above the Coronation is the ascension of the Virgin in a glory of angels (Ibid. No. 88.), in the courses of the flanking towers 16 small figures of saints. The centre of the predella represents the Pieta, an animated composition, with the expulsion of Joachim on one side and the birth of the Virgin on the other. (Ibid. No. 89. of Sienna Acad. cat.)

[1] Ibid. No 84.

[2] Unpleasant colour, is characteristic in this picture, by the side of which may be placed two parts of a predella representing the baptism and martyrdom of a saint (Ibid. No. 85.), 4 pinnacles with an Evangelist in each. (Ibid. No. 91.)

[3] In the style of this piece is a Christ with the Lamb, adored by the 24 of revelations in the Academy at Vienna.

[4] No. 104., in the Museum at Cologne. In the Campana collection, now in Paris, is a Circumcision, assigned to Lorenzo Monaco, by Bartolo di Mº. Fredi.

Sienna, in 1390 an altarpiece for the friars of Mont' Oliveto, and in 1392, the altarpiece of S. Piero in the Duomo. In 1393 he restored a "mappamondo", originally painted by the Lorenzetti, in the Public palace; in 1397, he worked in the cathedral. In 1407, he made his will leaving all his property to his son Andrea, and in 1409/1410 (Jan. 26th) he was buried at Sienna.[1]

Were the life of Andrea Vanni to be written from the materials which have been brought together by Gaye and Milanesi, some amusement might be derived from the relation of matters entirely foreign to art. Andrea, born in 1332 and as early as 1353 a painter in Sienna on joint account with Bartolo Fredi, had, in 1368, taken part with those who expelled the nobles from the city. As a reward for his services he was elected one of the great council in 1370, a gonfaloniere in 1371, and envoy to the Pope at Avignon in 1372. In 1373 he was sent on a mission to Florence, and in 1384 as envoy to the Pope at Naples, following his Holiness to Nocera when he left the South.[2] His despatches, of which half a dozen have been preserved, are those of an illiterate man; and they contain little to make one suppose that he had more talent as a negotiator than as a painter. In one of them he complains bitterly of being left without money; and affirms that he is no glutton, no frequenter of taverns, and that he has left his shop in Sienna, his "till" and all his business to do the work of the Comune which he flatters himself has been well done.[3] From what remains of his works completed between 1353 and 1414 when he died, the student may be disposed to believe that painting with Andrea was rather a business than an art. It has been stated that many of his pictures are in the Kingdom of Naples,[4] and there is a triptych in the Minutoli chapel

[1] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 36. All the works executed fr. 1389 to Bartolo's death are gone.

[2] He was also Rector of the Opera of the Duomo in 1376 and Provveditore of the Biccherna, and in 1378 Syndic for the election of a Senator. Ibid. p. 305.

[3] Andrea Vanni to the comune of Sienna, fr. Naples, Feb. 24. 1384, in Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 304.

[4] Ibid. and Lanzi. Vol. I. p. 284.

of the Naples Duomo described in a previous chapter[1] which recals his manner, frescos too in a chapel of S. Domenico at Naples[2] of the same class. They make a nearer approach to Andrea's manner than others in Naples. In S. Domenico of Sienna, chapel of S. Catherine,[3] a remnant of a fresco of his has been preserved, in which Andrea depicted a sister of the Dominican order celebrated in the annals of her country and fondly believed to have been the restorer of the Pope to Italy as Joan was afterwards the restorer of France to its kings. S. Catherine holds her hand out to be kissed by a kneeling figure. The whole, executed originally with much softness, is much damaged. Andrea was connected with Catherine of Sienna, who wrote letters to him on the art of governement, and was one of a circle whose admiration for her virtues was fanatic. We still possess the diaries of Andrea's friend Cristofano Guidini, who asked the painter for a likeness of her in the chapel of S. Jacomo Interciso near the belfry in the Duomo, and scenes from the life of S. James, the whole of which have perished.[4] These Andrea finished about 1400,[5] when his career was wellnigh spent. There are records of his painting three chapels in the Duomo, one of them, in 1370, with Antonio Veniziano;[6] and after having been in 1371 Gonfaloniere of his quarter, he painted the banner for it in 1392.[7] For restoring a Virgin and child on the cathedral front facing the Spedale, for a Virgin annunciate in the cathedral he received payments, in 1380 and 1398, and for paintings above the portals thirty florins of gold in 1399/1398.[8] Tizio describes[9] from Andrea's own diary an altarpiece completed

[1] See Vol. I. Chap. XI.

[2] See antea Vol. I. Cap. XI.

[3] Of Sienna.

[4] Ricordi di Christofano Guidini in Archivio Storico ub. sup. Part I. of Vol. IV. p. 39. Andrea was god-father to Cristofano's son in 1380.

[5] Milanesi. Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 305—6.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid. For this he is paid 23 liv. 8 sol. 6 d. or about 7 florins of gold.

[8] Ibid.

[9] MSS. ap. Milanesi. Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 306.

for 100 florins of gold in S. Stefano of Sienna, which is still visible in the sacristy of that church, a picture of a common class, combining most of the defects of Bartolo Fredi, with puny figures of vulgar features.[1]

The nativity of the Virgin between S.S. James, Catherine, Bartholomew and Elizabeth of Hungary assigned to Andrea in the Academy of Sienna[2] is not unlike a picture of Bartolo Fredi and may have been the result of the joint efforts of both. A similar combination of style may be noticed in frescos decorating a room in the basement story of the Public Palace, representing the Saviour in a glory of seraphs and the symbols of the Evangelist, (ceiling) remains of an angel and Virgin annunciate, half lengths of S.S. Thomas Aquinas and Anthony the abbot, and a whole figure of the friar Andrea de Galeran.[3]

[1] The Virgin enthroned in the centre, a little less than life size, between S.S. Stephen, James the less, John the Baptist, and Bartholomew. The four evangelists in medallions above the niches are surmounted by five pinnacles, the centremost adorned with the annunciation, the rest with figures of S.S. Peter, Paul, Anthony the abbot, and another saint. The predella in a different character from the rest of the altarpiece and filled with the martyrdom of S.S. Stephen, Jerom, Christ on the cross, Bernard and other subjects, accuses the inferiority of a later Siennese, Giovanni di Paolo. Of all the parts by Andrea, the small pinnacle figures are the least defective. The head of the Infant Saviour may alone serve to prove Andrea's decline from the comparative superiority of Lippo, Barna and Luca di Thomé, or of pictures already noticed as attributed in the catalogue of the Sienna Academy to Simone and Lippo. The S. John is a dry bony and disagreable nude.

[2] No. 119. of cat.

[3] The reddish flesh tones, the types, are more an imitation of Simone than of the Lorenzetti. Another mutilated altarpiece in the Academy of which half lengths, S.S. John the Baptist, James, Louis, of France (No. 7. Acad. cat.), and James, Catharine, Mary Magdalen, and Ansano (No. 115. Ibid.), remain, is like the foregoing nativity. Again a tabernacle in the same character from the church dell' Alberino fuori della Porta Ovile is assigned to Andrea and is now in the Academy, representing the crucified Saviour between the Virgin and S. John, the Magdalen and two prophets. (Ibid. No. 120.) The character of Andrea's work is, generally, narrow straight lined heads and figures, hard attitudes, defective articulations and nude, and large ill drawn feet.

Taking these examples as a guide, one may further assign to Andrea a life size Virgin enthroned in the church of S. Michele or dei Sacri Chiodi, originally in the monastery fuori Porta S. Marco at Sienna. The movement of the Virgin as she holds the infant is graceful. The child, of pleasant features grasps his mother's dress and sucks his

Andrea's death about 1414 is not noticed in the records of Sienna and it is supposed to have taken place at a distance from his native country.[1]

fingers in a pleasing attitude. Her narrow figure, long slender neck, close eyes, long lids and thin profiled nose, the long fingered hands are all very carefully drawn in forms reminiscent of the Lorenzetti, whilst the child rather recals the style of the followers of Simone, Lippo, Barna and Luca di Thomé. Here again is similarity with the frescos just mentioned as in the lower story of the Public Palace.

A picture noticed by Tizio as on the altar of S. Sebastian in the church of S. Martin is no longer to be seen, and a crucifix and altarpiece in S. Francesco of Sienna has shared the same fate. (MSS. ap. Milanesi Doc. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 306.) Certain pictures at Casaluce near Naples are not now to be found.

[1] Ibid.

CHAPTER VI.

TADDEO BARTOLI AND HIS IMITATORS.

The rapid and prolific hand of Taddeo Bartoli closed the fourteenth and opened the fifteenth century for Siennese art.

A cotemporary in Sienna of Spinello of Arezzo he rivalled the Florentine in boldness and speed. Disdaining to some extent the feeble masters who immediately preceded him, emulation might prompt him to attempt the revival of the grandeur apparent in the Lorenzetti. But the energy and fire which animated Pietro did not pass unalloyed to him. Yet Taddeo Bartoli was not without great talents. It was not his fault that, inheriting from Duccio, from Simone and the Lorenzetti a certain class of defects, he was unable to strike the path leading to progress. In the end he carried into the fifteenth century the mould of the fourteenth without heeding the process of change which was taking place about and around him.

His father Bartolo di Mino was a barber, whose marriage with one Francesca di Cino in 1361, is registered in Sienna.[1] A record of 1386/1385 in which Taddeo contracts to colour seventy eight figures in the choir of the cathedral[2] represents him as being still under age and therefore on the fair side of twenty-five.[3] It is thus clear that he was born shortly after 1362, equally apparent

[1] Milanesi. Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 108.

[2] And is paid ten gold florins for the work.

[3] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 313. and Vol. II. p. 108. Ugurgieri states that Taddeo died aged 59. His death occurred in 1422. and thus he would necessarily date from 1363. Vide in Baldinucci. Vol. IV. p. 538.

that he is not, as Vasari asserts, the son of Bartolo di Maestro Fredi.[1] Free, about this time, of the guild of painters at Sienna, he began practise early and successfully, being, in 1389, of the council for the works of the cathedral[2] of Sienna, and in 1390 author of an altarpiece for S. Paolo of Pisa, now in the Louvre.[3] Painted with the freshness of youth, yet much injured by time, which has darkened the flesh tints, this altarpiece proves him to have been in the full exercise of his talent.[4] In 1393 he found patrons, and it is supposed, a partner for life at Genoa, where he painted for Catanco Spinola and the church of S. Luke a couple of altarpieces.[5] He married a lady whose name has been preserved as Simona del Monte of Genoa.[6]

In 1395 he completed an altarpiece of the Virgin, child and saints for the chapel of the Sardi and Campigli in S. Francesco of Pisa,[7] following up the commission by painting the whole of the walls of the chapel for Donna Datuccia the representative of the Sardi family. Lately rescued from whitewash, these frescos are much discoloured, but the inscriptions on the pilasters of the entrance fix the name of the patron and of the painter, and prove the time in which the work was completed.

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 219.

[2] Mil[i]. Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 368.

[3] Vas. Vol. II. note 3. to p. 221.

[4] The Virgin attended by saints sits enthroned in a glory of red seraphs holding the child standing on her knee and playing with a bird, and the picture is inscribed: "Taddeus Barthola, de Senis pinxit hoc opus MCCCLXXXX." (No. 63. of the Louvre cat. The background, regilt, and the picture injured.) Whether Taddeo then visited Pisa is uncertain, but it is proved that he did not execute the Virgin above the Aulla chapel in the Campo Santo. (Vide antea Pietro di Puccio of Orvieto.)

[5] Milanesi. Doc. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 108.

[6] Ibid.

[7] The following inscription was on the picture:

"Ven. Domina, Domina Datuccia, figlia olim S. Betti de Sardis, et uxor quondam ser Andree de Campiglis fecit fieri hanc tabulam pro animæ suorum defunctor. Thadeus Bartholi de Senis pinxit hoc, anno Domini 1395."

This altarpiece represented the Virgin and child between S.S. Francis, Anthony of Padua, and Gerard, see Morrona. Pisa Illust. Vol. III. p. 60. This panel, the same no doubt which Vasari described as dated 1394, (Vas.

On one pilaster is the following:

"Tadẽ Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus anno dñi 1397."

On the opposite one:

"Ven. Dña Datuccia de Sardis fecit fieri istã capellã p. aĩa viri sui et suarum."

In the vaulting of the entrance Taddeo placed S.S. Chiara, Catherine, Apollonia, Agnes, Lucy and another saint in half lengths; inside above the door a medallion with S. Francis showing the Stigmata. On the wall opposite the entrance, the Virgin and the angel annunciate at each side of a window, and S. John the Baptist to the left, S. Andrew to the right of the altar. On the wall to the left, in the lunette, is the apostle's visit to the Virgin, with her death in a lower course; on the side to the right, in the lunette, the Virgin carried to the grave, and the ascension beneath it. The lower courses on the right and left sides are cut away in the centre.

Though colourless, these frescos are composed with great spirit, proving Bartolo to have inherited the energy and individual force which, impart to artistic creations a true value. It is not the work of one issuing directly from the school of the Lorenzetti, but of one who felt as they did, who carried out bold and vigorous action by exaggeration of vehemence. It is the result of a development in a single path of an art brought up to a certain form of excellence by Duccio, continued by Ugolino and Simone, and more or less by the Lorenzetti without an effort or a wish to alter it by subjection to great but necessary laws. So it happened that as the fifteenth century dawned, Taddeo who stood at the head of the school of Sienna, was still on the false ground of his predecessors, still striving by febrile activity in a confined and vicious circle, to show how high art might be brought by one who neglected its simplest yet grandest maxims. He supported the Siennese school by his talent and power. He could not raise it higher than it had already come, nor bequeathe any improvement to

Vol. II. p. 221.) was seen by the latest annotators in possession of one Signor Supino at Pisa. It has been transferred to Vienna.

Peinture de l'église de Saint-Savin (Vienne). — Scène de la Genèse.

his successors. Sienna gained less from him than it did from the Lorenzetti. It could not rival Florence; not because it had not created men of talent, but because it had had no Giotto.

A glance at the figures of the Evangelists and doctors in the angles of the ceiling in the Sardi chapel, or sacristy as it now is, of S. Francesco of Pisa, may suffice to show how ably Taddeo could suspend figures in air, broadly drape them in vestments agitated by the wind, vary them in movement and make them hover or fly in attitudes calculated to display at once the excessive boldness and ability of his hand. Yet as regards nude form, he fell into the defects of all his predecessors. Nor was this an occasional failing, but a general one. On the deformed nude of the Baptist,[1] at the left side of the altar, the spectator might pass without more than a momentary attention, were his eye not rivetted to the place by the forcible character of an otherwise disagreable type and the grandeur of the draperies. He might turn from the inferior but more developed form of the S. Andrew at the other side,[2] displeased at the weight of the frame, and the bad design of the hands and feet, were he not attracted by the powerful Greek Byzantine Siennese attitude and face, reminiscent of the anchorites of the Lorenzetti in the Campo Santo of Pisa, which Taddeo no doubt studied in their original beauty. In the reception of the apostles by the Virgin, Taddeo brings the figures together in a very fair and animated manner. He placed the Virgin inside an edifice attended by the Marys. The apostles have not all come together. Some, having appeared before the rest, are seated or stand by. One is in the act of presenting himself; another to the left bends reverently at the entrance. One flies in with outstretched arms. Two others drop down as if from heaven. For animation and life, Taddeo never produced

[1] Erect and holding the lamb. [2] Grasping with force a cross and the gospel.

any thing superior. The breadth and motion of drapery, the firm decision in every line of the drawing, the bold freedom of action in unusual and difficult positions, are worthy of the sixteen century.

It is to be regretted that the central figure of the Virgin, in the funeral mass said for her in a church, should be lost. But one may discern S. Peter reading the service, another sprinkling holy water, the apostles behind, and angels with tapers at the head and feet of the dead. In the centre, the Saviour stands with the soul in the form of an infant in his arms. The usual animation marks the faces and figures amongst the angels, one (third on the left) has features moulded as it were on a given form which served Taddeo even for his Virgins. It is no religious type, but round, plump, youthful and of this world completely. The hair falls in crisp curls at both sides of the parting, little below the ear. The neck is fleshy, the lips equally so, the brows regularly arched and the nose of a moderate length. The face is in fact of a short oval, a repetition, one might say, of the form in the infant Saviour by Simone at the Palazzo Pubblico of Sienna, showing the artist an imitator not merely of the Lorenzetti, but of their graceful rival. A great part of the fresco representing the carriage of the Virgin's body on a stretcher to the tomb, is cut away. On the right the apostles in long and energetic stride move forward in the powerful style of the Lorenzetti. Their bold motions are given with unequalled power by Taddeo, and they are perhaps the finest of his productions. The Marys with other females in grief behind the body are realistic and slender figures, outside the simplicity of nature.

Of the ascension one may still observe a part, the apostles and a group of nine females on the left, in natural movements, recalling to mind the style of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Venturing to judge of Taddeo's powers as a colourist from such portions as retain tone, one

might say that he painted in strong and vigorous tints but in somewhat detached planes.[1]

Though Vasari pretends that Taddeo visited Perugia in 1398,[2] there is reason to believe that his journey to that place occurred at a later period, and that, after completing his labours at Pisa he returned to Sienna, where he undertook, during a series of years, considerable works in the cathedral. Nine, formerly twelve, little panels in which he illustrated the sentences of the creed, may be seen in the "Opera" of the Duomo. They are carried out with great versatility of thought and agreable animation, the figures being admirably draped and not without beauty of form. In such small works as these it was natural that the painter's defects should be less visible than in those of larger size and more complexity of subject.

Six panels in the same place representing in couples an apostle and an angel, placed perpendicularly above each other, may have belonged to the series of the "Credo."

Taddeo's deficiencies were more apparent in works of a large size and may be studied in a colossal crucifix executed by him, if we may judge by style, for the Spedale of Sienna.[3] There he presented to the pity and prayers of the sick a long lean figure of the Redeemer, well studied in the muscular development of the frame and limbs, but narrow-chested and unnoble in proportion and shape. Though essentially Siennese in type and attitude, the figure is flexible and well drawn, but the limbs and joints are coarse and the head large, and decked with

[1] On the second altar, to the right after entering the church of S. Michele of Pisa, is an altar-piece in the character of Taddeo, representing the Virgin enthroned, with the infant standing on her knee, between the Archangel Michael, and S.S. Catherine, Julian, and Peter. Two archangels playing the viol and harp kneel in front. This is a graceful production of Taddeo's early time and marked by his least defective types, the faces being round and soft like those of the angels in the frescos of S. Francesco, and the engraved ornament rich as usual with the Siennese. Yet the name of Lorenzo Monaco is appended. (Already by Morrona. Vol. III. p. 158. The ground is regilt and the colour of the draperies in the angels abraded.)

[2] Vas. Vol. II. p. 222.

[3] And now in the female ward of that establishment.

abundant hair; nor will a student of the school fail to recognize the continuation of Duccio's old forms and their improvement in realism and muscular anatomy.[1]

It is the more interesting to contemplate these productions, as all the frescos of Taddeo in the cathedral and Public Palace of Sienna in 1400 and 1401 are now obliterated. In the cappella S. Antonio of the Duomo he painted the Last Judgment,[2] in the choir, six scenes from the old testament,[3] and for an altarpiece in the chapel of the Public Palace a predella.[4] It is characteristic of the speed with which he laboured that his contracts, even for such works as these, did not exceed two months, and that he generally fulfilled them; finding time besides for other and not less important work. In 1400 he delivered complete to the company of S. Caterina della Notte, located beneath the hospital of Sienna, a Madonna between S.S. John the Baptist and Andrew, inscribed:

"Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus ann. Dñi Mille CCCC."[5]

A great altarpiece representing the death, ascension and coronation of the Virgin, was furnished but little later for the cathedral of Montepulciano and still hangs there high up inside the chief portal, with the inscription:

"Tadeo di Bartolo da Sienna dipinse questa opera al tempo di messer MCCCCI."

[1] The Virgin and Evangelist at the extremities of the horizontal arms, — above the Saviour's head, the serpent and the pelican are not different from the rest. Vulgar grief is in the features of S. John, muscular force in his frame. The drawing in every part is firm, relief well rendered, colour delicate, natural and well fused from yellowish lights into greyish shadows. The flying draperies are as usual grand, and the whole interesting to study, as this is undoubtedly the best preserved of all the works on panel by Taddeo.

[2] He commenced in Feb. 4. 1400. at the rate of $12\frac{1}{2}$ fl. p. month. Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. II. p.p. 5. 6.

[3] He engaged himself for this work on the 10th of June 1401. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 7.

[4] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 108. 109. These three pieces by Taddeo are gone.

[5] The infant playfully scratches its foot; two angels on each side play musical instruments, and in the pinnacles are the dove and two seraphs. The pilasters inclosing the picture are adorned with figures of saints in courses. The picture has been lately cleaned.

This picture cannot be seen without difficulty. Its vast size and its cathedral form seem to indicate that it was once the ornament of the high altar.[1]

At Montalcino West of Montepulciano, there are likewise traces of Taddeo's industry in six half busts of saints adorning the sacristy of the church of S. Antonio, and a Virgin and child in the church of S. Francesco. South of Sienna, at S. Gimignano, Taddeo laboured in person, and decorated the spaces above the arches of the central aisle of the Duomo with the Paradise and Inferno. Lines of seraphim, angels playing, female saints, patriarchs, prophets and apostles stand below and round a throne on which the Saviour, holding the gospel, gives a blessing to the Virgin at his side.[2] Lucifer occupies the upper space of the opposite lunette, presiding over torments of which a description would be tedious and disgusting. Nor indeed are the obscenities which fill this portion of the work of Taddeo to be contemplated without a blush; and their presence in a church calls down a reproof from the intelligent historian of S. Gimignano, Canon Pecori.[3] In the archivolts beneath these scenes are figures of prophets and a shield of arms, and on the capital of the column supporting the arch above which the Inferno is painted, an inscription declaring:

"Thadeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hãc capellã....."

The date which has been read 1393 is difficult to decipher, but looks like 1400 and some years, and the rude execution of the paintings seems of the less careful period of the master in the opening of the century.

Two pictures finished for the same cathedral by Taddeo, are now, with others, in the hall of the Palazzo

[1] The predella in a double course contains twenty one scenes of the Creation and Passion, the crucifixion as usual filling the space of three compartments. The whole is executed according to a well considered plan, with the master's usual ability and no doubt with the aid of his pupils; — the scenes of the Passion on the old and well known models of the school.

[2] The whole of the right of this fresco has been greatly injured by time.

[3] Pecori, ub. sup. p. 509.

Comune. One represents S. Gimignano in the act of benediction, — a model of the town in his hand, with four scenes of the saint's life on the side panels. The second a Madonna between S.S. Christopher and Nicholas of Bari, and two saints in episcopals. The signature of the first has been removed; but the picture has quite Taddeo's character;[1] the second is inscribed:

"Tadeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus."[2]

The year 1403 saw Taddeo at work for the religious communities of Perugia. For the church of S. Agostino he painted the descent of the Holy Spirit inscribed:

"Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus, fecit fieri Agnella Petĩ p̃. aĩa Johannis filii sui an dñi 1403."[3]

for the church of S. Francesco a Virgin and child signed:

"Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus MCCCCIII."

and a S. Francis without signature. In S. Domenico, he completed frescos illustrative of the life of S. Catherine.[4] The latter have disappeared, the former may still be seen in S. Agostino and in the Academy of Perugia. Unfortunately the two altarpieces of S. Francesco were dismembered, and being both of the same size it is difficult to say how the side panels, now separate in the Academy, were distributed with reference to the central ones of the Virgin and S. Francis.[5] Taddeo was in his prime at this

[1] A split in the centre damages the figure of S. Gimignano.

[2] Vasari states that Taddeo painted in S. Gimignano a picture imitating the manner of Ugolino. No doubt he alludes to one of the foregoing (Vas. Vol. II. p. 220); yet it may be difficult to assign any motive for his observation, as Taddeo did not imitate Ugolino more, than Simone, Lippo, Barna, Thomé, or others of that time; nay he may be said to approach Simone more than Ugolino.

[3] The picture is still there and has suffered from restoring.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 222.

[5] The former, crowned, sits in a throne with the infant on her knee holding a bird. Two angels kneel in front and play instruments. Part of a choir of seraphs has been mutilated.

The latter represents S. Francis, showing the Stigmata on his palms, and supported in air by seraphs as he treads on the prostrate figures of envy, ambition, and avarice (N^{os}. 1 and 2 of Acad. Cat.). Four panels united contain figures of S.S. Constantius, Anthony, Catherine of Sienna, and John Evangelist, the female, youthful pleasing, broadly painted and well draped, the Evangelist injured by abrasion (N^{os}. 3—6 of Acad. Cat.). A double panel of the same size

period. He painted his figures of just proportions and in true action, with less of the old grimness than usual. Drawn with customary boldness, copiously but tastefully adorned with engraving and embroidery, they exhibit in such parts as remain uninjured, the old Siennese manipulation, abandoned for a time only by the Lorenzetti, resumed by Taddeo and consisting in flesh tints worked over a solid impasto of deep verde. Thus the system of Duccio maintained itself till the rise of the fifteenth century unaltered by one who was the cotemporary of Spinello, Antonio Veniziano, and Masolino.[1] The influence of Taddeo Bartoli and other Siennese at Perugia and the vicinity was immense, and has already been remarked; but a further development of this subject would throw the reader too late into the fifteenth century and must for the present be postponed.

In May 1404 Taddeo was again at Sienna painting in the choir of the cathedral at his usual salary of $12^1/_2$ florins a month, and producing frescos which have perished. The contract for this work has been preserved and is remarkable for a clause in which the artist agrees not to work in wet weather, a precaution which has not saved his pictures from destruction.[2] He had apparently returned from Perugia without receiving all that he had to claim for his work there. We find him accordingly visiting that place anew with permission of the

represents S. Ercolano protector of Perugia much injured by scaling and abrasion, and S. John the Baptist equally damaged (Nos. 7. 8 of Cat.). Another double panel is devoted to S. Louis, spoiled in various ways, and a well preserved Magdalen which may be classed amongst the finest creations of the master for type, attitude, and drapery (Nos. 9. 10 of Cat.). Two panels remaining in the sacristy of S. Francesco, and repainted in oil, belong to the series and represent S.S. Peter and Paul.

[1] It is desirable that more care should be taken of these works by the artistic authorities of Perugia. There are pictures at the Academy which have been five years laid by for restoration, and lie in the house of the restorer. There is no gallery in Italy so disordered in this, none in which so many panels forming part of the same altarpiece are so completely separated. (As these pages are going through the press a great change has taken place in the localities of most paintings at Perugia.)

[2] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p.p. 7 and 15.

authorities at Sienna in August 1404.[1] His activity of mind and body is shown not merely by the completion, in addition to other works, of an altarpiece now in the church of the Servi at Sienna, but by his appointment to the office of "Esecutore di gabella."[2] The picture at the Servi, representing the nativity, hangs above an altar decorated with a Massacre of the Innocents by Matteo da Sienna, and is mutilated so far, that the central part alone remains, inscribed:

"Tadeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc opus anni Dñi MCCCCIIII."[3]

During 1405, Taddeo finished in September four scenes behind the high altar of the Sienna Duomo[4] and in December the painting of two doors of the organ. The window of the choir was adorned by him in January 1406/1405 with an ascension of the Virgin.

In August 1406, it was resolved in council that he should be employed to repaint the chapel of the Palazzo Comune at Sienna. A special deliberation took place to consider the question of ways and means, and the artist was authorized to destroy all the paintings previously existing in the chapel.[5] He began in September, and produced in succession the incidents already used in the Sardi chapel at S. Francesco of Pisa. In lunettes, and on numerous arches, he decorated the spaces with medallions inclosing allegorical figures of Fortitude, Prudence, Faith, Hope, Charity, prophets, the four evangelists and the four doctors of the church. In the archivolts of the entrances he placed busts of saints, and the arms of the comune and people, in the lower pilasters, S.S. John the Baptist, Francis, Judas Maccabæus and other saints. So great was the impatience of the council to see all this finished, that on

[1] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 7 and 8.

[2] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 108.

[3] It is to some extent damaged.

[4] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 8. He got March 6 1405/1404 20 florins for a month and a half's labour in the choir; 30 florins for the four scenes behind the high altar in Sept; and 30 florins for the doors of the organ. Jan. 13 1406/1405 he gets 4 florins more for the doors and 6 florins for the ascension.

[5] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 27. 28.

the 10th of November, scarcely five weeks having elapsed since Taddeo had commenced, he was informed that the whole must be ready before December under a penalty of 25 florins. On the 16th of November, in order to make assurance doubly sure, the council resolved that he should not leave the chapel before the completion of its decoration, and pressed by his employers in this extraordinary and unusual manner, he succeeded in finishing the work to their satisfaction.[1]

Whilst arbiters settled the price that Taddeo was to receive, the hall of the chapel remained to be decorated; and the artist was ordered on the 8th of January 1407—8 to paint the S. Christopher. For this, which was finished with the usual speed, Taddeo received 33 florins for colours, gold and the payment of his apprentices.[2] The rest of the hall was not commissioned of him till Oct. 9th 1413,[3] and the payment of 78 liv. 16 sol. for that portion of the work was made in June 1414.[4] There, on a wall facing the altar and visible through the colonnade which separated it from the hall, Taddeo placed figures of such heroes of the olden time as might have been celebrated for the qualities of magnanimity, Scipio Africanus, Furius Dentatus, Marcus Curius Dentatus. These were made to stand erect in niches and in Roman costume; and in the lunette above, Magnanimity, allegorically symbolized the virtue assigned to them. In the next compartment, Scipio Nasica, M. Portius Cato and Marcus Tullius Cicero were placed in similar niches, above which a figure symbolized justice. Beneath Cicero the grammarians of Sienna placed an inscription, calling upon the spectator to imitate these virtues,[5] and in order to

[1] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 28. 29. The council appointed Martino Bartolommeo the companion of Spinello (see antea) its umpire, Taddeo, Cecco Manni, to settle the price due for the work. In 1408 they decided that it was worth 205 florins.

[2] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 28—30.

[3] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 29. 30.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Specchiatevi in costoro, voi che reggete. Se volete regnare mille e mille anni, seguite il ben comune; et non v' inganni, se alcuna passione in voi avete. Dritti Consilii, come qua rendete, che qui disotto sono co' longhi

understand the full value of the sentences, it is necessary to remember that this chapel passage led from the hall of peace, painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, to the Sala del Consiglio decorated by Simone where justice was distributed in the name of the comune and people, Taddeo's art being intended to convey lessons to those who on entering might possibly be induced to forget that magnanimity and justice both preside over verdicts.[1]

The inner part of the chapel represents, as has been previously remarked, the incidents which Taddeo had, ten years before, completed at Pisa, and he reproduced them in the same spirit and with the same lively boldness. It may be needless to repeat the reflections which those frescos suggested, but it may be proper to note that, although the chapel at Sienna has not been white-

panni giusti col armi ne' comuni affanni. Come questi altri che quaggiú vedete sempre maggiori sarete insieme uniti; et saglirete al cielo pieno d' ogni gloria. Siccome fece il gran popolo di Marte, el quale avendo del Mondo vittoria, perchè infra loro si furo dentro partiti, perdè la libertade in ogni parte."

[1] An illustration of the mixture of the sacred and mythological which seems to have been frequent in the Siennese school, may be found in the Sala del Consiglio (now a prison) at Lucignano, a spot adorned with paintings of an inferior class of different periods, as may be seen from various inscriptions at the feet of divers figures. For instance the Virgin with the child stands between six saints (one wanting). Above her, in the ceiling, the Saviour in benediction holds an open book, between two angels in flight. At the Virgin's feet an inscription runs as follows: "Priori odite l' altra parte...." On the book in the hands of the Saviour are the words: "Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris set abebit luminẽ vitẽ." A scroll in the hand of one of the angels contains: Consiglia cõ vẽtù e senza vicio come fece a Roma el bõ Fabricio." The scroll held by the other angel has the following: "Parla poco — Odi assai — guarda al fin di ciò che (fai)." In the same locality are figures of classic heroes and apostles, with inscriptions beneath stating who caused each of them to be executed, and the time of execution which is generally the first half of the 15th century. In the vaulting of the arches leading into the Sala del Consiglio, Taddeo represented Aristotle, Mars on two horses, and Jupiter holding the holy fire; in the centre "Rome" in a medallion, again Apollo playing, Pallas with a bat, and a lance and shield at her feet, Julius Caesar and Pompey. Of all these classic figures Mr. von Rumohr remarks: "Less praise can be given to the orators, statesmen and soldiers of the classic time, whom Thaddeo, to contrast with the antique habit of his Christian heroes, clothed in singular fantastic and ugly dresses. Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 220.

washed like the sacristy of S. Francesco at Pisa, yet the painting has been seriously injured by time and restoring, and has lost in consequence much of its freshness. Some figures, indeed, are totally renewed. The work of 1414 is already more hasty than that of 1407, and betrays the hand of assistants; yet the aspect of the whole is imposing, and Taddeo deserves for it the praise which Vasari is candid enough to bestow.[1] On the capital of one of the arches inside the chapel is the following inscription:

"Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit istam capellam MCCCCVII cum figura sancti Xphori et cum istis aliis figuris 1414."

In the interval of the completion of this interesting work Taddeo finished an annunciation between S. Cosmo and S. Damian[2] now in the Academy of Sienna with the inscriptions:

"(q.u.e.s.t.a t.a) vola fece fare Mariono di Paolo di Rosso."
"(T.a.d.e.u.s B.) artholi de Senis pinxit hoc opus anni Domini mille quattro cento nove."[3]

In 1410, he went to Volterra, where he laboured in the church and for the company of S. Francesco; and his return in 1411, with a debt still due for this work led to a threatening correspondence between the authorities of the two cities.[4] Sienna however seems not to have insisted as it had done some 30 years before in the case of Bartolo di Fredi, and Taddeo apparently had to forego his claim. The paintings for which he required payment have ceased to exist, and all that remains of his works in Volterra is an altarpiece in S. Ottaviano three miles from the city,

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 220.

[2] No. 130 of Sienna Acad.

[3] In a predella, and upper courses of the altarpiece which is now divided, Taddeo painted the martyrdom of S.S. Cosmo and Damian (No. 131 Ibid.), the nativity (No. 132 Ibid.), the ascension of the Virgin (No. 133), the adoration of the Magi (No. 134). Besides these portions a fragment of the head of a Peter Martyr is also preserved (No. 135). This picture is not, however, a good example of the master, being darkend in tone, without relief of light and shade and profuse in ugly types, of which there is no lack in any one of Taddeo's masterpieces.

[4] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p.p. 49—51.

now in the cappella San Carlo of the Volterra Duomo and inscribed:

"Taddeus Bartoli de Senis pinxit hoc añ. Dñi MCCCCXI."[1]

This piece is rude and dry and but for the signature it would be difficult to class it otherwise than as the production of an apprentice. This, however, is not the latest panel produced by Taddeo who now rose (1412) to the honours of the supreme council at Sienna, which he enjoyed again and again in 1416 and 1420. He probably painted in 1413 for the church annexed to the convent dell' Osservanza fuori di Porta Ovile at no great distance from Sienna,[2] varying the commissions of patrons in his native place with others from friends in more distant cities.

Yet whatever he may have produced for Monte Oliveto, or Arezzo where, according to Vasari, he worked,[3] has been lost; and at what time he painted in Padua for

[1] The picture is much damaged by restoring. The Virgin sits enthroned, with the infant, between S.S. Ottaviano and John the Baptist, Michael Archangel and Francis. In the pinnacles, the Redeemer in benediction stands in the centre between the angel and Virgin Annunciate, and a couple of medallions with a saint in each adorns the spandrils. The predella contains an episode from the life of the Virgin and of the saints at her sides, but as regards S. Ottaviano it is obvious that he was not originally intended to form part of the picture. Taddeo had placed S. Anthony the Abbot by the side of S. John the Baptist. The name of S. Ottaviano was substituted, and a new hand, with a model of a town in it, was given to S. Anthony. The Virgin is remarkable for the master's usual plump and youthful face, the child is again fat and awkward.

[2] The altarpiece contains four life size figures of S.S. John the Baptist and Francis, S.S. Peter and John Evangelist, with figures in similar order in the pinnacles, of two unknown saints, S.S. Stephen and Paul. Though not authenticated by Taddeo's name, the picture is executed in his manner. It has not the excessive boldness and energy which characterizes him; and is a little flat in tone, but lively and gay in colour. At all events it is a picture of his school, possibly by Martino di Bartolommeo, or Gregorio, his pupils. The picture is inscribed:

"Questa tavola hanno fatta fare le d.nne di S. Petronella, al tempo della badessa ... di Suor Chostanzie di Pietro di Messer Tar.... redi añoDñiMCCCCXIII."

The annotators of Vasari notice also in the sacristy of the oratory of S. Antonio at Volterra an altarpiece representing divers saints inscribed: "Tadeus Bartoli de Senis hoc opus pinxit 14...." and Giacchi, who published a guide to Volterra in 1832, completes the date which is 1418. Vas. Vol. II. note to p. 221.

[3] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 221. 222.

Francesco da Carrara is uncertain. Nothing of his can be found in the Santo.[1] As regards the Arena, it is true, the choir of the Scrovegni chapel adorned by Giotto is filled with feeble and much damaged scenes from the life of the Virgin,[2] but they are rude productions by some follower of Giotto and hence are without any Siennese character.[3]

The annunciation, assigned to Taddeo in the Berlin Museum,[4] that is, the Virgin of a pinnacle, without the angel, is too feeble to be a genuine work of the master, whilst the Trinity in the same gallery[5] is a picture of the Giottesque school in the manner of Niccolo Pietri Gerini. Other productions in public galleries may be passed over as equally feeble or false.

All that is further recorded of Taddeo up to 1422 when he died, is the part taken by him in deliberations for the erection of the Fonte del Campo at Sienna, completed at a later period by Giacomo della Quercia,[6] and a resolution of the council that the gates of S.S. Martin, Viene, and Nova, should be painted by him.[7]

In his will made in August 1422 Taddeo left his wife Simona quondam Antonio de Monte of Genoa, a life interest in all his property which was to revert to Ghirigoro Cecchi of Lucca his adoptive son.[8] He had no children, and his sister Madonna Petra died childless after two marriages in 1444.[9]

Vasari, in his life of Pietro Lorenzetti,[10] mentions a

[1] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 220.

[2] Three frescos adorning each side. In that to the left, the Virgin announces her coming death, and in the successive lower courses receives the apostles and dies in their presence. In the right side beginning from below, is the funeral, and the ascension. The coronation of the Virgin fills the third side.

[3] Three of the same subjects on panel, namely the death and the ascension, twice repeated from the compositions of the chapel at Sienna, may be seen in the museo Cristiano at Rome. (III[d] Press, XV[th] do. XVII. do.) These, however, are hardly worthy of attention.

[4] No. 1083. Berlin. cat.

[5] Ibid. No. 1135.

[6] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p.p. 51., 52. and 101.

[7] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 109. 244.

[8] Ibid. p.p. 107. 108.

[9] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 108.

[10] Vas. Vol. II. p. 31.

pupil by name Bartolommeo Bologhini. It has been fairly assumed that he alludes to Bartolommeo di Messer Bulgarino of whom records, but no pictures, have been preserved.

This painter is known for instance to have decorated in 1345 a table cloth for the hall of the "Nove" in Sienna,[1] the books of the Biccherna in 1353, an altarpiece in the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala inscribed:

"Frater Bartholomeus dñi Bulgarini de Senis me pinxit tempore Dñi Galgani Rectoris hospitalis s̃ce Marie, a Dñi MCCCLXXIII.[2]

Bartolommeo, who had been married and enjoyed the honours of the supreme council in 1362,[3] who had been enrolled in the book called "de' Capitudini delle arti" in 1363, became a brother of the hospital of Sienna, and died in 1378.[4] It is from a drawing by him that Vasari took the likeness of Pietro Lorenzetti which was engraved for his work; and this is the only approach to a remnant of his art that we possess.[5]

It had been stated that Bartolommeo was the father of another Siennese painter Martino di Bartolommeo already noticed in these pages as the companion of Spinello Aretino in the frescos of the Sala di Balia at Sienna. But this is an error, Martino being the son of Bartolommeo di Biagio a goldsmith[6] of Sienna. As the cotemporary of Taddeo Bartoli and one who has left traces of his existence, some notice may be given of his career.

Though inscribed on the roll of Siennese painters in 1389,[7] he first appears as an artist in Pisa, in the neighbourhood of which, at Cascina, an ex-church dedicated to S. John and once belonging to the knights of Jerusalem, still remains covered with his paintings. In this building which is now a canteen, the spectator may see entire courses of frescos representing, in the first, life size saints, a Virgin and child between S. Catherine and S. Agatha, in the second, above these, scenes from the Virgin's history, a great number of which are all but obliterated, and colossal allegorical figures of virtues in the lunettes. Inside,

[1] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 49.
[2] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 49.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Vas. (Vol. II. p. 32.) noticed an altarpiece by Bartolommeo in the chapel of S. Silvestro in S. Croce of Florence.
[6] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 31.
[7] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 65.

above the entrance, a large crucifixion is depicted, below which these words may be read:

"ris de Cascina, anno domini M(.$^{c.c.c.}$.)LXXXXVI".

Executed probably in 1397, these frescos do not deserve the minute description which the patient Bonaini gives of them.[1] The compositions are more or less copies from those of earlier or cotemporary Siennese artists, and an imitation in dull but sharply contrasted colours of the manner peculiar to Taddeo Bartoli.

That Martino was a third rate painter is proved by his subordinate position in reference to Giovanni di Piero of Naples, an artist with whom he kept shop in S. Felice at Pisa, and whose altarpiece of the Virgin between saints, jointly undertaken with Martino for the hospital of S. Chiara at Pisa, is still in existence.[2]

It would seem that in this work Martino did little more than the engraving of the ornaments and the frames. The long slender and defective figures are by a third rate painter whose manner, to a certain extent, imitates that of Taddeo Bartoli. The payments for the altarpiece extend to August 1404 up to which time Martino remained in Pisa,[3] where, in the interval, he painted a Virgin and child between saints[4] for the Spedale de' Trovatelli and now in the hospital of S. Chiara inscribed:

"Hoc opus fieri fecit Antonius de Cassiano.
Martinus de Senis pinxit anno domini MCCCCIII."[5]

The character of the painting is not different from that

[1] Bonaini, Not. Ined. p. 53. and following.

[2] The Virgin is enthroned, with the infant on her knee, between S.S. John the Baptist, Augustin, John Evangelist, and Chiara, and in the pinnacles are the Trinity, S.S. Mark and Luke. The predella is gone. It appears that the two painters contracted on the 27th of April 1402 for this altarpiece, in the pinnacles of which not the Trinity and two Saints, but the Trinity and annunciation, were to be painted. The whole was to be completed in eight months for ninety five gold florins. (Bonaini ub. sup. p.p. 44. 45. and following, and p.p. 144 and 146. 7. 8.) It is supposed that the S.S. Mark and Luke formed part of the predella, which, with the original figures of the annunciation, are lost. (Ibid. p. 47.)

[3] Ibid. p. 46.

[4] These are half figures, much restored, the blue dress of the Virgin being new, the red one of S. Dorothea repainted.

[5] Though repainted, this inscription is no doubt on the lines of the original. In the pinnacles, the Saviour appears in benediction between S.S. Catherine, James the elder, Agatha, and a fourth saint.

of the altarpiece of 1404, painted for S. Chiara, where again, in the same year, Martin painted 30 figures at the rate of 15 soldi per figure.[1] Other pictures in the Academy of Pisa and in S. Domenico testify at once to his industry and inferiority.[2]

After 1404 Martino retired from Pisa leaving there Giovanni de Piero, of whom it may be well to notice such records and works as remain.

Besides the altarpiece of S. Chiara due to him and to Martino, he painted a figure on canvass,[3] gilded certain candlesticks[4] and did other common work for that hospital[5] in 1403 and 1404; and in 1405, finished a great crucifixion on canvass for the convent of S. Domenico now to be seen in the inner choir.[6] His style was less like that of Taddeo Bartoli than Martino's, and inferior even to that of the latter. At the foot of the picture a long inscription concludes:

"MCCCCV Johẽs Petri de Neapoli pinsit:"

At Sienna Martino was fairly and continuously employed.

In addition to the decorations, in 1405, of the chapel of S. Crescenzio in the Duomo,[7] the altarpiece of which had been painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, he likewise finished in 1406 the adornment of the chapel of S. Savino, in the same edifice[8] whose altarpiece had been painted by Pietro Lorenzetti. He claimed and received, in the same year, 19 florins for the Inferno in the chapel of S. Niccolo,[9] contracted to paint four walls in the Duomo in 1407,[10] and restored the Madonna of the sculptor's altar. On the 18th of

[1] Bonaini ub. sup. p. 48.

[2] The first, of which, mutilated, represents the marriage of S. Catherine and is inscribed:
". . . . CCCCIII. aprile fuit mẽse. Preghiamo Dio per chi fece la spese."
The second, unsigned, represents the Virgin and child, both of the same character and the former of wine red tone. (Damaged also by two splits in the panel).

[3] Bonaini. p. 47.

[4] Ibid. p. 147.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Here he painted an ignoble nude of the Saviour with S. Francis grasping the foot of the cross, the Virgin, like that of Thomé in the Academy of Pisa on one side, the Evangelist on the other, and a figure of a donor in prayer in front.

[7] Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 31.

[8] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 31. He receives 28 flor. of which 10 for his salary during 10 days.

[9] Ibid. Vol. II. p.p. 30. 31.

[10] Ibid. For 64 flor. including salary for a year, scaffolding, colour &c.

June, giving up his contract at the cathedral, he promised to decorate, with Spinello, the walls of the Sala di Balia.[1] Spinello, however, did not allow him to labour there, and he accordingly painted the ceiling only, in which, after dividing the space with the usual diagonals, he represented allegorical half figures of the virtues in the manner of Ambrogio. The forms are graceful enough and have their share of character and movement. The colour is clear and flat, imitating at a humble distance the younger Lorenzetti. But they have the disadvantage of being in contact with the work of Spinello, whose energetic boldness and liveliness quite eclipse his Siennese assistant. Yet of all Martino's works this is the best; and if one considers that it was finished in 1407, 50 years after Ambrogio's death, the persistance with which the Lorenzetti's manner and technical methods were preserved may appear remarkable. A small half lengh Virgin and child which proves Martino's imitation of Taddeo is preserved by Signor Bonichi at Asciano. It is inscribed: "MCCCCVIII Martinus Bartolommei de Senis pinxit," and was thus finished a year after the ceilings at Sienna. Martino worked in many parts of the Palazzo Pubblico, and a picture in his early manner hangs above the door in the hall leading to the Sala di Balia representing the Magdalen between Saints.[2]

Martino was umpire for the council to value Taddeo Bartoli's paintings in the chapel of the Palace. He filled various offices in Sienna between 1410 and 1428, and died about 1433.[3]

Vasari mentions as of this period Alvaro di Piero of Portugal, who painted in Volterra and Pisa. There are still panels of this artist in those cities.[4]

[1] Ibid. p. 34.

[2] In the Academy of Sienna are the following by this master classed as "unknown", a Virgin and child between S.S. John Evangelist, Lawrence, Ansano, and Augustin (No. 126. of Acad. Catalogue), long slender and affected figures like the foregoing, but clearer in their flat and rosy tones, and more in harmony with those of the ceiling in the Sala di Balia. The Virgin and child between S.S. Stephen, John Evangelist, Dorothy, and Jerom, with two angels at her feet and five scenes of the passion in a predella; hard in colour, sharp in juxtaposition of long, thin, and feeble figures. (Nos. 121. 122. Ibid.) A Virgin and child between S.S. James, Philip, Paul, John the Baptist, John Evangelist, and Peter. (Ibid. Nos. 123. 124.)

[3] Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. II. p.p. 31—34.

[4] Vas. Vol. II. p. 223. In the

The period of Siennese art under notice may be closed by a reference to Taddeo's adopted son Ghirighoro or Gregorio Cecchi of Lucca.

He is inscribed on the roll of Siennese painters after 1389, and was author of a picture in the sacristy of the cathedral of Sienna representing the Virgin seated giving the breast to the infant Saviour, supported in the air by seraphs, and greeted by the music of six angels divided on each side

church of Fossabanda, outside the Porta Piagge, half a mile from Pisa, is a picture by him representing the Virgin and child reminiscent of the Siennese school (the dress of the Virgin damaged), with angels playing instruments on the ground in front of them. One should think, from the appearance of the figures and their resemblance to those of Martino and Giovanni Pieri of Naples, that all three painters were companions. Six angels, 3 of a side, offer a lily and bird to the infant. On the throne are the words:

"Alvaro Pirez Devora pintor."

The colour is raw and hard from time and other causes.

A second picture of the same hand in the cappella S. Carlo of the Duomo at Volterra was originally painted for the sacristy of S. Agostino (in Volterra). The Virgin and child are enthroned between S.S. John the Baptist, and Nicholas, Christopher, and Michael Archangel. Two busts in medallions fill the pinnacles. In the predella are six painted reliefs, and a mutilated inscription as follows:

"A . . . s. . . Peres pinxit."

As a picture this is less disagreable than the foregoing. In the sacristy of S. Agostino, another Virgin and child with angels, between S.S. James the elder, Nicholas of Bari, Christopher, and Anthony the abbot, with the date anno MCCCCVIII is more like the frescos by Cienni di Francesco di Sir Cienni already noticed in the Florentine school, than the pictures of Alvaro Perez.

At S. Maria in Chinseca of Pisa, four figures of Saints, amongst whom are S. Christopher and a bishop in one frame and two apostles severally with a knife and a cross recal the manner of a Siennese painter of the school of Taddeo Bartoli. Frescos in the same church and in the Siennese manner are too injured to allow of a reliable opinion. In the same place, however, is a picture, assigned by Bonaini (Not. Ined. p. 96.) to Andreoccio di Bartolommeo. Milanesi, however, proves Andreoccio to have been a carpenter, who in 1388—90 executed merely the cupboards on which the pictures, now brought together in a frame, were previously placed. (Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 371.) As now arranged the picture contains a cross, above which is a small bust of the Saviour. In the centre of the cross is the Virgin, with S. Peter on the left arm, S. John the Baptist on the right, and, on the lower one, S.S. James, John Evangelist, and Peter, are in medallion ornaments. These have the character of a Siennese work by the same hand which produced the four figures of saints above described. The inscription only refers to the work of Andreoccio the carpenter, who is not, as Bonaini believes, the painter.

of her. This seems to be the centre of an altarpiece, and is signed:

"Gregorius de Senis pinxit hoc, anno domini MCCCCXXIII."

If any picture more than another shows the hand of Taddeo's pupil, it is this. We may assume that Gregorio, originally of Lucca, took the right of city in Sienna, and the picture before us proves it. The richly dressed angels in this piece are quite in Taddeo's style; their attitudes are graceful and the ornament exquisite. The colour, however, is a little hard, the draperies feeble and involved in fold, but vigorous in tone. One may assign to him two half figures, in the same sacristy, of a bishop and a youthful saint with a banner, surmounted by two seraphs in pinnacles, executed with the same care and grace as the last mentioned picture. There is much resemblance also between these panels and the altarpiece in the convent dell' Osservanza fuori Porta Ovile, dated 1413, noticed amongst the works of Taddeo Bartoli; and Gregorio may have given his aid there. It was not uncommon that he should work with his adoptive father, for a joint picture by Gregorio and Taddeo hung of old at the altar of the Marescotti in S. Agostino of Sienna and was inscribed:

"Taddeus et Gregorius de Senis pinxerunt MCCCCXX."[1]

The only additional notice of Gregorio is, that he painted in 1384 the books of the Biccherna at Sienna.[2]

Considering in the earlier chapters of this work the position of Pisa as regards painting, it was observed that from the time of Giunta she yielded none but second rate talents. During the fourteenth century such artists as she employed were either Florentines or Siennese, but the influence of the school of Sienna was paramount, especially through Taddeo Bartoli. A Siennese painter such as Martino, settling in Pisa at the close of the century might find there no more formidable rivals than the Vanni or Geras, whose labours he was quite able to equal. The Vanni at Pisa were as numerous a race as the Vanni at Sienna, and were possibly related. The reader may be reminded of Vanni

[1] Doc. Sen. Vol. I. p. 47.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Vide antea early painters of Pisa.

of Sienna who, in 1300, laboured at Pisa,[3] whom Signor Bonaini considers very likely to have been the father of Andrea;[1] of Betto Vanni who died in 1344.[2] He may now become acquainted with Turino Vanni, a native of Rigoli, a village at the gates of Pisa, whose works are numerous in his own country and in South Italy, and of whom there are records and pictures.

Turino painted in 1390 the lily of Florence on the banner of the cathedral tower at Pisa.[3] In 1392 he coloured a Madonna of marble for the niche above the door of the Campanile;[4] in 1393, he executed the altarpiece of S. Cristina,[5] and 1395, he tinted and gilt the tabernacle of a statue of S. John the Baptist above the cathedral font at Pisa.[6] One example of his skill in painting bears his name and the date of 1398. It is in the church of S. Paolo Ripa d'Arno at Pisa[7] and represents the Virgin and child enthroned between S. Raineri and S. Torpé, both of them carrying banners, and adored by four kneeling figures in couples at each side of the throne. On the footstool one reads:

"Turinus Vannis de Riguli depinxit A. D. MCCCLXXXXVIII."

The spectator will be struck, at a glance, with the imitation of Taddeo Bartoli, and may remember that that artist had been in Pisa but a year before. Turino imitated the Siennese master not only in type and forms, but in draperies. He made the features smaller perhaps, cutting the outlines sharply into the gesso with a dry and mechanical minuteness. His figures are fairly proportioned, the nimbuses in relief, the colour reddish and flat. Though a second rate picture, this is a better specimen of Turino

[1] Bonaini, ub. sup. Not. Ined. p. 89.

[2] Ibid. p. 94.

[3] Vide record to that effect in Bonaini ub. sup. p. 83. where the painter is called "Magister Turinus pictor condam Vannis de Reguli Civis Pisanus."

[4] Ibid. p. 83. and Ciampi p. 118.

[5] Ibid. For the price of 18 flor. of gold.

[6] Bonaini, ub. sup. p.p. 83. and 143.

[7] Having originally been in S. Cassiano. Morrona gives the signature erroneously as M.CCCXCVII, and this error may be repeated in the notices which he gives of two pictures late in S.S. Anna and Silvestro, one of which, it is said, bore the date 1343, the second 1340. Morrona Pis. Illust. Vol. II. p.p. 429—30.

than the Virgin and child amongst playing and singing angels, in the Louvre, inscribed:

"Turinus Vannis de Pisis me pinxit."[1]

The influence of Taddeo Bartoli is very strongly marked in a small altarpiece representing the Virgin, saints and angels, now in the Benedictine monastery of S. Martino near Palermo inscribed:

"(.T.u.r.)inus Vannis de Pisis pinxit A. D."[2]

The heads, particulary of angels, their sharp profile features and small eyes, the draperies, are all essentially Siennese and show that Turino, who was the best Pisan painter of his time, was a second rate follower of the style of Taddeo Bartoli.

In the church of Agnano, near Pisa, a composite altarpiece in many parts of the same character as the foregoing, is very like a work of Turino, and is coloured in his manner. At all events it is a picture of the Pisan school of the close of the fourteenth century.[3] A different influence, but still from Sienna, may be noticed in a series of four half length figures of saints at the Academy of Pisa. Where the minute manner, the profiled outlines and flat colours already noticed in Giovanni di Niccolo are repeated.[4]

Another second or third rate Pisan painter of this time is Jacopo di Michele, better known by his cotemporaries as Gera, who is recorded as having painted in 1390, thirty figures round the inner dome of the cathedral[5] of Pisa, and who assisted Turino in the adornment of the tabernacle above the font in the same edifice. A picture by him in the Academy of Pisa bears the inscription:

"Jacobus dc̃us Gera."

and is one of the usual Madonnas between saints, much

[1] 521. Louvre.

[2] It represents the Virgin and child enthroned and guarded by angels who support a tapestry. S.S. John Evangelist, Anthony the abbot, John the Baptist, with S.S. Michael and Raphael, in the upper spaces, fill the left side of the altarpiece, whilst S.S. Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Oliva, Ursula, and two other saints, with the archangel Gabriel and two other figures, in the upper spaces, complete the right side.

[3] The Virgin and child between SS. Jerom, Nicholas, Benedict, and Margaret, with the annunciation between the four Evangelists and other saints in a second course, and the Saviour in benediction in the central pinnacle.

[4] S.S. John the Baptist, a female saint, with a garland of roses, Peter, and Paul.

See antea, old school of Pisa.

[5] At 1 livre per figure. Vide Bonaini, ub. sup. p. 96. and Ciampi ub. sup. p. 151.

damaged and vastly inferior to those of Turino. A better production of his may be seen at Palermo in the church of the Annunziata near the Porta S. Giorgio. It is a "Conception", in the usual form, between S.S. Gertrude and James the Elder, signed "Jacobus di Migele dipintore di" and a very rude performance.

The student may remark that most of the pictures of the close of the fourteenth century in Sicily are feeble works of the Pisan school. Bonaini mentions another work Gera in the monastery of S. Matteo at Pisa.[1]

A common production of the same period, a series of saints with the annunciation in the space above them, is in the Academy of Pisa inscribed:

"Gettus Jacobi de Pisis me pinxit MCCCLXXXXI."

Cecco di Pietro is another Pisan of little talent noticed casually in these pages as having repaired the inferno assigned to Orcagna in the Campo Santo.[2] This occurrence took place in 1379, but there are proofs of Cecco's existence in Pisa before that time. He painted in the Campo Santo in 1370 according to Ciampi[3] together with one Berto,[4] one Nerruccio di Federigo, Puccio di Landuccio, Nicolao di Puccio and Jacopo del quondam Francesco of Rome.[5] He was Anziano del Popolo at Pisa in 1380,[6] painted a Nativity of the Virgin for S. Piero in Vinculis at Pisa;[7] and we possess altarpieces by him of 1370 and 1380, in addition to one assigned to him in the Academy of Pisa. The first of these, in the collection of Signor Remedio Fezzi at Pisa, represents the Virgin with the infant Saviour standing on her knee. An affected movement and a long shape are peculiar to the Virgin. The infant is reminiscent of the Siennese school, and the head a counterpart of that in a picture by Giovanni di

[1] Bonaini, ub. sup. p. 95, and Morrona give the signature, "Jacopo di Niccola dipintore detto Gera di Pisa mi depinse." Is not the word Niccola here an error? Pisa Ill. Vol. II. p.p. 43. 4. Morrona notices also one Nero Nelli, of whom a picture signed "Nerus Nelli de Pisis me pinxit anno MCCCIC." existed in the church of Tripalle near Pisa. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 435.

[2] Bonaini, ub. sup. p.p. 103. 104. and Roncioni Ist. Pis. (Archiv Stor. part I. of Vol. VI. p. 390.)

[3] Ciampi, ub. sup. p.p. 96. and 117.

[4] The assistant of Francesco da Volterra.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Bonaini, ub. sup. note to p. 103.

[7] Ciampi. It was inscribed: "Ceccus Petri de Pisis me pinxit A. D. 1386." p. 96.

Niccolo. Luca Thomé's works seem to have been the models which Cecco followed. The panel is inscribed:

"(.c.e.c.)cus Petri de Pisis me pinxit A. D. MCCCLXX."

Another Virgin and child, the latter sitting, in the same collection is signed:

"Cecchus Petri de Pisis, me pinxit A. D. M.CCC.LXXX. . ."

The picture at the Academy of Pisa, of a ruder execution by the same hand is a crucifixion with the Virgin and S. John and saints, in compartments at the sides.[1] Morrona notices[2] a Virgin and child between two saints in the church of Nicosia near Calvi. This, no doubt, is the picture in possession of Signor Fezzi, part of which belongs to M. de la Tour du Pin at Pisa. Another painter named Giovanni del Gese is noticed by Bonaini[3] as having been Anziano at Pisa in 1372. He may be the author of an altarpiece lately in the Rinuccini gallery at Florence and signed: "Johannes de Pisis pinxit": a picture representing the Virgin and child, of life size, between S.S. Agatha, Stephen, Francis and Catherine with a crucifixion between the angel and Virgin annunciate in the pinnacles and six saints in pilasters. It is the work of a second class imitator of Taddeo Bartoli.

Thus the Pisans followed humbly the examples of Siennese rather than Florentine painters, and Pisa's only title to fame is derived from the sculpture of Niccola and Giovanni.

[1] S.S. Catharine, Barbara, Agatha, and Ursula (left); Mary, Agnes, and other saints (right). In the centre of the pediment is a deposition from the cross with saints at the sides.

[2] Morrona. Pisa Illust. Vol. III. p. 413.

[3] Not. Ined. ub. sup. p. 94.

CHAPTER VII.

THE UMBRIAN SCHOOL AND THE PAINTERS OF GUBBIO, FABRIANO AND THE MARCHES.

Nothing is clearer than that the Umbrian school arose under the impulse of Siennese examples. The geographical position of Gubbio and Fabriano, with reference to Sienna, might alone explain that result; the temper of the people, akin to the mercurial Siennese rather than to the graver Florentine, favoured it. The Umbrians produced on the models of Sienna with such singular felicity of imitation, that it would be puzzling to distinguish the progeny from the parent stock were it not that a vague stamp of originality still marks the Gubbian painter and his neighbour of Fabriano. Second in talent to the artists of Sienna, these men were characterized by a tendency to intensify the affectation of grace and tenderness which, from the earliest time, had been peculiar to their masters. Prettiness was their chief quality; and from the outset marked a class of men whose posterity was destined to contribute by its progress in Perugia and Urbino to the greatness of Raphael. A smiling gaiety and lightness gave charm to their works which, at the same time, bore the impress of the careful finish and the flat brilliancy of miniatures; and Dante, in the celebrated lines which rescued Oderisio from oblivion, struck the true character of the Umbrians when he spoke of the smiling pictures they produced:

> "O diss' io lui, non sè tu Oderisio,
> L'onor d'Agobbio, e l'onor di quell' arte
> Ch' alluminare è chiamata in Parisi?
> Frate, diss' egli, più ridon le carte

Che pennellegia Franco Bolognese:
L'onore è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.
Ben non sare' io stato sì cortese
Mentre ch' io vissi, per lo gran disio
Dell' eccellenza, ove mio core intese,
Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio.[1]"

The Umbrian painters arose out of the school of miniature founded by Oderisio and Franco Bolognese. Their mode of colouring was a clear, light, gay and transparent one which charms by the bright softness of its tones. Their execution had the neatness necessary to the illuminator. Ornament in tasteful and capricious outlines, precision of details, did not exclude a certain elegance and breadth of drapery. But grace rather than power, tenderness rather than majesty were their qualities and defects. As time developed these peculiarities, patient minuteness and wearying research in detail absorbed too much of their time, and thus wall paintings, whatever their size might be, displayed one characteristic feature. They may still strike the observer as miniatures on a large scale.

In Umbria and elsewhere the study of painting dates from the remotest times; and were records of very early painters to be discovered, they should create no surprise. But in Gubbio, it may be difficult to point to any name older than that of Oderisio, the cotemporary of Giotto and of Dante, the haughty assertor of his own superiority in the art of miniature. A mutilated record in the Archivio Hercolani at Bologna has been preserved by Oretti[2] and Zani[3] which fixes the period of his existence:

"1268. 3. Ex Septembris. D. Gratiolus qu. D. Zagniboni de Mantua venit et dixit promissẽ frẽs dño Conarixio scriptori Magistro Hoderico miniatore."

This passage alone might justify Benvenuto da Imola

[1] Purgatorio Canto XI. v. 79 and fol[s].

[2] Documenti per la Storia dell' Arte. The Hercolani records are lost to Italy, having been sold in the present century.

[3] Zani, Enciclopedia methodica. Vol. X. parte I[a]. p. 286. note 44.

in his remark that Oderisio was „magnus miniator in civitate Bononiae."[1] The Archivio Armanni in the Speriliana of Gubbio[2] has the following in addition:

1264. M. Oderigus Bonajunctẽ.
1265. Oderigus Bonajuntæ.

Oderisio therefore, according to these records, was in 1264 at Gubbio, at Bologna in 1268, and in 1295 at Rome, where he is said to have died about 1299.[3] Ugo Foscolo, in his commentary on Dante, affirms after Benvenuto da Imola, that Dante studied at Bologna in 1261 and following years. Yet Balbo affirms that the poet did not visit Bologna before 1285, and he supposes that Dante's acquaintance with Oderisio began between 1285 and 1287.[4] Vasari is our authority for the statement that Giotto and Oderisio knew each other in Rome.[5] No certain miniatures of the Gubbian exist, but in the Archivio de' Canonici di S. Pietro at Rome two masses, "dell' Annunziata" and "di S. Georgio", are preserved and contain miniatures of great interest.[6]

In the first, an annunciation and scenes from the life of the Virgin may be studied. S. Celestine, in frock, giving the gospel to Boniface the Eighth, then a cardinal-deacon, is on the twenty third page. As Celestine was Pope between 1292 and 1294, the date of the miniature is fairly ascertained, if we admit the reality of the names assigned to the persons depicted. The mass of S. George is illustrated with scenes from the life of that saint, who was the patron of Cardinal Stefaneschi. A cardinal-deacon kneeling before S. George is said to be a portrait of Stefaneschi, whose commissions to Giotto were numerous and important, as has been seen in these pages.

To infer from these facts that Giotto executed the miniatures of these masses is a disregard of the most ob-

[1] Benvenuto da Imola, ub. sup. ap. Muratori.

[2] Vol. E 15. p. 265.

[3] See Baldinucci's subtle reasons for believing that Oderisio died before the close of the century. Opere ub. sup. Vol. IV. p. 176 and foll.

[4] Dante knew Oderisio, since he recognizes him in Purgatory.

[5] Vas. Vol. I. p. 321.

[6] These masses are in a volume called "S. Gregoris. M. Istoria," under the press mark. No. 129 C.

vious facts. The miniatures are not by a Florentine, but by one whose manner is reproduced in the later Gubbian school, who painted with the gay transparent colour, the peculiar choice of harmonies, the richness of ornament and minuteness of detail peculiar to the Umbrians, and without the great maxims of composition which were only possessed by the artists of Florence. It may therefore be presumed, though it cannot be affirmed, that these Roman miniatures were by Oderisio, whose influence at Bologna may be noticed a little later.

The earliest painter in Gubbio, after Oderisio, is Guido Palmerucci, whose name appears in the Elenco or list of the Ghibelines of his native city in 1315. He is known to have painted in the church of S. Maria de' Laici at Gubbio before 1337, and to have laboured in the town hall in 1342.[1] According to records due to the research of Canon Rossi of Cagli, Guido was born in 1280, in the Quartiere di S. Pietro at Gubbio, and died about 1345.

Remains of a life size S. Anthony with a staff and bell, in the usual dark dress and cowl, may be seen on one of the outer walls of the church of S. Maria de' Laici.[2] The saint is venerable, wears a long beard and gives the blessing, with an expression of gentle austerity in his long face, and a languid repose in his attitude. Light yellowish flesh tone of a liquid water colour, the flatness of a miniature characterize the piece. Another fragment in the same style, a monk's head, inside a press in the sacristy of the church, seems executed by the same painter, who may be Guido Palmerucci. At all events the earliest examples at Gubbio already show the persistent features of the school, soft kindliness and a

[1] For the first of these facts thanks are due to the friendly communications of Signor Buonfatti of Gubbio, the record being taken from a MSS. in the Archivio delle Orfane of Gubbio, Mark A. year 1300 to 1337. For the second the authority is the same. For the third consult Gualandi (M.) Memorie Originale Italiane risguardanti le belle Arte. 8°. Bologna. 1840 to 45. Serie 4. p.p. 31—32.

[2] The lower half of the figure is gone and colour of the rest slightly abraded.

tender feeling. Of this period and style are remnants of frescos on the walls of the ruined Spedaletto of Gubbio, amongst which a life size S. Anthony in frock and cowl, bearded and holding in his hands a diadem and cross, reveals the now usual soft type and gentle attitude, and the comparatively feeble style of that in S. Maria de' Laici. It is a figure in draperies of gently flowing lines, flatly coloured, languidly graceful in movement, with small thin hands and not without religious sentiment, in fact an enlarged miniature.[1] The most important picture, however, of the Gubbian school, in the first half of the fourteenth century, is a fresco in the upper chapel of the Palazzo del Comune at Gubbio.[2]

A colossal Virgin sits enthroned in a high backed chair, presenting the infant Saviour to the veneration of a Gonfaloniere, kneeling and recommended by a saint in the presence of several holy and venerable persons. The plump child lying in the folds of the Virgin's mantle, or rather in its lining of white fur, is dressed in a flowered green tunic, and looking at the kneeling magistrate, seems to long with its hand towards him, with somewhat affected motion. The Virgin forms with the child a tender group; and as her head is bent towards her charge, she reminds one of the Siennese Madonnas. Yet she has a character of her own, pursy lips, a regular head reminiscent of those by Lorenzetti, but a heavier brow, and a long slender form. She sits with an imposing superiority of stature over the kneeling figure at her feet, — that of a man of forty, with a pointing beard of two days growth looking up respectfully with his hands in prayer, dressed in red stockings and sleeves and a green mantle. His patron saint bends and presses his shoulders, looking up and stretching out a chin adorned with a sharp pointed black beard. He presents a set of soft, youthful, and meek features to the spectator. An austere silver-haired and

[1] The dress and cowl are black and white.

[2] It is on record that Guido Palmerucci contracted in 1342, to paint in the Palazzo del Comune of Gubbio an annunciation in the upper hall, as well as the arms of the Comune in various parts of the building; but these works have disappeared. See the record communicated by Sign. Luigi Bonfatti, in Gualandi ub. sup. Ser. IV. 1843. p.p. 31. 32.

bearded saint at his right side, a mitred personage with a halo, intended perhaps for S. Ubaldo the protector of Gubbio, a fourth whose head is partly visible, complete the picture.

At first sight this piece appears to combine qualities in Simone and the Lorenzetti, yet after a while it strikes one as having a stamp of its own, chiefly because of gay light and harmonious tones, an intention of grace in the figures and a certain dryness as of a miniaturist, coupled with slender frames, gentle features, and a meek expression.[1]

In Gubbio again, to the left of the entrance in S. Maria Nuova, a life sized S. Anthony,[2] the favorite saint of the place, may be seen on a wall recently freed from whitewash. It is an advance upon the faces and forms of S. Maria de' Laici and the Spedaletto, with the technical style and execution observable in the fresco of the town hall chapel. No painting of the fourteenth century presents the typical character that developed itself in the fifteenth more than this, and the S. Anthony is a natural forerunner of Perugino's splendid saints in the Cambio of Perugia. The fragment of a recovered fresco is thus indeed valuable, since it explains the rise and progress of the Perugian school out of that of Gubbio.[3]

S. Maria Nuova of Gubbio is rich in examples of the

[1] Gaiety predominates over power in the soft and transparent tones, the flesh tints being of a pale warm yellow, shadowed with a light green, and glazed over the stippling that fuses the whole together. Little or no relief combines with other peculiarities of execution, to give the fresco the aspect of an enlarged miniature. Feeling and expression rather than perfect form give a charm of animation to the faces. That of the grey headed saint is, like that of the Virgin, remarkable for the development of its fine head and brow, yet the expression is soft as in Simone. Individuality and dignity are not deficient in the heads, but gentleness and composure far from the stern gravity of the Lorenzetti are remarkable. The proportions do not strike the eye as faulty, nor is the drawing without freedom. Yet there is a certain neglect in the outline of the hands, a fault very common in the first half of the 14th century.

[2] Part of the figure only has been preserved.

[3] The colour is damaged, but the lights and shades are broadly treated and well modelled, though always in the soft clear key of Gubbian painting.

school of different periods. A fresco covered by the upper part of an altar cut into a wall painting by Ottaviano Nelli, has been saved by that circumstance from being whitewashed. It is an improvement, upon the figure of S. Anthony just described, yet is carried out on the same principles. The figures, large as life, might almost induce the belief that Lorenzetti laboured upon them.[1]

All the frescos of Gubbio from the S. Anthony of S. Maria de' Laici upwards are painted in the same manner and have but one character; yet a certain progress and advance in their production may be discerned. It remains to be seen whether they are by one hand as they are by

[1] One of the subjects is a youthful female saint holding an infant on her left arm and drawing the folds of her mantle together with her right. Her head of pleasing form, and one of the best gentle types of the school, is decked with a fine drapery; and her red ornamented tunic is covered by a green mantle with a collar showing the bare neck. Here is a form not inferior to the Siennese, drawn with a sweeping outline and gracefully draped, which every one will recognize as a model observed and studied by Gentile da Fabriano, and sufficient of itself to account for his peculiar manner. The child, of a plump full form with projecting eyes, pouting lips, double chin, high brow and forehead, a pointed head and little or no throat, is a clear Gubbian type distinguishing that school from the Siennese.

Near this pleasing and affectionate group is another, of the Virgin grasping the child with both arms to her breast, whilst he looks at the spectator. Her head is softly bent, and there is a peculiar tenderness in her side glance. (Her veil and a green mantle fall over a green tunic.) It is a type like that of the Virgin in the town hall, remarkable for the loftiness of the forehead, but an innovation as regards the long close eyelids, which impart an air of extasy to the expression. A small mouth and delicate double chin, complete a form not inferior to those of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The infant like that just described has a pointed skull, large round eyes, and plump flesh, and he is dressed in a garment of changing hues (green with red shadows and white lights), painted like all those hitherto noticed in tempera, not in fresco on the wall. Close by stands S. John the Baptist pointing at the Virgin and remarkable as usual for a high forehead, a long double beard, flowing locks and a gentle expression of face. Holding the cross and dress, in the red mantle covering his jacket of camel's hair, his form is well proportioned and the hands well drawn, but thin and long fingered. (The lower part of these figures is gone.) The keys of harmony peculiar to a miniature may be marked in the light transparent and rosy flesh tones, shadowed somewhat flatly of a light grey. The drawing as before is minute and precise.

painters of one school and period. It might be admitted that with the exception of a Virgin and child which more resembles the creations of Allegretto Nuzi of Fabriano, the same painter produced them all, and that that artist is Guido Palmerucci. One may add to the collection a panel, regilt, abraded and damaged in outlines, representing the Virgin and child on an altar to the right of the entrance in S. Lucia of Gubbio.

To Guido modern writers assign a series of frescos illustrating the life of S. Anthony discovered (1842) in the church of S. Francesco at Cagli near Gubbio. The assertion rests with Signore Michele Boni[1] who affirmed that on the lower corner of one of the pictures an inscription existed to the effect that Guido Palmerucci painted them and that the work was as old as 1303. Unfortunately the inscription disappeared when the frescos were sawn from the wall. Signor Boni, however, afforded a valuable corrective to his assertion by the further statement that the paintings in S. Francesco of Cagli were executed in obedience to a clause in the will of one Guido di Viva Luzzi of Cagli. Canon Don Luigi Rossi, to whom the matter was referred, having consented to search the archives of Cagli, speedily confirmed the impression conveyed by the paintings, namely that they were produced at the close of the fourteenth century. Guido di Viva Luzzi was a respected "dottore" at Cagli in 1355, who, at his death in 1387, left the bulk of his wealth to his son, Messer Piero, on condition that he should cause a picture to be painted on the altar of S. Francesco in the church of that name in his native place. From this fact alone it might be demonstrated that the frescos representing scenes from the life of S. Anthony were not commissioned by Guido di Viva Luzzi in 1303. Messer Piero having failed to carry out the charitable bequests of his father in 1387, was sued by Frate Agostino, bishop of Cagli; and the hereditary

[1] Now deceased.

property was sold to satisfy the clauses of the will. All these facts with the addition, that Frate Agostino was bishop of Cagli from 1379 to 1396 when he was translated to Gaeta, were discovered by Canon Rossi in the MS. annals of Antonio Gucci in the records of the cathedral of Cagli. The paintings thus assigned to Guido Palmerucci in S. Francesco, sawed from their original place and transferred to a wall to the right of the entrance, represent two miracles of S. Anthony of Padua, with figures half the size of life.[1]

Length and slenderness, small heads and ill drawn hands characterize the figures. Here and there some faces have a certain gentleness of expression, and regular features. The drawing, however, is hasty and mechanical; the flesh tints, of a rosy hue in light and of a pale grey in shadow, have no relief. The artist gave to his surface a general light tone on the white ground, he painted in the shadows sketchily and then drew in the outlines. Hair of a yellow tinge is of a general local tone and streaked with lines for locks. The pictures are large water colours fairly composed of figures wearing costumes of the fifteenth century. It is clear that Guido Palmerucci, if born in 1280 and dead in 1345, cannot have been at Cagli after 1387. At all events the wall paintings there have not the character of the frescos at Gubbio of the first half of the century by one all but proved to have been Guido.

Yet in Cagli the lunette of the chief portal of the

[1] In the first, which is a composition of twelve figures, the saint, kneeling, restores to health the unsound limb of a youth seated before him. With one hand he enforces the prayer which he seems to mutter, looking up; with the other he grasps the unsound leg. The youth is supported by a person behind him, whilst the mother stands by in prayer, and others watch the progress of the miracle with surprise. In the second, S. Anthony bends forward, with the host in his hand, in front of a group of monks and incredulous people. A donkey appears led by a youth holding a bag of corn, and kneels before the host; the legend states that he refused to eat the corn in order to do homage to the sacrament of the Lord. At S. Anthony's feet a kneeling clerk holds a taper.

cathedral contains a damaged fresco of the Virgin and child between S. John the Baptist and a monk, in the style of the fourteenth century, and of the same kind as the works assigned to Guido Palmerucci at Gubbio. A figure of the Saviour in benediction decorates the vaulting of the lunette.[1]

Later but not less interesting painters lived in Gubbio at the close of the fourteenth century. There are notices in 1338, of Giov. Agnolo Danti, who also laboured at Orvieto, of Bartolo di Cristoforo and Cecco Masuzzi, all of whom worked in S. Maria de' Laici.[2] Written records are to be found in the books of the Camerlengato at Gubbio, of the following artists:

Mattiolo Nelli a sculptor, grandfather of Ottaviano Nelli, who worked at S. M. de' Laici in 1338, — Martino, the father of the latter, are both mentioned, Martino's name appearing in a record of 1385. Agnolo di Masolo laboured in 1370 and died in 1399. Donato a painter lived in 1374, Gallo in 1389, Pietruccio di Lucca in 1380, Niccolo di Maestro Angelo in 1399.[3]

Gualandi publishes a document proving that Donato painted for the brotherhood of S. Maria de' Laici in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[4] Agnolo worked for the same fraternity in 1399.[5] The chapel of these brethren is now the crypt of S. Maria de' Laici, in which many damaged frescos are still to be seen, exhibiting the characteristic features of the close of the fourteenth century, such as they may be found in the church

[1] A S. Anthony in the ex-church (now a private house), of S. Angelo Maggiore at Cagli discloses the hand of a painter like that of the cathedral fresco, and an annunciation recently whitewashed in the same building displayed the manner of the Gubbian school.

[2] See notices of Luigi Buonfatti in Gualandi Memorie ub. sup. Serie IV. p. 48—9.

[3] These notices are due to the search of Signor Buonfatti of Gubbio.

[4] Gualandi. Memorie ub. sup. Ser. 4ª. p. 48.

[5] Ibid.

of S. Francesco at Cagli, but at a still lower range of value.[1]

But Gubbio had a school of mosaics. Della Valle mentions Angioletto of Gubbio as a mosaist at Orvieto, in 1321—1329,[2] who afterwards appears at Assisi working at the windows of the lower church together with Pietro da Gubbio and Bonino di Assisi. The same artists furnished the glass windows of the Cappella del Crocifisso in the sanctuary. A series of small panels, originally

[1] They are paintings in a sketchy water colour, outlined of a hard red, and altered by time and damp. A long bony figure of Christ, bound to the column, vulgarly naturalistic in shape and features, may be seen on a wall to the right of the entrance, near a composition representing in exaggerated forms and types the Redeemer bound and lying on the ground previous to being crucified, with subordinate groups of people on foot and horseback approaching from a city. About the altar is the crucifixion, arranged without order or judgment, and on the altar itself a figure, in dead colour, of Charity seated with a candelabra and scutcheon blazoned with the arms of the Bentivogli. An inscription runs thus:

"Hoc altare consecratum fuit PR. M. D. D. Ottavianum de Bentivogliis de Eugubbio dignissimo archiepiscopo; XXVIII. Ottobris 1489."

The altarpiece must therefore not be confounded with the wall-paintings which are a century older.

On the wall to the left, a niche contains a relief of the dead Christ possibly by Mattiolo, of whom it is on record that on the 14th of August 1338 he finished a Virgin and child and two angels with the assistance of Bartolo di Cristoforo, Giovanni di Agnolo Danti, and Cecco Masuzzi. (Records extracted from Vol. B. of the books "dell' amministrazione di S. Maria de' Laici" by Signor Buonfatti.)

Around the niche occupied by the relief of the dead Saviour are painted angels about the initials of the name of the Saviour. The Last Supper and the washing of the feet decorate the rest of the space, and are as incorrectly drawn as they are hastily executed, the figures being remarkable for defective types, round gazing eyes and wooden extremities. The ceiling is whitewashed.

Remnants of paintings are likewise to be found in the Campanile, formerly a chapel of S. Francesco of Gubbio. A Christ in benediction occupies the centre of the ceiling where traces of two of the 4 Evangelists may yet be discerned. S. Luke with the ox, S. Mathew with the eagle, are feeble and exaggerated in character; but the Saviour is remarkable for great care in the accessorial ornament and a certain easy simplicity in the drapery. The hands, however, are bony and thin. Remnants of figures of male and female saints may be traced on the neighbouring walls, one of which, a bishop, seems a production of the Gubbian school at the close of the 14th century, but more defective a great deal, than the frescos of Cagli, though less so than those in the crypt of S. Maria de' Laici.

[2] Stor. del Duomo d'Orvieto, ub. sup. p.p. 272—384.

belonging to one picture, in the Ranghiacci collection at Gubbio, has been assigned to Angioletto. It hung in S. Domenico of Gubbio and represented the Virgin giving the girdle to S. Thomas. All that now remains are portions representing S. Lucy, S. Catherine and another female saint, the Virgin, two angels playing and a bust-figure of Thomas Aquinas. These fragments have all the character of the close of the fourteenth century. They have the grace and gentleness, the long slender forms, peculiar to the school, but the heads are characterized by an oblong squareness, and by small features. A certain seeking for elegance may be noticed in the dresses and in the golden ornament of the draperies. The colour of the flesh is rosy, and the general tone gay and pleasing. The painter is interesting not only because he fairly represents his school, but because one traces from him such men as Matteo da Gualdo; and he assists us to understand the later art of this portion of Italy.

If from Gubbio we pass to Fabriano and search for the remains which it may contain, we shall be struck by pieces of great antiquity, — a crucifixion in the oldest form in the refectory, now a wood-magazine, of the convent of S. Agostino, and vestiges on the arch of the public square, of rude paintings of the rise of the fourteenth century. In the sacristy of S. Niccoló, a crucifixion on goldground, with attendant episodes, seems to have been executed about 1350, by a second rate hand.

Lanzi and Ricci mention one Bocco[1] who painted here in 1306. Colucci,[2] one Tio di Francesco. Other names of artists not known by their pictures, might be quoted.

The best of Fabriano's early painters is Allegretto Nuzi whose name has been mentioned in connection with frescos in Gubbio and appears on the register of

[1] Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 333, and Ricci, Memorie &c. della Marca di Ancona. 8°. Macerata 1834. Vol. I. p. 86.

[2] Antichita Picene. Tom. XXV. p. 183. Ap. Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 333.

Florence in 1346.[1] He carried the Umbrian manner with him to Florence and preserved it there, his style remaining throughout consistently the same. There are no particulars of his life,[2] and the earliest inscribed picture that bears his name is that which, of old in the Ospizio de' Camaldoli alla Lungara at Rome, was transferred to the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican.[3] Here he depicted the Madonna between S. Ursula and the Archangel Michael with the donors, two males and a child, two females and a daughter, kneeling at each side of the throne. This picture alone proves Allegretto to have been a genuine Gubbian, and to have preserved the Umbrian character after his residence in Florence. His Virgin bends with the affected tenderness peculiar to the school, and is drawn and coloured with the minuteness, the clear rosy tones which we now know by heart. Prettiness, not the simplicity or majesty of the Giottesques, remains characteristic. Damaged by varnish, and repainted in the figure of S. Ursula, the picture bears the signature:

"Alegritus Nutii me pinxit a. M.CCCLXV."

Four years later Allegretto furnished the altarpiece representing the Virgin, saints and attendant episodes in the sacristy of Macerata cathedral.[4] On the frame he wrote:

"Alegrittus de Fabriano me pinxit M.CCCLXVIIII."

and on the pedestal of the throne:

"Istam tabulam fecit fieri frater Johannes clericus preceptor Tolentini anno Domini MCCCLXVIIII."

[1] Gaye, Carteggio, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 37.

[2] Ricci ub. sup. says, on the authority of MS. records at Fabriano, that Nuzi laboured for a time at Venice. Vol. I. p. 88.

[3] Press 7. The picture is engraved in D'Agincourt.

[4] The Virgin, with the infant standing on her knee and holding a bird, between S.S. Rosa, Catherine and twenty other saints, and with Anthony the Abbot in a niche to the left, S. Julian to the right. In the point of the central pinnacle, the crucified Saviour is placed with Moses and Elias below at each side. The medallions of the wings are occupied by the angel and Virgin annunciate.

No figures more truly characteristic of the school of Gubbio can be studied, than that of S. Julian at the Virgin's side, with his double pointed chin, pursy lips and falling hair, or that of S. Anthony on the opposite side with his long beard. The affected head, slender shape, pretty faces, and precise drawing, are as ever to be noticed in the Virgin and saints. The colour, however, is darkened by time, and the picture is thus in one sense without the usual clearness and lightness of tone.[1] In 1372 Allegretto painted the Virgin, and child enthroned, now in the collection of Signor Romoaldo Fornari at Fabriano. The infant, standing with its plump limbs and forms on the knees of the Virgin, pats her face with its left hand and looks out towards the spectator. The fleshy soft face of the Virgin, her well proportioned figure, rosy flesh tints, shadowed in light grey and without relief and slightly browned by age, still charm by their harmony.[2] Allegretto indeed showed some progress in this piece, which displays more breadth and power than previous examples. On the pedestal of the throne he wrote:

"Hoc opus pinxit Alegritus Nutii de Fabriano año MCCCLXXII."

A much damaged Virgin, with the infant grasping her dress at the bosom, may be noted in the same gallery as a picture by Allegretto, unauthenticated by a signature, but in his manner, and like the Madonna in S. Lucia of Gubbio.[3]

An Ecce Homo in the same collection, one third of the life-size, precisely drawn, transparently coloured, and not without merit, may likewise be assigned to the master, as it rivals in type the Redeemer in the crucifixion at the Berlin Museum. This picture, with its companion, the Virgin and child between S.S. Catherine

[1] The commentators of Vasari, Vol. IV. p. 161. erroneously date this picture 1368.

[2] The Virgin in diadem and veil and gorgeously clad in a red gold damask tunic, bends her head and supports the child with affectionate care. Her figure is wrapped in the usual blue mantle engraved with patterns.

[3] The colour of the Virgin's dress is abraded.

and Bartholomew, is one of the pleasing miniatures of a characteristic painter. On the sides of the latter are the words:

"Alegrictus de Fabriano me pinxit."

Both have the gay transparence of tone, the neatly rounded tints shadowed in light grey, the bright harmonious draperies of the Gubbian school, yet are still flat and unrelieved owing to the pellucid clearness of the vehicles. Nor are the forms without fair proportion and movement or natural beauty. The cheerful plump infant, in the panel representing the enthroned Madonna,[1] plays with a bird, and the Virgin is one of Allegretto's happiest efforts. The crucified Redeemer in the second panel[2] displays some power in the choice of a not unnoble form and type, in the setting out of the proportions and the definition of a slender nude.[3]

An altarpiece with half lengths of the Virgin and child between S.S. Bartholomew and John Evangelist, Venanzio and Mary Magdalen, adorns the sacristy of the Duomo at Fabriano, and though it has no signature, may be classed amongst the best preserved of Allegretto's works.

A S. Augustin erect between S.S. Nicholas of Tolentino and Stephen in the sacristy of S. Agostino at Fabriano can be assigned likewise to the master.. The good preservation of the picture enables the spectator to compare it with those of Gubbio and to trace the common tie which unites its school with that of Fabriano and leads up to the superior art of Gentile. According to Ricci, Allegretto died in 1385 and was buried in S. Lucia of Fabriano.[4]

[1] No. 1076 Berlin Catal.

[2] No. 1078 Berlin Catal. Both panels have the same size and seem to have formed part of one picture.

[3] The pelican above the Saviour's head, the Virgin in grief, with a pointed head, small chin, outstretched arms and dishevelled hair, depicted with some force; S. John Evangelist, opposite feebler and grimacing, the Magdalen grasping the foot of the cross, complete the picture which, on a small scale, combines the highest qualities of the Gubbian school.

[4] Ricci, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 90. Allegretto may further be the author of the much damaged and restored frescos in S. Lucia of

In the neighbourhood of the town, an isolated chapel at Cancello, belonging to the canons of Fabriano[1] contains two pictures on gold ground, one of which, in two parts, represents S. Anthony the abbot and S. John Evangelist, the second, S.S. John the Baptist and Venanzio, both rivalling in beauty the figures in the sacristy of S. Agostino and in the sacristy of the Duomo at Fabriano.

A Virgin and child between saints and angels[2] in the same church of Cancello is but little inferior to the foregoing, being a production of Allegretto's best time. These are pictures distinctly impressed with the qualities of the Umbrian school, and chiefly of a master whose works help the student to the conclusions in respect of that school which form the preamble to these notices of it.

Finally, a well known chapel dedicated to S. Nicholas in Tolentino may be noticed, although time has injured the fresco decorations in it and they have been

Fabriano, of old the sacristy of S. Domenico and now annexed to S. Agostino. Amongst other figures the spectator may note a female astride of a monster with seven crowned heads inscribed with the Latin curse applied to the ungodly Babylon. Her face is youthful, a blue fillet surrounds her forehead and her hands grasp a cup and trumpet.

A crucifixion fills the space opposite the entrance with the usual accompaniments of the Virgin and Evangelist, a falling tower inscribed "Sinagoga" to the left, and a fiend in flight to the right. In the last wall the Thebaic desert, the death and coronation of the Virgin, much injured, in the ceiling, four Franciscan monks (part of the ceiling is whitewashed), form the sum of the incidents depicted. Though much injured these frescos deserve attention in the paucity of examples (according to Ricci, they were by Nuzi and bore the dates 1345 and 1349, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 88), and they are not to be confounded with others in a chapel of old the refectory of S. Domenico, and now a granary, dated "1480 die 25 Febbraio", the date alone being sufficient to prove that this is not a production of Allegretto's brush, whilst the manner reveals the hand of Antonio da Fabriano. Ricci, (ub. sup.) notices further frescos executed by Nuzi in the cloisters of S. Antonio Abate at Fabriano now gone, but originally dated 1366. (Vol. I. p. 88.) A picture of S. Anthony between 2 kneeling saints in the sacristy of the same church and a decollation of the Baptist fresco, in the Hospital del buon Gesù. (Vol. I. p. 89.)

[1] 5 miles from Fabriano.

[2] S.S. John the Baptist, Venanzio, John Evangelist, another saint and angels in the gable points.

so restored as to defy criticism. Still the general features of style and composition, the type and allegories have the stamp of Gubbian art, a sufficient reason for withdrawing the name of Giotto assigned to these productions. Allegretto, it may be remarked, is not the only painter of his native place, and feebler artists are known to have existed at Fabriano, whose capabilities were sufficient for this work at Tolentino.[1] So far then Umbria shows itself animated with the same feeling in matters of art as swayed the Siennese painters; and this is a characteristic feature in every part of that country.

After Allegretto, Francescuccio Ghissi adorned the school of Fabriano, and found purchasers for his pictures in many parts of Italy. A Virgin much in his manner has been noticed at Naples;[2] but there are perfectly authentic panels by him not only in Fabriano, but in the Marches. One representing the Virgin, giving the breast to the infant, between two angels on their knees may be seen in the Fornari collection at Fabriano inscribed:

"A. D. MCCCLXXXXV Francisse . . . s me fecit."

another at Fermo, a third at Rome.[3]

[1] In the ceiling are the four Evangelists and the Doctors of the church, and in the ribs of the diagonals eight virtues conceived and executed on the Siennese rather than on Florentine models. Each wall is divided into three courses filled with subjects taken from the legends of the Virgin and S. Nicholas of Tolentino. One of the former, representing the massacre of the Innocents, another, the circumcision, will strike the spectator as creations of the Siennese school, whilst the limbo in the old typical arrangement reveals a painter who clung to the oldest traditions and therefore not a Florentine. Marchese Carlo Luzi informs us that there is a picture of Allegretto Nuzi in the church of the convent of Apiro in the province of Macerata.

[2] See antea, in Giotto at Naples.

[3] As regards the first of these, the feeble drawing of hands and rude general execution, the flat and unrelieved colour, make this an example inferior to a more characteristic creation in the church of S. Salvatore of the Augustins at Monte Giorgio in the province of Fermo. Here Ghissi painted a subject that has become familiar by its peculiarity and the frequency with which it was repeated. In a square inscribing an arched niche fringed with curves adorned with gilding, the Virgin sits on a cushion on the

Though Perugia inherited in the fifteenth century the style of the painters of Gubbio, it produced nothing of value during the fourteenth, a curious and not uninteresting fact, when we consider how near it lay to Assisi, where the best painters of Florence and Sienna rivalled each other in the production of the finest masterpieces.

The testimony of two men whose opinions have had weight impress a stamp of antiquity upon a piece in S. Francesco of Perugia[1] representing S. Egidius erect under an arch supported by columns, with six scenes from his life in threes at his side. According to tradition, the picture once covered the tomb of Egidius whose remains were translated to Perugia in 1262,[2] and Mariotti

ground holding the infant at the breast. Rays issue from her person and are supposed to dispel the darkness of the night symbolized by stars on a dark blue background and the crescent of the moon near her feet. An angel with flowers on his head hovers to the left, with his arms crossed on his breast, and in medallions in the upper angles are the angel and Virgin annunciate. The Virgin is dressed in a red damask tunic and blue mantle with gold flowers, on her foot is a slipper, and an inscription runs: "Pulcra est luna", whilst below one reads:

"Hoc opus fecit et depinsit Franciscutius Chissi de Fabriano sub anno domini MCCCLXXIV."

This peculiar Madonna is in type and character hardly inferior to those of Allegretto.

At Fermo itself, in the choir of the monastery of S. Domenico, is a Virgin giving the breast to the infant, similar to the foregoing and no doubt by Ghissi, whilst the same subject life size, with two instead of one angel kneeling before the Madonna, may be seen under the name of Madonna della Pace in the church of S. Agostino at Ascoli. The same fringed arch, and medallions above, containing the annunciation as in the Madonna of S. Giorgio, the same style, imitating at a lower level that of Allegretto, prove the painter to have been Ghissi.

Ascoli, however, yields Giottesque as well as Umbrian examples, and before leaving, the student may notice in the sacristy of S. Domenico a picture of the close of the 14th century, by a native artist under the Giottesque influence, representing the Virgin and child, adoration of the Magi, nativity, resurrection, Christ in glory, the Virgin in the midst of the apostles, with saints in the pinnacles, a rude production full of defective forms and ugly types, but gay in colour. Other pictures at Ascoli deserve no particular notice.

But to conclude with Ghissi and the school of the 14th century at Fabriano, the student may find at Rome in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican (Press No. 13) a Virgin like those of Monte Giorgio and Ascoli, but small and injured by cleaning which originally may have been by Ghissi.

[1] In a room near the sacristy.

[2] Vide Mariotti, Lettere Pitt. Per. 1788. Vol. I. p. 32, and Orsini, Guida di Perugia. p. 315.

with his colleague Appiani testified on the back of the picture that the author was a painter of the thirteenth century. Yet Rosini justly doubts the tradition and the judgment of Mariotti[1]; and the student will observe that the work, whether it be considered in reference to design and colour, or to execution and composition, is a production of the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century,[2] with the defects and peculiarities characteristic, as may be shown later of Giovanni Boccati of Camerino, or of other painters of the Umbrian school, from whose failings Buonfigli is not exempt. Much damaged by time and dust, this is an example of the zeal with which pictures of little price are supposed to gain value by a judicious retrogression into the darker ages.

Amongst the early painters at Perugia there is one whose existence is historically recorded. Bartolommeo, usually called Meo, has been already noticed as the son of Guido Guarnieri of Sienna and the author of a picture in the church of Montelabate.[3] He was a citizen of Perugia and owner of property there in 1319.[4] We have thus a Siennese artist here in the rise of the fourteenth century.

Of earlier date, were we to believe the record given by Mariotti,[5] is a fresco of the Virgin holding the infant Saviour, standing on her knee with angels supporting a drapery behind her, removed from the walls of the Palazzo del Popolo to a small church near the Seminario. The Virgin, called the "Maesta delle Volte," is supposed to date as far back as 1297, yet what is presented to view in this fresco is of the fourteenth century. And admitting that pictures may have been executed in the Palace of the People at Perugia, at the time indicated, the

[1] Storia della Pittura, ub. up. Vol. I. p. 201.

[2] In the little scenes especially the character of the close of the 14th century is most apparent.

[3] See antea, the early school of Sienna, and Milanesi's. "Della Vera Eta di Guido &c." ub. sup. p. 9.

[4] Mariotti Lettere Pittor. Per. ub. sup. p.p. 42. 43.

[5] Ibid. p.p. 35. 36.

spectator may safely deny that the "Maesta delle Volte" is one of them.[1]

The least defective and perhaps the oldest frescos of Perugia are remains in the chiostro of S. Fiorenzo, now abandoned, but of old part of the transept of the church.[2] Yet these remains which are of the fourteenth century and are older than other vestiges on the same walls have more Florentine than Siennese or Umbrian character.

Above an altar to the left, in the church of S. Fiorenzo itself, is a rude fresco of the Saviour erect holding the gospel, the work of a second rate painter of the close of the fourteenth century, whilst in the choir a Virgin and child, equally rude, seems a production of the rise of the fifteenth.

Some notice has already been casually taken of wall paintings of this period in the ceiling of the old church of S. Domenico[3] representing prophets, without originality or talent. Common and uninteresting productions in S. Angelo Rotondo of Perugia display the general defects of all the lower schools of Italy with some traces of the Siennese or Umbrian style of the fourteenth century.[4]

The crypt of S. Agostino, a brotherhood in Perugia, is also noted for old fresco paintings which by no means deserve the veneration in which they are supposed to be held, in spite of the fact that the locality is now a granary.[5]

A fragment in the church of S. Francesco with part of an inscription "Erud. MCCCLXXXII, II del mese jun." represents the Virgin and child with two angels in a pent-

[1] See this Virgin engraved in Rosini, Vol. I. p. 205.

[2] In the vaulted ceiling, the Saviour holds the gospel and gives the blessing in a glory of angels. Above him are the symbols of the Evangelists. The Saviour is in an elliptical glory, rays issuing from his frame.

[3] Vide antea, Stefano Fiorentino and Buffalmacco.

[4] One amongst them represents S. Apollonia erect in a strange striped red and green dress with yellow flesh tints shaded in red; another, a head of the Saviour, and the remainder, fragments, all of an ugly type and form.

[5] Here is an "Incredulity of S. Thomas", a triple headed Trinity in the form which Padre di Ayala and Bellarmin reprobate as "absurd and monstrous", with a single crown, four eyes and three noses; part of a crucified Saviour, with the Virgin and S. John, and heads of S. Anthony the Abbot and S. Dominick, all very poor but of the close of the 14th, or rise of the 15th century.

house, and above it three more of the celestial messengers, a work which, in the midst of much feebleness and incorrect drawing, recals the type of the Umbrian school, chiefly in the soft regularity of the Madonna's features. In continuation and still reminiscent of the Umbrian manner are vestiges of frescos of little merit in a room at S. Fiorenzo near the sacristy, in which certain angels are characteristic of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and a Virgin giving the breast to the infant (fresco) before SS. Stephen, Lawrence and of another saint in a room to the right at S. Angelo Rotondo, a work of the first half of the fourteenth, showing some relation between the schools of Gubbio and Fabriano in the fourteenth and that of Perugia in the fifteenth centuries, yet of little value as a work of art.

Siennese art was better and more continuously represented at Orvieto than at Perugia. A Virgin and child in the chiesa de' Servi really appears to have been produced in the thirteenth century, but the principal examples are of the fourteenth. The chapel of the S.S. Corporale in the Duomo is filled with frescos, partly obliterated, partly restored, representing scenes from the old and new testament, from the story of the miracle of Bolsena, and the legend of the Holy Sacrament. Beneath the Calvary, burial, and resurrection, the spectator may still read the words: "Hanc capellam depinxit Ugolinus pictor de Urbeveteris, anno domini MCCCLXIV die Jovis VIII mensis Junii." Yet Vasari with characteristic carelessness assigns these frescos to Pietro Cavallini, finding, no doubt, some vague resemblance of style between them and those of the transept at Assisi. This Ugolino, not to be confounded with the goldsmith Ugolino di Veri, is called in cotemporary records "di Prete Ilario". He was employed at the same time with Orcagna and Andrea Pisano in whose company he dined on a well known occasion.[1] He was assisted by Maestro Giovanni Leonardelli, a glass painter and mosaist long employed in Orvieto cathedral, and painted, besides the chapel of the S.S. Corporale and with less skill, scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Redeemer in the choir of the Duomo.[2] Ugolino exhibited in all these frescos the character of a Siennese painter of a class hardly up to that of Bartolo di Fredi, whose com-

[1] See antea, and for his employment at Orvieto, Della Valle, Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto. p. 115.

[2] Vide Della Valle, ub. sup. p. 196. These paintings have been damaged by damp and restoring, they comprise an annunciation,

positions he imitated. Puccio of Orvieto, a cotemporary of Ugolino, has already been noted as one of those who decorated the Campo Santo of Pisa.

In other cities of this neighbourhood there are paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. At Trevi a figure of Christ crucified with the feet apart is preserved in the convent of Santa Chiara and dated 1257.

The convent of the nuns of S. Anna at Foligno has a chapel sacred to the Beata Angelina with common frescos of the fourteenth century. Wall paintings of a rude kind assigned to Giotto, but only in the Giottesque manner, may be seen in a chapel of S. Francesco at Terni. They represent Paradise and the Inferno, and are inscribed:

Hæc est capella heredũ di Giovanni di Paradisi de Interañe f. A. D. MCCCL

In S. Domenico of Spoleto a chapel now used for the bell ropes is full of common decorations of the fourteenth century. The Saviour in benediction is in the centre of the ceiling and the crucifixion between the thieves on one of the walls, with vestiges of other subjects. In the convent della Stella is a feeble crucifixion with S.S. Francis and Dominick at the foot of the cross painted in the close of the century, and two pictures each with four scenes from the life of the Virgin in the same character.

It is clear from the foregoing that very little of interest is to be found in that part of the Marches and Umbria lying around Assisi, and that the humblest examples only remain. In none of the monasteries or convents of that country which are numerous is any thing to be seen except bare and whitewashed walls. Such as have been noticed would be hardly worthy of record, were it not proper to register even the feeblest works of early times.

At S. Severino, in the church del Castello, are remains of Umbrian frescos of the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century and in S. Francesco of the place similar poor remains of the same period.

Of old the church of the Franciscan convent, near Jesi, was covered with frescos. Some of these still exist

the visitation, the presentation in the temple, remains of the dispute in the temple, a figure of a prophet and S. Gregory; but they are inferior to those in the chapel.

in the apsis and right transept, amongst which a crucifixion with numerous figures. These fragments have unhappily been restored of late; yet one can still trace in them the original character of paintings of the fourteenth century, by a Giottesque of fair attainments.

Finally, a common Umbro-Senese picture of the period under notice is to be seen in the sacristy of the minorites of Ancona.

CHAPTER VIII.

PAINTERS OF BOLOGNA, FERRARA AND MODENA.

The true lover of art would be seriously disappointed if, trusting to the highly coloured statements of Malvasia, he should expect to find first rate painters in the early school of Bologna. That school was of the second class during the whole of the fourteenth century, but had a stamp of its own, a mixture of the manner prevalent in Umbria, Modena, Ferrara and Rimini. Though Giotto is supposed to have resided at Bologna, his influence on the painters of that country was not direct, and they rather studied the second and third rate Pietro and Julian of Rimini than the great Florentine himself.

That Bologna, like most Italian cities, had its art in the remotest times is proved by Giambatista Verci,[1] who gives the following inscription on a lost picture, of old in S. Francesco of Bassano:

"Guidus Bononiensis pingebat A. D. MCLXXVII."

Malvasia adds Ventura, who painted between 1197 and 1217, and Ursone, who lived between 1226 and 1248. We may consider in the same unknown class Simone di Bartolommeo, a miniaturist of Bologna, respecting whom Vescovo Muzi publishes a record of the year 1288,[2] an artist who may have been a cotemporary of Oderisio at Bologna. The paintings of these distant times have perished, or have been so much repainted that the critic is under the necessity either of denying their original

[1] Notizie, &c. de' pittori della Citta di Bassano. 8°. Venez. 1775. p. 2.

[2] Storia de' Città di Castello. Vol. I. p. 134.

antiquity, or of supposing that local rivalry has led historians to transform the feeble productions of one century into the noble efforts of a remoter age.[1] This probably occurred with regard to the scriptural scenes, in the upper church of S. Stefano of Bologna, of which, a procession to Calvary, and a crucifixion with the initials F. P. have been sawed from the walls of a chapel and transferred into the transept. In the midst of injuries inflicted by time and restorers one can still trace the hand of an artist of the fifteenth century.[2]

Malvasia affirms that Franco Bolognese founded in his native city the school out of which Vitale, Lorenzo, Simone, Jacopo and Christofano arose.[3] Yet there is no authentic record of his existence at Bologna, and Vasari only knew certain of his miniatures at Rome executed at the close of the thirteenth century, and drawings in his own collection.[4] It is only from the Lucchese commentator of Dante, Vellutello, who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century, that we learn to consider Franco as a pupil of Oderisio, a fact unknown to Vasari and Dante. Of the miniatures and paintings assigned to this master, and originally seen by Lanzi in the Malvezzi collection,[5] one remains in the gallery of Prince Ercolani at Bologna and bears, not the date of 1313 given by the "Abate", but the inscription, whether genuine or false of:

"Franco Bol. fece 1312."[6]

It represents, as he says, the Virgin enthroned holding the infant Saviour in a veil and tickling him with her right hand, but the whole is repainted. It seems a picture of the fourteenth century with some of the affected

[1] For the earliest Bolognese paintings see Carlo Cesare Malvasia's Felsina Pittrice. Fol. Bologna 1678. Vol. I. p.p. 2—4. 7. 8 &c. He notes works of "Ventura" and "Orso", and "Manno" of the 13th century.

[2] Assigned by Malvasia on the authority of Baldi to the year 1115! Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 7.

[3] Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 15.

[4] Vas. Vol. I. p. 321.

[5] Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 9.

[6] The signature is repainted and possibly a forgery.

grace of movement peculiar to the artists of Gubbio and Fabriano.

Something more is known of the works produced by Vitale of whom two pictures dated 1320 and 1345, prove that he lived in the early part of the fourteenth century. Baldinucci notes and D'Agincourt has engraved, a Madonna by him bearing the inscription "Vitalis fecit hoc opus 1345".[1] Another Madonna supporting in air a veiled infant erect and clutching at her dress with a diminutive kneeling figure of a donor in the right foreground, and an angel kneeling on each side, was originally in the church of Madonna del Monte fuori Porta S. Mammolo and is now in the Gallery of Bologna inscribed:

"Vitalis de Bononia fecit anno MCCCXX."

"Hoc opus fecit fieri doña Blaxia p. aĩa magistri Johannis de Plaxẽcia."

This production of a painter who imitates the affected tenderness and delicacy of the Umbrians, proves Vitale to have been of second rate power, his thin tempera and straightly lined draperies with copious gold embroideries displaying the mechanical attainments of a miniaturist.

A Madonna by the same hand in the Museo Cristiano at the Vatican,[2] inscribed;

"Vitalis de Bononia f."

exhibits, though damaged, a clearer resemblance to the productions of the Gubbian painters. Taking these pictures as models, one may assign to Vitale:

A Madonna in the church of S. Giovanni in Monte at Bologna, attributed to Lippo Dalmasii.[3] The Virgin's grasp of the infant is expressive of great affection. The figure is in proportion and attitude correct, in expression soft, and the picture is a dainty bit of early art. A coronation of the Virgin in S. Salvadore at Bologna, with two attendant scriptural incidents, discloses the same peculiarities. The Virgin

[1] Baldinucci, ub. sup. Vol. IV. p. 323. D'Agincourt, Pl. CXXVII. The Madonna of 1345 is noted by Malvasia, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 16, as in the church of the Madonna de' Denti.

[2] Press No. 17. The Virgin's blue dress repainted.

[3] Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 29.

kneels to receive the crown from the Saviour; and five angels form the glory.[1]

Three small panels by the same hand in S. Paolo of Ferrara represent triple groups of saints[2] in the manner of the foregoing.

We shall presently see whether Vitale is one of the painters of the church of Mezzarata. Lanzi describes a S. Benedict with other saints by him in the Malvezzi collection,[3] and Malvasia a birth of Christ and other pictures in the cloisters and church of S. Domenico, at Bologna.[4]

A follower of Vitale's manner, a rude executant, but still imitating Umbrian painters is the Bolognese Andrea,[5] one of whose pictures, a virgin in a diadem giving the breast to the child, may be seen in the church del Sacramento at Pausola near Macerata, inscribed:

"De Bononia natus Andreas fătus. A. D. MCCCLXXII."

a rude example, less ambitious than another in a passage of the convent annexed to the hospital "Fate bene Fratelli" in Fermo, a picture distributed into a double course of seven compartments comprising a Virgin and child and scriptural subjects.[6] The Virgin, — the child, imitate the type and movement of those in Vitale's Madonnas; the latter grasping the dress as it strides over the lap of the former. Andrea may therefore have been one of Vitale's assistants. Yet none of his works can be found in Bologna.

A better artist of Vitale's school, yet undeserving of

[1] To the left, a diminutive monk kneels as he is recommended by a saint in episcopals; and to the right a little child is introduced in a similar attitude by S. John the Baptist. Two episodes adorn each of the side panels, one of them an adoration of the Magi.

[2] In the first S.S. Peter, Paul and James, in the second a female saint, S. Mary Magdalen, and S. Catherine of Alexandria, in the third S. John the Baptist and two other saints.

[3] Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 11.

[4] Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 16.

[5] Not mentioned by Malvasia.

[6] An inscription may be read on the lower border as follows: "A. D. MCCCLXVIIII, de Bononia nat. Andreas fecit hic opus (sic)."

A rude execution in thin dry tempera marks this production, which consists throughout of poor and mechanically outlined figures, flatly coloured in opaque tones.

the high consideration in which his works have been held is Lippo Dalmasii who flourished at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century in Bologna. His life has been written at some length by Malvasia,[1] who tells of him as Vasari does of Angelico, that he set himself devoutly to prayer before undertaking to paint the form of the Virgin.[2] Baldinucci adds, quite in error, since it appears he died married, that, towards the close of a virtuous life, Lippo went into seclusion in the convent of the fathers of S. Martino at Bologna, where he continued to paint Madonnas for the mere pleasure of exercising his art and without any greed of gain.[3] Lippo was born about 1376 and was the son of one Dalmasio di Jacopo Scannabecchi.[4] His will, according to Piacenza, was dated 1410 and it may be fair to suppose that he died about that time.

A Virgin by him in the form of those painted by the Umbrian, Ghissi, may be seen in the Ercolani collection at Bologna.[5] A smiling Virgin and child, the latter holding a bird and feeding it, the former in a gorgeous blue dress embroidered with gold birds, is on the first altar to the right on entering the church of S. Domenico.[6] One of the best works of Lippo, however, is the fresco noticed by Vasari[7] as on the arch above the gate of S. Procolo at Bologna, representing the Virgin and child between S.S. Sixtus and Benedict, figures marked alike by character and nature in their forms, by some affectation of grace in the Virgin, but also by ruddy fiery tones in the flesh tints. Another fresco mentioned by Vasari and till 1859 in existence in S. Petronio of Bologna, with the signature "Lippus Dalmaxii pinsit 1407,"[8] has been recently whitewashed.[9]

[1] Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p.p. 26 and following.

[2] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 26.

[3] Baldinucci. Vol. V. p. 109.

[4] Ibid. Piacenza's note and Comment. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 208.

[5] Outside the walls of the Collegio dei Spagnuoli a much injured and repainted fresco of the Virgin giving the breast to the infant Saviour may be seen as described by Vasari with the words: "Lipus Dalmaxii pinsit."

[6] At Bologna.

[7] Vol. II. p. 208.

[8] The signature was on the base of the Virgin's throne.

[9] It represented the Virgin and child enthroned in a choir of singing and playing angels and formed the ornament of the 4th pilaster to the right of the church portal.

Lippo painted figures of a broad, not a thin and slender, form; yet they are still reminiscent of the style of Vitale in the smile and attitude of an infant Saviour or the movement and mode of grouping figures together. He was probably Vitale's pupil, and still preserves a trace of the influence derived from the school of Gubbio. A marked and deep outline, sharp colour and neglected forms are peculiar to him, whilst a tendency to profusion in ornament reveals the follower of the Umbrians and Siennese.[1]

The pictures of Simone, generally called "de' Crocifissi", have the Bolognese character, and more or less a family likeness to, the productions of Vitale, Andrea and Lippo Dalmasii.[2] Yet there was less of the Umbrian in him and more of the low Giottesque. Instead of the affected daintiness of the former, his figures have a coarse and masculine vulgarity. Two of his crucifixes remain. One of them, colossal, inscribed:

"Simon fecit hoc opus A. D. MCCCLXX die ult. febr. hic."

in the chapel della Croce at S. Giacomo Maggiore of Bologna; the other under glass in the fourth church dedicated to S. Pietro e Paolo in S. Stefano of Bologna, inscribed:

"Affixus lingno p̃te suffero peñas. Symon fecit hoc opus. Memento Q. Pulvis es, et pulvẽ reũteris. Age penitẽcia, et vives in Eternum."

Nothing can be more common, exaggerated, or heavy than the form of the crucified Saviour or the faces of the Virgin and Evangelist.[3]

[1] The Saviour between S.S. Peter and Paul in S. Francesco of Bologna has disappeared. (Vas. Vol. II. p. 208.), Malvasia (Felsina ub. sup. p. 28.) notes, amongst many others, a Magdalen before the Lord in S. Domenico, a Virgin and child under the Bolognini portico in S. Stefano, another in the parish church of S. Andrea.

[2] Malvasia describes Simone as executing none but crucifixes, in contradistinction to Vitale, who always scrupulously avoided that subject. Felsina I. p. 17.

[3] The latter of these crucifixes is much damaged by dust. Instead of the female saint at the foot of the cross, opposite the Magdalen, is a monk bearing a cross. Another crucifixion was noted by Malvasia

Simone's frescos were as rude in execution as his panels, of which one may convince himself by examining a Virgin and S. Ursula in the seventh church dedicated to the S.S. Trinita in S. Stefano of Bologna.[1]

Conflicting opinions exist as to whether Simone's cotemporary, Cristoforo or Cristofano, is a Bolognese, a Ferrarese or a Modenese,[2] and the question might be easily elucidated, were any sensible difference to be traced between the works of the painters in each of those cities. But as a humble mediocrity characterized them all, the discussion may be left to local disputants, and the student may be content to learn that Cristoforo differs very little in style from Simone de' Crocifissi, and that his productions, such as they are, date from the close of the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth century.

A small panel with the crucifixion and the Entombment, in the Costabili collection at Ferrara, inscribed: "XPoforus

in S. Martino Maggiore. (Felsina ub. sup. I. p. 21.) Another subject peculiar to Simone is the coronation of the Virgin, one example of which may be seen, much damaged by cleaning, in the Fine arts Academy at Bologna signed, "Simon fecit". Another inscribed "Simon de Bononia fecit hoc opus" is engraved in Rosini (Stor. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 223), whilst a third with the date of 1377 is indicated by Malvasia and the annotators of the latest edition of Vasari as in the Foresteria of S. Francesco at Bologna. (Vas. note 4. to p. 40. Vol. III.) Two more in the Academy of Bologna have neither date nor signature. Pope Urban the V^th^, enthroned in the act of benediction and holding a picture of S.S. Peter and Paul, signed "Simon fecit", is in the same Academy, besides a small picture inscribed "Simon fecit hoc opus", representing Christ amongst the apostles and two more which shall be noticed amongst the works of Jacopo.

[1] S. Ursula wears a diadem in relief and holds the gospel and banner. The figures, life size, are visible to the knee. A Virgin and child in a glory of angels, much damaged by restoring and inscribed "Simon fecit hoc opus" is in the gallery of Modena (No. 24 of Modena gall. cat.). A Madonna between two saints (one of them in episcopals) and guarded by four angels in rear of the throne, with the words, "Symon pinxit", in the Galleria Costabili at Ferrara completes the catalogue of existing works by a third rate master, whose contributions to the decoration of the church of Mezzarata at Bologna may be noticed presently.

[2] See the conflicting opinions in notes to p. 41. Vas. Vol. III. in Vasari himself same page, in Baldinucci. Vol. IV. p. 513. and Lanzi, Vol. III. p. 12.

fecit"; — another, equally small, in the same place, representing the Saviour on a tree cross, with the pelican above him, angels about the head, and a youthful female saint below in the act of reading; — a third crucifixion near the foregoing, with a most defective figure of Christ, of dark tones, raw opaque colour and marked outlines; — a fourth crucifixion, with a vehement angel at each side of the cross, in the Public Gallery at Ferrara — are sufficient to explain the claims of that city to Cristoforo. But besides these, a picture in the bellroom, of old a portion of the church, of S. Andrea at Ferrara, might prove that the artist inhabited that city. This fresco, of the Virgin and child, was part of an adoration of the Magi. In the same church near the steps leading to the "Cantoria", of old the chapel of S. Andrea, is a coronation of the Virgin with three angels on one side, life size figures, by the same hand.

These feeble productions of the Bolognese school betray the impress on Cristoforo of the manner introduced into these countries by the lower Giottesques, who are already noticed as having influenced Simone; and a general resemblance may be traced between them and the remnants assigned to Vitale, Simone, Cristoforo and Jacopo in Mezzarata. The frescos of S. Andrea are, however, more in Cristoforo's style than in the manner of the other artists just named. They are firmly drawn, fairly proportioned, but of a general reddish flesh tone. In D'Agincourt the student will find a plate[1] of a Madonna called del Soccorso, originally in Mezzarata and signed Xp̃forus pinxit, 1380, which has disappeared together with another signed "Christophorus pinxit 1382", depicting the Virgin and child between S.S. Anthony and Catherine, originally, according to Baldinucci, in the church of the Padre Celestini at Bologna.[2] A fresco in S. Francis of Bologna, signed "Cristoforo Ortali" and now whitewashed has been engraved by D'Agincourt,[3] who admits in him a painter different from his namesake.

To judge accurately of the manner peculiar to Jacopo degli Avanzii of Bologna, the best means are afforded by a crucifixion in the Colonna gallery at Rome signed:

"Jacobus de Avãciis de Bononia. f."

[1] Plate, CLX. of D'Agincourt's work.

[2] Baldinucci, ub. sup. Vol. IV. p. 514.

[3] Plate CXXXVI. of d'Agincourt.

Here the Saviour appears nailed to a tree-cross with the pelican above him. The Virgin, wringing her hands at the side of her cheek, mouthing fearfully and straining her face into corrugations, exhales her grief by showing her teeth. Nearer the foot of the cross, the Magdalen kneels with her arms thrown back, whilst to the right S. John Evangelist looks up grieving to the Saviour. Jacobus imagined the Redeemer thin and feeble in frame, livid, straight and lifeless, in a drapery of poor lines; a reedy slenderness and pinched features are peculiar to the remaining figures, the whole being coloured in a dull yellow tone stippled over deep verde, with dark draperies of changing hues and outlines of great minuteness.

From this work alone, Jacopo may be noted as a painter of the Bolognese school of the close of the fourteenth century, whose mode of drawing and colouring, whose types and character are distinct from those of the painter with whom he has been confounded, namely, the alleged author of frescos in the chapel of S. George at Padua.

Perfect identity of style justifies the critic in assigning to Jacopo degli Avanzii a crucifixion in the Academy of Arts at Bologna,[1] evidently a pinnacle of an altarpiece.[2]

A much damaged panel, likewise in the Academy of Bologna,[3] divided into spaces decorated with scriptural scenes, may be regarded as a lower example of Jacopo's manner. A third of the same kind,[4] represents the crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin and other subjects.

Ugly types, grimace, exaggeration of movement united to feeble execution are thus combined in Jacopo, who

[1] No. 160. Bologna Academy catalogue.

[2] It represents the Saviour on a tree-cross with the pelican above his head, from whose nest a flying serpent issues. At the extremities of the horizontal limb, two prophets with scrolls are not without character, whilst the Saviour is represented with some nature, though of vulgar features. This is undoubtedly the best crucifixion of the Bolognese school. The Magdalen embracing the foot of the cross, mouths as she looks up. The Virgin faints on one side in the arms of her attendants in the presence of S. John and others; and on the right the usual crowd looks on.

[3] No. 159. Bologna Academy.

[4] Ibid. No. 161.

imitated the painters of Ravenna and of Pomposa, whose Giottesque derivation has already been explained. Through the lower or third class followers of Giotto therefore Bologna received the Florentine influence. Nor can any difference be noticed between the foregoing examples of Jacopo and the frescos assigned to him at Mezzarata, from whence the conviction is strengthened, that there is nothing in common between the painter of Bologna and the artist of the same name, who laboured about the same period at Padua.

The reader may now be asked to repair to Mezzarata where a church originally called Casa di Mezzo, situate outside the Porta S. Mammolo of Bologna, was decorated with frescos by most of the artists whose works have been described.

For a long time these wall paintings which, according to Vasari, were completed in 1404[1] remained in a good state and were considered by him as worthy of attention. They were subsequently whitewashed, — a part of the church walled off, and every trace of painting obliterated. Signor Minghetti, to whom the edifice belonged, caused the whitewash to be removed and exposed most of the original frescos; causing some to be sawn away and taken into his private residence.[2]

Entering the church, the spectator may see eight incidents from the life of Joseph,[3] one of which is carried on to the wall in which the portal is pierced, but the latter is welnigh obliterated and the traces of a name beneath the furthest one are quite indistinct. According to Vasari, the scenes of the creation from Adam to Moses were executed by Cristofano,[4] of whom it is further stated in the Guida di Bologna of 1845, on the strength of MS. records, that he painted at Mezzarata in 1380. But the Guida di Bologna

[1] Vas. Vol. III. p. 41.

[2] Some of those representing scenes of the creation.

[3] The first and most distant is difficult to explain, the second represents Joseph in the well, the third, his sale by his brothers, the fourth, Jacob receiving the clothes, the fifth, the confinement of Joseph upon the charge of Potiphar's wife, the sixth, Joseph's interpretation of the dream, the seventh, the brethren before Joseph, the eighth, an indistinct incident. The traces of a name are on the lower border of No. 8.

[4] Vas. Vol. III. p. 41.

of 1792[1] notices that the name beneath the incidents of Joseph's life was "Jacopus f."

The next lower course of the same wall is filled with subjects from the life of Moses, partly damaged and restored, and some absent. In such parts as are more distinct than the rest, for instance where Moses casts down the tables of the law, a Giottesque look distinct from that of Vitale, Cristoforo, and Simon may be traced; yet no one need be misled by Lamo[2] into the belief that Giotto himself painted at Mezzarata; and the frescos of the second course have still a predominant Bolognese character.

The third and lowest part of this wall was decorated with subjects apparently taken from the book of Daniel, and according to the Guida di Bologna of 1792 was inscribed "Laurentius f." The Bologna Guide of 1845 states, on the authority of MSS. of the seventeenth century (!), that one of the painters of Mezzarata in 1360 was one Lorenzo. The character of the frescos in the third is very like that of the second course, both being of a rude execution.

Above the entrance door, a nativity is recovered, which Malvasia describes as bearing the name of Vitale.[3]

The space to the left of the entrance is divided into two courses, in the uppermost of which indistinct traces of an adoration of the Magi and a flight into Egypt appear. Malvasia, however, describes the subjects at length in his Felsina Pittrice and adds that they were inscribed "Jacobus, Simeon f."[4]

Rosini has engraved some of the subjects in the lower course where vestiges of a Last Supper,[5] and the miracle at the Pool of Bethesda remain,[6] and beneath the latter still appears the signature "Jacobus fecit".[7] The whole of the paintings on this side have the character of Bolognese art of the close of the fourteenth century, in the general style of Jacopo, Simon and Cristoforo. None of them disclose the hand of Galasso Galassi, whom Vasari describes as having painted scenes of the Passion in this very church. It may not be forgotten, further, that in the most distant corner of the lower course, to the right of the entrance, remains

[1] 8° p. 397.

[2] Lamo. Graticola di Bologna, ub. sup. p. 16.

[3] Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 18.

[4] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 18.

[5] Retouched by Bagnacavallo, says Malvasia. Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 19.

[6] Storia, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 226.

[7] The first syllable all but gone. That this signature is genuine is proved by Malvasia who noted it before the frescos were whitewashed. Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 18.

of a fresco representing a wedding exist and are assigned to Galasso Galassi, and these have truly a more modern appearance than the rest of the decorations in this church.

As regards pictorial value, it is sufficient to say that the frescos of Mezzarata confirm the opinion deriveable from an examination of pictures produced elsewhere by the painters of the school of Bologna in the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth century, and that nothing in them can lead the critic to doubt but that the Jacopo of Bologna is a different artist from Jacopo who painted at Padua.

But the necessity of carefully distinguishing the creations of artists of the same name living at one period is shown by the fact that besides the Jacopo of Padua, and the Jacopo degli Avanzii of Bologna, a third painter existed in the latter city whose name was Jacobus Paoli, and who is not to be confounded with them.[1] He was of the rise of the fifteenth century, feeble in character and the author of pictures, totally unrelieved by shadow, remarkable for the broken folds and straight lines of his draperies, for a wiry system of outline and for a dry raw tempera of dull tone.

The least defective work of this third rate artist is in the Archivio Notarile, Palazzo del Podesta at Bologna, where an annunciation less than life size is represented with a kneeling patron in prayer on the left hand. Beneath this figure the name "Jacobus de Blachitis" is written and on the border the signature "Jacobus Pauli f." may be noted.

A large altarpiece in the complicated Venetian form, partly by this painter, is the ornament of the chapel S. Croce in S. Giacomo Maggiore of Bologna. Of this, the upper course, representing the coronation of the Virgin in the centre, is inscribed "Jacobus Pauli f."[2] It is curious that this assemblage of hard wiry figures of a dark and dull colour unrelieved by shadow and quite inanimate should be part of an altar-

[1] This confusion may be noted in Malvasia. Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 22. Frescos representing the annunciation and crucifixion and inscribed "Jacobus Pauli f." are mentioned by the author, who states that they were painted in 1384 in the sacristy of S.S. Nabor and Felice at Bologna.

[2] In the central pinnacle is christ crucified with the Virgin and S. John at the sides. The

piece, the remainder of which is Venetian and executed in the manner of Stefano and Lorenzo Veniziano who lived and laboured at the close of the fourteenth century, the form of the altarpiece itself being Venetian. Possibly some accident destroyed the upper part, and Jacobus was called upon to restore it to its pristine form.[1]

The name of Petrus Johannis, another feeble Bolognese, may be found on a fresco in the cloister of S. Domenico of Bologna representing the Trinity in the consecrated form, but damaged by the obliteration of one half of the crucified Saviour. On the left, a kneeling male[2] is presented by his patron saint. This Petrus has some Giottesque character, gave some nature and movement to his figures and coloured them fairly; yet his outlines are somewhat dry and his draperies broken.[3]

Malvasia's long list,[4] may be consulted for a further study of this artist's works and of the men of inferior talent at Bologna. One alone may perhaps deserve a

wings on each side of the coronation contain a figure of a monk and S. John the Baptist, with S. Catherine of Alexandria and the angel annunciate severally in the pinnacles, S.S. Lawrence and Mary Magdalen, with a saint and the Virgin annunciate in the pinnacles.

[1] A crucifixion with the thieves (No. 10. Bologna Acad cat.), and usual attendant scenes inscribed "Jacobus Paulus f." a coronation of the Virgin (Ibid. No. 11.), similarly authenticated and less defective, are in the Academy of arts at Bologna together with figures of S.S. Peter, John the Baptist, James, Michael, and the annunciation which seem originally to have been part of the foregoing crucifixion (Ibid. No. 327.). To Jacobus Paulus may perhaps also be assigned the half length S. Helena, kneeling, in the same collection. Malvasia notices many works of the same hand in Imola, Faenza, Modena, and Verona. Felsina, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 22.

[2] Part obliterated.

[3] His earliest work was known to Malvasia. It was signed "1415: Petrus Joannis pinxit", represented a Virgin and donor, and was in S.S. Frediano fuori Porta S. Mammolo. A Virgin and child possibly by the same hand and inscribed "1436. Petrus Johannis de Lianoris," may be noticed much damaged and repainted in oil in the sacristy of S. Giuseppe of the Cappuccini fuori di Bologna. Another by the same and dated 1453, representing the Madonna between Saints, amongst whom S.S. Jerom and Petronius are to be distinguished, occupies a place in the Bologna Academy (No. 107. Bol. Acad. cat.). A fresco by him in the court of the Palace belonging to the Marquis Virgilio Davìa, represents the Virgin and child between S. James and another saint, and is dated 1449.

[4] Felsina, ub. sup, p.p. 32. and following.

momentary notice. His name is Michele Lambertini, or Michele di Matteo of whom we may speak later.[1] An ugly and injured picture by him may be examined in the Bologna Academy, inscribed "Michaeli Mattei fecit 1462 (? 7)". It is a Pietà between S.S. John, Mark, Roch, and Anthony the abbot.[2] A Virgin and child, similarly inscribed with the dates 1469, has much the same defective character; and in the Venice Academy an altarpiece originally in S. Helena, containing the Virgin, Saints, a crucifixion and scenes from the life of S. Helena, is inscribed "Michaeli Mattei Ononia f."[3] Other examples of the same kind are too numerous to mention.[4]

Omitting the ingenious inquiries which have been suggested by the varied readings of an inscription on a picture in the Gallery of Vienna, in which Barisino or Rarisino appears as the father of Tommaso of Modena; it is of interest to note that the latter painter is proved by this and other works to have been below the first class and of but moderate talents in the second. No other qualities or defects are to be discerned in his panels, than those which characterize the Bolognese, Ravennese, Modenese, and Venetian pictures of the time. It is thus of little moment to discuss with Federici the moot question, was Tommaso born or taught at Modena or Treviso,

[1] See Doc. Sen. Vol. II. records of Michele in 1447.

[2] No. 103. Bologna Acad.

[3] No. 2. Acad. of Venice.

[4] Finally, in a study of Bolognese examples at Bologna, the student may cast a glance at the following:

In the chapel della Consolazione at S.S. Stefano, a S. Benedict, with S.S. Sixtus and Proculus, much in the manner of Simon de' Crocifissi, a quadruple panel with incidents from the life of some saint, inscribed (modern) "Morbos pellit, innocẽm salvat, martyres regit, Dominus fugat", in the style of Jacopo degli Avanzii. Better still than the foregoing and under the Giottesque influence at the rise of the 15th century, a triptych of the Virgin and child with saints, one of whom is S. Christopher, another recommends a patron, whilst the angel and Virgin of the annunciation are in the pinnacles. In the same place likewise, S.S. Anthony the abbot, Mark, James, and John Evangelist, and a coronation all part of one altarpiece, beneath the last of which are the words: Johannes de in style like a painting of Petrus Pauli, of the rise of the 15th century.

the fact being immaterial, as the decision, in whichever sense it may point, does not affect the state of art in those places. Tommaso personally seems to have preferred Modena, and appends the name of that city to his own in all the pictures that now exist.[1] He is the first artist of any skill there; and his pictures illustrate at the same time his comparative mediocrity and the art of the fourteenth century in the place of his choice. In the Gallery of Modena[2] is an altarpiece in six parts, with the Virgin and child between saints, and attendant scenes, so damaged by repainting that it is difficult to judge correctly of Tommaso's power. Yet in the long stride and vehement action of the Saviour in limbo which recal the old forms, — in the exaggerated movement of the S. Jerom, — it is impossible not to notice the feeble powers of a second or third rate artist.[3] One of the remaining records of the painter is that which sets forth that he received, in 1352, a commission to paint in the newly built church and chapterhouse of S. Niccolo at Treviso, in the first of which are saints on the pillars, and in the second a series of portraits of Dominicans are preserved.[4] A few years later, namely, in 1357, Tommaso left Italy for Prague, where he painted a picture now in the Academy at Vienna in which he represented half lengths of the Virgin holding the child, who plays with a little dog, between Wenceslaus of Bohemia and S. Palmasius, inscribed:

[1] Federici, however, gives apparently convincing proofs that Tommaso was born at Treviso of a Modenese father. See D. M. F. Federici, memorie Trevigiane. 4°. Venice 1803. Vol. I. p. p. 65 and foll.

[2] No. 32. Gallery of Modena. The Virgin's head repainted in oil.

[3] This picture is inscribed
"Pulcros aurora mater pia vḡo decora p nobis ora
Et in mortis nos susipe ora
Thomas fecit 1385."
Ab. Boni. ap. Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 80. notices two Virgins executed by Tommaso in 1351 at Venice. A S. Catherine, formerly in the gallery Molin, is now in the Academy of Arts at Venice (No. 352). It is said to have been signed "Io. Toms. pictor de Mutina pin anno MCCCLI", but the inscription now illegible is false and the picture is of the close of the 15th century. A S. Barbara, by Tommaso is lost.

[4] Federici. Memorie Trevigiane, Vol. I. p. 187. describes all these paintings and states, what the paintings themselves sufficiently prove, that they were executed by Tommaso.

"Quis opus hoc finxit? Thomas de Mutina pinxit. Quale vides lector. Rarisini filius autor."[1]

It is supposed that he decorated the castle of Carlstein for the Emperor Charles the Fourth; and an Ecce Homo, much injured, with a Madonna, still in that edifice, are assigned to him.[2] His style is a mixture of the Gubbian and Bolognese.

A far superior artist was Tommaso's cotemporary Barnaba of Modena, whose career illustrates Piedmont and Pisa more than his native city. He surpassed not only his own countrymen, but the Bolognese and Pisans of his time; and he made a respectable approach to the better class of Siennese painters. Like them he practised the familiar method of colouring, which consisted in stippling lights over deep preparations of verde, fusing the parts together without much contrast of light and shade, but with the patient minuteness of the period and glazing the whole with warm rosy tones. His draperies, of many involved and ill defined folds, are touched up with strokes of gold light, and are generally of brightly contrasted colours, engraved with copious ornaments on the stuffs for the sake of richness. His pictures have thus a sort of lively brilliancy, with a flat surface unrelieved by light and shade, and transparence carried out to a fault. Affectation of grace in the Virgin and child, which was his favorite subject, regular forms and proportions in the frame, roundness and breadth in the heads, give his pictures an old Siennese appearance, which is increased by the roundness and gaze of the eyes, the pursy lips and long-fingered but coarse jointed hands. A fibre of the old artist stuff of bygone times was in him, without much life or animation.

A half length Virgin and child in the Staedel Gallery at Frankfort,[3] inscribed:

"Barnabas de Mutina pinxit MCCCLXVII."

[1] No 1. in the German school. Belvedere collection, the first letter in the word Rar- or Bar-isini is abraded.

[2] Vide Kugler Handbook. p. 170.

[3] No. 7. Staedel Gallery Cat.

the earliest work of Barnaba that has been preserved, might alone suffice to illustrate his style, being of clear transparent tones and showing the Virgin with a round head, thin hands and reedy fingers swelling to coarseness at the ends.

A second in the Gallery of Berlin,[1] inscribed:

"Barnabas de Mutina pinxit MCCCLXVIIII."

and representing likewise the Virgin, with the infant on her arm feeding a bull-finch, would be equally characteristic but for the great injury which it has received, and the blackness of its tones.

No record throws light upon the painter's career at the time in which these pictures were completed. In 1370, however, Barnaba painted a Madonna for S. Domenico of Turin, inscribed, according to a notice by Cav. Cibrario:[2]

"Barnabas de Mutina pinxit MCCCLXX."[3]

and in Tiraboschi's time an altarpiece by him existed in the convent of S. Francesco at Alba, with his name and the date of 1377.[4] That Barnaba lived a great part of his life in Piedmont is evident not only from pictures by him that were noticed in that state, but because, when the authorities of the Pisan Campo Santo sent for him, to complete the frescos of S. Raineri, in 1380,[5] their messenger was despatched to Genoa. Barnaba came to Pisa, where it is clear that he did not finish the frescos of S. Raineri. If indeed he worked at them at all,[6] no one can tell where or in what part, but he may have hesitated to treat large subjects, being accustomed to the repetition of a few religious themes, and he left in Pisa, but a couple of altarpieces in S. Francesco, one in the

[1] No. 1171. Berlin cat.

[2] Ap. Bonaini. ub. sup. p. 100.

[3] Lord Wensleydale possesses, and the curious might see at the Exhibition of Manchester, a coronation of the Virgin, Trinity with S. John Ev. and the Virgin, the Virgin and child and patrons, a crucifixion inscribed: "Barnabas de Mutina pinxit 1374." a fine production of the master.

[4] Vide Bon. ub. sup. and Lanzi. Vol. II. p. 293. The picture is not there now.

[5] Vide antea. Buffalmacco and Antonio Veniziano. Bonaini ub. sup. p. 102. and Roncioni Ist. Pis. ub. sup. Arch. Stor. Vol. VI. Part. 7. p. 950.

[6] Which is not impossible considering the style and execution.

monastery of S. Giovanni del Fiero, and a fourth in a small church at Ripoli four miles from the city.

Of the two pictures originally in S. Francesco,[1] one alone remains, representing in half length the Virgin giving the breast to the infant Christ, the annunciation and other figures.[2] The picture bears the inscription:

"Barnabas de Mutina pinxit."

For type and form this is the best and most agreeable representation of the Virgin Barnabas has left us. The companion picture, now absent, represented the coronation of the Virgin between S.S. Francis, Louis, Anthony of Padua, and the "beato" Gerardo.[3]

The altarpiece of S. Giovanni transferred, on the suppression and removal of that monastery, to the great chapel of the Campo Santo,[4] still bears the inscription:

"Barnabas de Mutina pinxit."

"Cives et mercatores pisani pro salute a"

and is now in the Academy. Here Barnaba represented a life size Virgin enthroned in front of a tapestry held up by six angels, and adored by two others before her on their knees pointing and holding scrolls.[5] The master's best altarpiece, however, is that which hangs above the door of the sacristy of Ripoli unauthenticated by his name, but unmistakeably in his manner, in which a full length Virgin sits giving the breast to the infant, between S.S. Andrew and Bartholomew, Peter and a saint in episcopals.[6] It is a work executed technically and artistically on the principles peculiar to Barnaba. An inscription on the border only contains the words:

"Jacobus compagnius Pisanus."

[1] Morrona Pis. Illust. ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 90.

[2] The Virgin is in an arch inscribed within a rectangular frame having two medallions at the upper angles containing the angel and Virgin annunciate. Behind the Madonna four angels support a drapery.

[3] Morrona, 1st Ed. ap. Bonaini ub. sup. p. 101.

[4] Morrona, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 233.

[5] The infant stands on her lap. Nothing can be more minute than the engraved ornament in the dresses, or more patient than the execution in general; but unfortunately the flesh tints are abraded and the Virgin's dress darkened and retouched. Two wings of an altarpiece (In the Academy of Pisa), containing severally, S.S. Peter and James the Elder, Andrew and a friar-saint with a staff, life size figures, with medallions above them, filled each with a saint, may be assigned to Barnaba whose gay pellucid tones are as characteristic as the forms and types.

[6] Four angels hold up the dra-

The Modena Gallery[1] boasts of a fair example signed: "Barnabas de Mutina pinxit."

Seraphino de' Seraphini of Modena was a poorer artist than Barnaba and clung more to the style of the Bolognese school.

His name and the time in which he flourished may be seen in the inscription on a coronation of the Virgin, with scriptural incidents in the cathedral of Modena:

"Seraphinus de Seraphinis pinxit 1385 die Jovis XXIII Marcii."

In Seraphino the Bolognese style alternates with some Giottesque feeling. His execution is rude, his colour dull and flat and coldly shadowed. Whether he is of Modena cannot be affirmed. Lanzi and others take it for granted.[2]

With this curt, but sufficient notice of early Modenese art, we pass to the neighbouring city of Ferrara, which, no doubt, boasted of painters not less respectable in attainments and antiquity than those of her neighbours. We may read for instance in Lanzi the following respecting Gelasio di Niccolo.

The Ferrarese school took its twin origin, so to say, with that of Venice, if we may credit a monumental testimony cited by Dr. Ferrante Borsetti, in his work called "Historia almi Ferrariensis Gymnasii," published in 1735. This memorial was extracted from an ancient codex of Virgil, written in 1193, which, according to Baruffaldi, passed from the library of the Carmelites at Ferrara into the possession of the Alvarotti, Counts at Padua, whose books, in course of time, were added to the library of the Paduan Seminary. At the end of this codex is the name of Gio. Alighieri, the miniaturist of this volume; and in the last page there had afterwards been added, in the ancient vulgar tongue, the following memorial; that in 1242 Azzo d'Este, first Lord of Ferrara, committed to one Gelasio di Niccolo

pery behind the throne. Medallions in the pinnacle contain the angel and Virgin annunciate.

[1] From the Puccini collection at Pistoia.

[2] Frescos of a rude kind in the Bolognese character may be noticed in various parts of Modena cathedral and principally in a chapel leading out of the choir. They are by a common painter of Bologna or Modena at the close of the 14th and rise of the 15th centuries.

a painting of the fall of Phaethon; and from him too Filippo, bishop of Ferrara, ordered an image of our Lady and an ensign of S. George which was used in the procession sent out to meet Tiepolo when he came as ambassador from the Venetian republic to Ferrara. Gelasio is there stated to belong to the district of S. George and to have been a pupil in Venice to Teofane of Constantinople, which induced Zanetti to place this Greek at the head of the masters of his school. On the authority of so many learned men to whom such memorial appeared genuine, I am led to give it credit, although it contains some marks which, at first sight, appear suspicious.[1]

This story doubted by Lanzi, by Frizzi,[2] and by Tiraboschi,[3] is believed by Laderchi,[4] and does not seem more improbable than Vasari's account of Tafi. Baruffaldi[5] and Scalabrini[6] are in support of Laderchi. Let us see what the so-called works of Gelasio di Niccolò are like.

The Virgin of the Duomo of Ferrara is so venerable that it can only be seen by the faithful at one period of the year. Lovers of art may and have found it as toilsome to hit this period as to discover that in which various Madonnas so-called Cavallinis are visible at Florence.

As regards the frescos in the ex-church of the Martiri, late a military hospital at Ferrara, a fragment of one of them representing the Virgin in a swoon in the arms of the Marys, is now in possession of Professor Saroli at Ferrara, and once formed part of a crucifixion on the wall of the choir assigned to Gelasio. Though much damaged and altered by time, the fragment is a common production of the close of the fourteenth century, having the style and character, the exaggeration and grimace of similar productions noticed at Pomposa and Ravenna. The painter therefore, whoever he may have been, is a Giottesque of the fourth class, below Julian of Rimini in power. The remains in the ex-church itself are, or were, for they are probably whitewashed, worse than the fragment under notice and of the rudest kind.

[1] Lanzi ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 185.

[2] Frizzi, Memorie Historiche, Vol. 3. p. 147. apud Laderchi. La Pittura Ferrarese. Ferrara 1856. p. 20.

[3] Notices of Modenese artists in 7 Vols. 4° Modena 1781.

[4] Laderchi, ub. sup.

[5] Baruffaldi (Girolamo), "Vite de' Pittori Ferraresi." Ferr. 1845—48. Vol. I. p. 8. Vol. II. p. 517.

[6] Scalabrini. Pitture di Ferrara, p. 109.

A Virgin and child in the Costabili collection, assigned to Gelasio and engraved by Rosini,[1] needs but be examined for an instant to convince the beholder that the author was of the fifteenth century; and if the lost works of the same artist, enumerated by Citadella,[2] were of this kind he may be considered, as far as pictures are concerned, a mythical person.

We need but name Laudadio Rambaldo, who, according to Lanzi, flourished about 1380,[3] and painted in the Servi by Castel Tedaldo not far from Ferrara,[4] and of whom a totally repainted Madonna is shown at Ferrara in the court of the Castel Ducale.[5] At the same time, we remember that if ever Giotto painted in this city, his works have long since disappeared and are not now to be seen. We may pause, however, to examine a fragment of fresco recently recovered from whitewash in one of the lower rooms of the ex-palazzo Estense, now university of Ferrara. This much damaged fragment represents a fight. A woman may be seen at the summit of a tower. By its side two others drag at each other in vehement action, and a man hard by shoots with a bow. On an opposite wall is the remnant of one playing an organ on the top of a tower. These are productions of the close of the fourteenth or rise of the fifteenth century by one who exaggerated action in his figures and painted in sharply contrasted tones.

It is in this very palace that Antonio Alberti da Ferrara, according to Vasari a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, laboured; but before alluding to his remains it may be well to state that the fragments just recorded are not by him.

Antonio having studied in the Florentine school, and particularly under Agnolo Gaddi,[6] must necessarily have

[1] Storia, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 148.

[2] Citadella. Catalogo historico dei Pittori Ferraresi. T. I. p. 8. and following.

[3] Baruffaldi, ub. sup. Vol. I. p.p. 10 and 471.

[4] A church destroyed in 1635, according to Laderchi, ub. sup. p. 22.

[5] Where it has recently been recovered from whitewash.

[6] Vas. Vol. II. p. 155.

been born between 1370 and 1380. Yet his productions are dated as late in the fifteenth century as 1439. According to the local historians he left Florence for Urbino and Città di Castello, and was employed in 1438 to decorate the Palazzo Estense at Ferrara with subjects illustrating the union of the Greek and Latin churches. One fresco of the number representing the Saviour amongst the elect, withstood the assaults of time till 1780 and has since perished, leaving to the locality in which it was painted, the name of Palazzo del Paradiso. Antonio was a frequent resident in Bologna, and married a daughter, Calliope, to Bartolommeo the father of the well-known Timoteo Viti.[1] But one picture authenticated by his signature exists, and is preserved in the sacristy of the church of S. Bernardino outside Urbino.

The Virgin, all but life size, enthroned, and holding the infant Saviour asleep on her lap, is draped in a mantle and tunic of superfluous folds, embroidered with gospel sentences in the borders. Her large face, though expressive of a certain religious feeling, is yet not pleasing, but deserves less condemnation than the ugly one of the infant. An inscription reads as follows:

"1439. Antonius de Ferairia."[2]

The whole is a creation of second or third rate talent, a rudely executed tempera, of a wine-red tone unrelieved and flat in appearance, yet revealing a tendency to realistic study in Antonio. It is a picture without a trace of such a Giottesque influence as might be expected from the examples and teaching of a master like Agnolo Gaddi, and suggests that, if Antonio in his youth studied in the

[1] Vas. Vol. VIII. p. 148, but see the records of 1464—65. in Pungileoni. Elogio Storico di Timoteo Viti. 8° Urbino 1835. p. 1.

[2] The sides and upper courses of the altarpiece hang dismembered near the central one of the Virgin and comprise whole lengths of S.S. Peter, Paul, Louis of Thoulouse, John the Baptist, and Jerom, and half lengths of S.S. Catherine, Anthony of Padua, Louis, Chiara, a holy friar and a bishop (thirteen panels in all). The S. Peter in a mantle of exaggerated amplitude is without expression in face, broad and short in head and figure, wooden in attitude and ill-drawn, particularly as regards the extremities. The same defects may strike the beholder in the profile of S. Paul with his sword, in that of S. John the Baptist and in S. Francis; — and better outlines in that of S. Chiara.

Florentine school, he had lost its impress in his later years.

Though comparatively feeble, the altarpiece of S. Bernardino is of interest, as it enables the student to trace the career of Antonio a little further, to the church of S. Maria della Nunziata ex muros by the Porta S. Lucia of Urbino, where remnants of a figure, partly concealed by a wooden altar and representing the angel annunciate,[1] may be noticed. The latter, of a gentle face with a round outline, and of thin hands, wears a cap and hair arranged in plaits. It is warmly coloured and pleasing enough in its somewhat decorative mode of execution. We may notice further the frescos in the chapel of the Bolognini at S. Petronio of Bologna. Vasari, it is true, assigns them to Buffalmacco.[2] Yet figures of saints, monks and bishops, as guards in the pilasters and vaulting of the chapel entrance, display Antonio's peculiar shortness and breadth of forms, long closed eyelids, superfluous drapery, and defective drawing of hands and feet. The same features characterize the incidents of the Passion, the Paradise and Inferno inside, where an Archangel Michael, with the balance, is a counterpart, in form, head-dress, and plaited hair, of that in the S.S. Annunziata near Urbino. Muscular and fairly proportioned shape cannot be denied to many figures in the Paradise, nor are the heads without a certain force of expression.

The same hand, and therefore that of Antonio, produced the frescos which still decorate the inner choir of S. Antonio Abate at Ferrara,[3] representing the half length Virgin giving the breast to the infant, between S. Benedict, an energetic type, S. Sebastian, another saint, and an angel with a balance. The fresco was executed in 1433, as appears from the following inscription:

"Hoc opus fecit fieri soror Agnetis de Fontana MCCCCXXXIII."

In six small and much damaged half lengths representing saints, now in the collection of Signor Saroli at Ferrara, falsely assigned to Giotto, the spectator will notice, particularly in a S. Anthony Abbot, a clear resemblance with the figures in the vaulting and pilasters of the Bolognini chapel at S. Petronio of Bologna, and he may remark that

[1] Part of whose blue dress is repainted.

[2] Vide antea. Buffalmacco and Vasari. Vol. II. p. 52.

[3] The student will require a special permission to see these frescos.

these tastefully coloured panels, executed with the care and softness of a miniaturist, but drawn in the square and broad form peculiar to Antonio of Ferrara, come from S. Antonio Abate, whose frescos have just been noticed. It may appear, from the consideration of all these works, that Antonio perhaps studied at Florence, but that his works exhibit the usual mixture of Umbrian and low Giottesque character common to the painters of Bologna in the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth centuries. This indeed was the general character of the early Ferrarese school which only began to assume importance after 1400 cotemporarily with the school of Padua, but which was instrumental in giving a new impulse to the later painters of Bologna.

The reader may now expect a notice of such local painters as illustrated the fourteenth century in Pistoia. A few words will suffice for that purpose, if it be borne in mind that the necessities of this narrative have already anticipated that which might otherwise have found a place here respecting Antonio Vite.[1]

Some remains of old art have been marked in these pages as proving the existence of Pistoian painters of a very early period. But besides the crucifixes and the works of Coppo, which come more properly into the Florentine school, the historians of Pistoia describe a fresco of the Virgin and child on the altar of the Madonna delle Porrine in the cathedral, detached from the outer wall of that edifice in 1140, of which as of all such venerable relics no true judgment can be formed. Mention has been likewise made of Manfredino d'Alberto, who in 1291 painted the suppressed chapel of S. Procolo in the Pistoia cathedral and in 1292 the suppressed church of S. Michele at Genoa.[2]

In 1786 the frescos of the Cappella S. Jacopo in the Duomo of Pistoia were whitewashed. They were executed in 1347 by Alesso d'Andrea and Bonaccorso di Cino with several assistants, at a total charge of 1510 livres, and represented subjects taken from the legend of S. James with the Saviour in glory in the ceiling.[3] One of the assistants was Tommaso di Lazzaro,[4] whose brother Jacopo di Lazzaro painted at Pistoia a Virgin and child between S.S. John and Ca-

[1] Vide antea. Starnina and Vite.

[2] In the original record in S. Procolo in Ciampi, p.p. 117 and 145.

[3] Ibid. p.p. 93—94. 145—150.

[4] Ibid. p. 106.

therine[1] He is recorded in 1368, and supposed to have been in Florence in 1373.[2] Filippo di Lazzaro is also noticed at Pistoia in 1380 as labouring at S. Jacopo.[3]

Passing from these empty names the student stumbles upon another local artist, Giovanni di Bartolommeo Cristiani described by Vasari as a pupil of Cavallini and noted in the records of his native place as of the "Anziani" in 1374.[4] It is conjectured by Ciampi, that he was employed in the Campo Santo of Pisa in 1382,[5] proved, that in 1390 he painted a Virgin and child between S.S. Nicolas and John the Baptist in the Oratorio dei Nerli at Montemurlo, and supposed that he is the author of a Madonna in the church of the Umigliati at Pistoia. His latest work now destroyed, was the decoration of a church in Pistoia called the "Disciplina dei Rossi" commenced in 1396, completed in 1398 at the rate of eight and five gold florins per compartment.[6] The subjects were the genealogy and life of the Saviour. Deprived of these examples we turn to an altarpiece, of old authenticated with Cristiani's name,[7] now in the sacristy of S. Giovanni Evangelista of Pistoia and inscribed:

"Hoc opus fecit fieri prb̃r Philippus Simonis Francisci p. aĩa Dn̄e Lambre, sororis ejus A. D. MCCCLXX."

S. John Evangelist, bearded and austere in features, sits enthroned in a noble attitude with a pen and book, guarded by two angels who support the corners of the drapery on which his form is relieved. Angels of a gentle air, playing the lute and viol, occupy the ground in front, and a nun and priest kneel at the corners. Something in the angels akin to the softness of Orcagna, might suggest that Cristiani studied that master.[8] This altarpiece may guide the spectator to the name of the artist who really executed the frescos in the chapel of S. Lodovico at S. Francesco of Pistoia assigned to Puccio Capanna.[9] This may be Cristiani, whose style can likewise be dis-

[1] Ibid. p. 106.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 107.
[4] Tolomei. ub. sup. p. 162.
[5] Ciampi &c. p. 117.
[6] Tolomei, ub. sup. p. 163.
[7] Ibid. p. 102.
[8] Four little compartments adorn each of the side panels, the four upper ones being in a ruder and feebler style than that conspicuous in the remainder. This picture was once in the middle of the church of S. Giovanni and must not be confounded with one in the vestibule of the sacristy by another hand more impressed with the peculiarities of Taddeo. Vide antea, T. Gaddi.

[9] See antea, Puccio Capanna. p. 379.

cerned in some of the frescos in the ex-church of S. Antonio di Vienna, now a private residence in Pistoia.[1]

Cristiani is supposed[2] to have painted in the cathedral of Pistoia and in the Palazzo Vescovile. He is the author of the design for the silver altar of S. Jacopo.[3]

Prato, also, where many pictures of the Florentine school exist, had some local painters.

One Bettino who in 1312 pictorially illustrated the theft of the Virgin's girdle in the Pieve, and painted frescos in the canonry of S. Tommaso,[4] and who, in 1360, received payment for the "arms" of the "Consoli di Giustizia," Guido who in 1330—1340 painted certain frescos in the house of the "Conservator" of Prato,[5] Migliore di Cino and Giovanni di Lotto who were Pratese painters in 1348.[6]

[1] No. 355. Piazza S. Domenico. In the upper part of this building the original ceiling of the church is divided by partitions erected to form the space into rooms. One part represents Christ in glory and paradise with the signs of the Zodiac, and is executed in soft light tones with the types and drapery of one who studied the creations of Orcagna, the profiles and outlines of figures being similar to those in Cristiani's picture at S. Giovanni and the frescos of the Cappella S. Lodovico. The rest of the paintings in this place by a poorer painter have been assigned, probably with truth, to Antonio Vite. (See antea, Vite.)

[2] Guida di Pistoia ub. sup. by Tolomei, p. 13.

[3] Ibid. p. 26.

[4] Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani. Vol. II. p. 248. and Calendario Pratese. Anno 1360. p. 102.

[5] Calend. Prat. p. 103.

[6] Ibid.

CHAPTER IX.

PAINTERS OF VERONA, PADUA, MILAN, AND VENICE.

North Italy, perhaps under the influence of Venetian examples, continued to cultivate the artistic forms and methods of past ages long after the degenerate Italo-Byzantine style had been discarded or improved by the schools of Florence and Sienna. The powerful families of the Carrara and Scaligeri enticed Giotto to their courts, where the great Florentine might have roused the emulation of local painters and spread the seed of Tuscan art. Yet throughout the Lombardo-Venetian territory we seek in vain for traces of the Giottesque manner; and a solitary example at Colalto only reveals the mixture of the old Venetian with the style of the later Gaddi. Giotto resided long at Padua, without leaving behind him a single artist to continue his manner. We may admit that he visited Verona, and gave Alboin or Can Grande occasion to admire the greatness of his genius; but his example produced no imitator; and the capital of the Scaligeri still betrayed a painful barrenness after the lapse of half the fourteenth century. Verona had followed the same decline as the cities of central and South Italy. The curious traveller may note in S. Nazaro e Celso a baptism of the Saviour produced in the earlier ages of Christian art, in the crypt of San Fermo, near the high altar, a syren, painted after the fashion of the primitive times, fragments of figures dating as far back as the twelfth century, and a deposition from the cross on a pilaster in which the Redeemer's feet are

nailed separately to the cross according to the habit of the thirteenth. A crucifixion, in S. Zenone,[1] with the Saviour in benediction above it, and the Virgin and S. John at the sides is a fresco of less antiquity than local writers suppose, but is of the first half of the fourteenth century, having no doubt been commissioned by the friar whose kneeling form appears in miniature as its base. The state to which local art was reduced in 1360, is betrayed in the curious and defective Trinity, coronation of the Virgin, and Saints in the Pinacoteca of Verona, inscribed:

"Opus Turoni 1360,"

and rudely painted with dark and unpleasant colour. If it be denied that this Turone be a Veronese, one may turn again to S. Fermo and contemplate a crucifixion above the door, in the same manner, assigned to Cimabue, but clearly of the close of the fourteenth century. Other productions of a similar kind, both in this and other churches, convince us of the low state to which painting had been brought. Suddenly artists sprung into notice whose qualities were those of the Giottesque school, and whose masterpieces were sought not only at Verona but in Padua. Great obscurity dwells upon the birth and career of these painters, but Vasari affirms,

That Aldigieri da Zevio, the familiar of the lords della Scala, was of Verona, where he painted, besides many other works, the great hall of the palace, depicting there the war of Jerusalem as described by Josephus, in which he showed great power and judgment, placing one episode upon each wall surmounted by an upper frieze filled with medallions, containing, it was thought, portraits of celebrated men of the time, and particularly many of the Scaligeri. Aldigieri displayed not merely judgment in this work but ingenuity, having given due consideration to all points of interest in the representation of battle scenes. His colour has been well preserved and amongst the portraits of lettered men is one of Messer Francesco Petrarca."

"Jacopo Avanzi, a Bolognese painter, adds Vasari, was

[1] Inside the chief portal and to its left as one enters.

Aldigieri's competitor, and above the foregoing paintings, he executed in fresco also two beautiful triumphs, with such art and in such happy style, that Mantegna praised them as rare productions."[1]

To the great distress of the inquirer none of the frescos thus described by Vasari exist, but, having disposed of Aldighieri's and Jacopo Avanzi's works at Verona, the Aretine continues:

The same Jacopo together with Aldighiero and Sebeto (he means Aldighiero da Zevio[2]) painted in Padua the chapel of S. George the upper part of whose walls were decorated by Jacopo, whilst, lower down, Aldighiero represented scenes from the life of S. Lucy and a Cenacolo, and Sebeto (no doubt still Aldighiero) stories of S. Giovanni."[3]

A century earlier than Vasari's time, Michael Savonarola wrote a description of the art-treasures in Padua, assigning, — to Giotto, as the author of the frescos in the Scrovegni chapel and the Santo, the first rank in the hierarchy of Paduan art, — to Jacopo Avantii Bononiensi, painter of the chapel of S. James, the second place, — and to Altichiero of Verona, the third for his decoration of the chapel of S. George.[4] Yet Savonarola, positive as his testimony appears, receives correction from the family records of the Lupi family, published by Michel-Angelo Gualandi,[5] — in which we find the contract signed on the twelfth of February 1372 between Messer Bonifazio Lupi and the architect Andriolo of Venice, for the building of the chapel of S. James, — the accounts of the expenses up to 1379, and amongst them one item, being a payment, in the last named year, of 792 ducats to Maestro

[1] Vas. Vol. VI. p.p. 89. 90.

[2] Considering Sebeto which is latin for Zevio and the name of a place to be the name of an artist. See on the point Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 76.

[3] Ibid. p. 91. Vas. Vol. VI.

[4] Michaelis Savonarolæ Commentariolus ub. sup. De Laud. Pat. Lib. I ap. Muratori. scriptores. Vol. 24. p. 1170.

[5] Gualandi. Memorie originali Italiane ubi supra. Ser. VI. p. 135., and: Padre Gonzati's Illustrazioni della Basilica di S. Antonio di Padua. P. CVII. Doc. CII.

Altichiero for the painting of the edifice. Bonifazio Lupi Marquis of Soragna is thus the founder of the chapel of S. James afterwards consecrated to S. Felix, when the bones of that sainted Pope were carried thither in 1504; and the painters of the chapel, are Altichiero and his assistants. The Anomino, edited by Morelli, states that the artists employed were Jacomo Davanzo, a Paduan, Veronese, or Bolognese (he was not so sure as Savonarola and Vasari, where Avanzi was born), and Altichiero Veronese;[1] and his opinion is followed by Brandolesi,[2] Lanzi,[3] Kugler,[4] Ernst Förster,[5] and others.

The chapel has a groined roof spanned by two arches, between which and the end walls three large lunettes open out. The sides of the chapel, however, rest on six columns forming five arches with medallions in the spandrils, and all adorned with paintings on one side, whilst on the other the arches open into the Basilica of S. Antonio. As the visitor enters from the latter he finds before him three central arched compartments devoted to the crucifixion. In the middle one, the Redeemer on the cross is bewailed by a flight of angels, and his agony is watched by the usual soldiers on horseback, priests to the left, and soldiers to the right. In a landscape at this side, interested spectators watch the guards dicing for the garment. On the left, the Virgin has fainted in the arms of the Marys, and the procession of spectators moves to and fro on the road to Jerusalem, a well ordered and numerous multitude of riders, and males and females on foot.[6] The legend of S. James the Elder is illustrated

[1] Anonimo ed. Morelli. Bassano 1800. ub. sup. p. 5.

[2] Brandolesi, ub. sup. p. 29.

[3] Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. III. p.p. 12. 13, who confounds, like Vasari, the Paduan Jacopo with Jacopo degli Avanzii and Jacobus Pauli.

[4] Handbook of Italian painting, Murray.

[5] Kunstblatt No. 3. anno 1838.

[6] The tomb of Bonifazio Lupi who was buried here in 1380 (Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 5), is let into the wall of the compartment to the right of the crucifixion, and a wish, a hope seems expressed for his future bliss, by the symbolical subject painted above his tomb: the resurrection of Christ standing with the banner in his sepulchre between two angels. A tomb likewise let into the wall in the compartment to



THE LANDING OF THE BODY OF ST JAMES; fresco, in the Cappella S. Felice of St Anthony's Church at Padua.

in the six lunettes at the sides and a double course at the ends of the chapel, the first episodes beginning in the lunette of the East end or to the spectator's left as he enters.

Three scenes fill this space. S. James preaches in the pulpit of the temple of Jerusalem to a crowd of men and women; whilst on the left the magicians Hermogenes and Philetus confer as to the means of combating his doctrines. On the right, Hermogenes is carried away by the fiends, and a crowd flies in terror from the spirits that surround them. Continuing the subjects on the lunettes of the South side, the painter represents the apostle revealing the divine nature of his mission by ordering the fiends to bring him Hermogenes and Philetus. Hermogenes appears at his invocation carried down by a dragon, and, throwing away the magical books which perish in fire, he is baptised, whilst the unbelievers retire to accuse S. James. Next comes the saint, bound and led to death. One of the executioners falls at his feet asking for pardon and baptism. He shares the fate of the doomed apostle and awaits with him the stroke from one more hardened than himself. The legend proceeds to declare that Hermogenes and Philetus took the body of S. James, put it on board of a ship which, steered by an angel, came to the coast of Spain. The painter depicted in the third lunette of the South side the boat guided by the angel, then the placing of the body on a grave stone, and thirdly, the disciples asking permission of Lupa the owner of the castle to bury the saint. Hermogenes and Philetus, who have thus honoured the apostle, are, in the Western lunette, led before a judge and sentenced to prison. In the next lunette, the prisoners with their guards are thrown by the fall of a bridge into the stream, and are saved by an angel from drowning. Again they appear with the body of S. James before Lupa the owner of the castle near which the landing took place, and she orders the funeral

the left of the crucifixion, is in honour of Rolando, Marsilio, Pietro and Dandolo di Rubeis dukes of Parma, with the Pieta painted above it. The angel and Virgin annunciate, a female saint, two friars and a saint in episcopals fill the medallions of the spandrils. Similar spaces in the two arches spanning the groined roof contain figures of saints, and in the centre of the diagonals above the crucifixion, is a painted relief of the Saviour surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists. Saints likewise adorn six medallions in the spandrils of the arches, through which the spectator looks out into the Basilica.

car to proceed, drawn by two wild bulls. The furious animals, however, are tamed by the sign of the cross, and (in the last lunette) Lupa, converted, receives the rite of baptism and surrenders her castle to the service of God, to be made holy by the remains of the apostle. A second and lower course of frescos on the west wall is ruined, and vestiges only remain of a S. Cristopher. A similar course on the East wall represents the posthumous miracles of the saint, his appearance to Rainero king of Oviedo, with a promise of victory over the Moslems; Rainero, on his throne, relating the vision to his courtiers; — the battle, with the king in prayer in the centre and S. James hovering over the field to witness the discomfiture of the unbelievers. Nine carved stalls surmounted by tabernacles in the arches of which a painted saint is placed, are ranged along the base of the Western wall, seven of the same along the Eastern.

It is very much to be regretted that this great series of frescos should be damaged by restoring, and thus prevent a certain analysis of the difference between its various parts. Altichiero, as the records show, was the painter of the chapel, but he had assistants, and one of these may have been Jacopo Avanzi. But, as there are no certain productions either by the latter or by Altichiero, it is very difficult to assign to each his share of the labour. In general, it may be just to affirm that the crucifixion with its attendant scenes is the most perfect production in the chapel, that the least so are the scenes on the Western wall, all of which are injured and restored, and those of the Eastern which are the poorest, most damaged and restored of the series.[1] As regards the lunettes of the North and South sides, they all seem by one master, though differing as to merit, in a proportion too slight to be defined in words. Judging of them as compositions, they appear to have been created by one person, as indeed the conception of the whole series seems to be one. Altichiero therefore is the painter of the crucifixion which is the most important part, and that nearest the spectator; but in comparing it with the six

[1] This had already struck the Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 6.

lunettes of the North and South sides, it is well to remember that the latter are in better preservation than the former.

To say that the cappella S. Felice is the noblest monument of the pictorial art of the fourteenth century in North Italy is not an exaggeration. Its frescos contribute to assign a high place in history to the painters of Verona. In none of the Northern seats of art had any master combined in so great a measure the true Giottesque maxims of composition and distribution. No artists, except the greatest of the Florentines, had done better. In harmony with the grandeur and simplicity of the conception and arrangement, the natural formation of the groups, the individual character of figures and expression of faces, justify the highest admiration; yet the painter was shackled in the attainment of a greater perfection by his inability to idealize type or form, or rescue it from a stamp of realistic imitation. But for this absence of quality and an occasional deficiency in the drawing of form, the ease with which the figures are set in motion, the simple waving lines of draperies, and a certain ability in the production of relief would have left a still stronger impression. Soft tones, carefully and minutely finished, charm the eye, not merely by their harmony, but by a certain atmospheric modification in their use at the divers planes represented. Glazes giving force and transparence to the flesh tints are applied with skill. A tasteful gaiety and brightness are combined in the harmonies of vestment colours. The distances of country or architecture, though imperfect, were not in the painter's mind so much a subordinate feature as to justify absence of proportion or triviality of object.

The Redeemer on the cross, though softly expressive and thoughtfully conceived as to position, reveals the qualities and betrays the defects of the artist. Whilst the form is well and carefully imitated from nature, it reveals no effort to seek out a combination of perfections.

The reverse of this, indeed, is apparent, for the muscular body has less than the average height. The limbs and articulations are studied, but like the hands and feet are somewhat coarse. In the face the expression of bodily suffering is apparent from the contraction of the brow, the coarseness of an extensive nose, and the faded aspect of the whole mask. Force and energy may be seen in the damaged angels of the crucifixion without the combination of elegance and grace peculiar to those of Giotto in the Arena hard by. Nothing can be truer or more natural than the fainting Virgin,[1] the multitude returning to Jerusalem, the dicers surrounded by interested spectators. There is invention of incident or a keen observation of nature in its daily garb. Expression is true and to the point, but the ideal and a noble choice of form were gifts not possessed by the artist.

Such being the qualities of Altichiero, it becomes doubly interesting to ascertain what share he may have had in other works at Padua, and one turns necessarily to the frescos in the cappella S. Giorgio rescued from the dust of centuries by M. Ernst Förster twenty five years ago and restored by him, if not to their original brilliancy and beauty, still to such a state as enables the spectator to admire and analyse them with fruit.

The opinion of Vasari has already been quoted respecting these frescos, that of Savonarola also. Campagnola whose letter to Leonico Tomeo is known by fragments only, is quoted by the Anonimo edited by Morelli, who repeats Vasari's opinion;[2] but in doing so he calls Avanzi "Padoano," whilst Rizzo[3] prefers Savonarola's authority and gives the frescos to Altichiero alone. Brandolesi affects to be able to distinguish between the works of Avanzi, Altichiero and Sebeto,[4] the latter being no other than Altichiero himself. Lanzi playfully confounds

[1] The group of the Virgin is injured.

[2] Anonimo ub. sup. p. 6. and 101. Campagnola wrote in the 16th century.

[3] Rizzo in Anon. p. 6. ub. sup.

[4] Brandolesi, ub. sup. p. 53.

the chapel of S. George with that of S. Felice.[1] Kugler follows Mr. Ernst Förster in the opinion that Avanzi is the only painter of the cappella S. Giorgio,[2] and the Marchese Selvatico translator of the latter joins issue with him in favour of Altichiero.[3] The commentators of the last edition of Vasari are of the opinion held by Campagnola and Rizzo;[4] and finally, Bernasconi and Laderchi[5] complete the list of somewhat angry disputants who poison their debate with the further question as to whether Jacopo Avanzi is identical with Jacopo degli Avancii and Jacobus Paoli of Bologna. It has already been stated in these pages that Jacobo degli Avancii of Bologna and Jacobus Paoli are two persons. It will be admitted by artists that the frescos of S. Giorgio and the crucifixions of Jacopo degli Avancii of Bologna are creations of two very different hands; and for such the debate will have no interest.

The cappella S. Giorgio situate near the Basilica of S. Antonio at Padua, was projected and erected in 1377 almost simultaneously with the cappella S. Felice. A graven inscription above the portal declares that Raimundino dei Lupi of the Soragna of Parma (brother of Bonifazio) caused it to be raised to the memory of himself, his parents, his brothers and their descendants. Raimundino, however, died on the 1st of Dec. 1379 and Bonifazio, by whose orders Altichiero had just finished the cappella S. Felice carried out the wishes of his brother, by causing S. Giorgio to be adorned with paintings. It would have been strange indeed, if having secured for his own chapel the services of one so able as Altichiero, he should hesitate to confide the decoration of his brother's to the same able hand.[6] Though dedicated to S.

[1] Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 76.
[2] Vide Kunstblatt. No. 6. 1838.
[3] 8° 1846. Padua.
[4] Vas. Vol. VI. p. 109.
[5] Bernasconi. Studi, Verona 1859. and Laderchi, Risposta al Bernasconi in Tom. VIII. of Opusculi. Modena, dated Ferrara 1860.
[6] See Gonzati, ub. sup. Illustrazioni della Basilica di S. Antonio. Vol. I. p. 39.

George, the chapel is illustrated not only with incidents from his life, but from those of the legends of S. Catherine and S. Lucy. The side walls to the left of the entrance divided into a double course of four, is entirely devoted to the first saint with a votive fresco representing the members of the Soragna family before the Virgin and child; the wall to the right, with its upper course, to S. Catherine, its lower to S. Lucy, the end opposite the portal to the crucifixion, that in which the entrance is pierced to five scriptural scenes; the annunciation (lunette), the adoration of the shepherds and of the Magi, the presentation in the temple and the flight into Egypt. In the waggon roof are the four Evangelists and doctors of the church; medallions of saints in each of the three windows piercing the long sides of the chapel.

Damaged, as these paintings have been since they were abandoned to the vicissitudes of weather, spoilt as they are, because the chapel, having been used as a prison by the French at the close of the last century, was left without window sashes, and because damp altered the colours, or caused the intonaco to drop, still enough remains to show that the spirit, the composition and execution are the same as in the frescos of San Felice.

The whole of the wall, at whose base the altar stands, is filled with the incidents of the crucifixion, the Saviour being represented between the thieves whose arms are thrown over the horizontal limbs of their crosses.[1] The multitude, below, is divided into three great groups on foot and horseback.[2] The scene, differently represented

[1] The soul of the repentant is taken by an angel to heaven, that of the unrepentant by a fiend to Hades, whilst an angel threatens him with his sword. Six angels, whose action recals the power and energy of Giotto, wail about the head and arms of the Redeemer.

[2] On the left, the Virgin, having swooned and fallen, is raised from the ground by the Marys; one of them lifting her head with great tenderness. To the right of this group, the Magdalen, kneeling, looks up to the Saviour. Clever contrasts of feeling and expression are noticeable in the laughter of a female in rear of the Marys and Virgin, and in the gravity of those who appear in the distance converted by the mournful spectacle.



Fresco, in St. George's Chapel at Padua



Fresco, in St. George's Chapel, Padua.

from that of S. Felice, because of the altered condition in the arrangement of the space, is still composed according to the same laws and executed in the same spirit. The type of the Saviour, adopted from the school of Giotto, is similar in form and character to that in S. Felice, and may be said to have been lined from the same original drawing. It would be difficult to criticise the frescos of S. Giorgio otherwise than those of S. Felice. Yet in some parts of the former, perhaps, a greyer and more abrupt method of colouring, a harder outline may be noticed. Above the crucifixion, the Saviour on a throne with the Virgin, gives her the crown of glory in a choir of angels. It may be needless to detail the subjects on the opposite wall, which are the forerunners of the crucifixion; we may note, however, how, opposite the coronation of the Virgin, the painter has placed the annunciation, the Alpha and Omega of the Madonna's life, and remark that in the adoration of the Magi and flight into Egypt, a Giottesque feeling prevails. The episodes of S. George begin on the East face in the upper corner near the annunciation as follows:

The King and Queen look from the battlements of a city, — their daughter from a shorter distance, — at S. George killing the dragon. All are baptised in front of a church, in the second fresco of the series, by the hero of the legend. Nothing can be richer than the composition, in the centre of which the king kneels with the crown in his hand as S. George pours the water over his head. The Queen and her daughter are at his side, females behind, courtiers and people about. Beneath the first fresco, S. George appears drinking the poisoned cup tendered to him by the magician Anastasius. Beneath the second, his martyrdom by the wheel is depicted, the moment being that when the saint, having been stretched naked on the instrument of torture, it drops asunder at a touch from the wands of two angels; and as he looks up, praying with joined hands, the fragments strike down one of the torturers, startle another, and frighten or astonish the surrounding groups of magicians, officers and people. In the distance, S. George appears before Diocletian unhurt by the torture, and baptises two prætors convinced by the miracle. The

Emperor, anxious now to save the saint's life, ordered a solemn ceremony to take place before the temple of Apollo, hoping that St. George might be induced to return to the worship of the gods. St. George on the contrary prayed on his knees for the overthrow of the idol, and the fall of the temple: and this scene the painter depicts in the third compartment of the lower course. But this fresco is seriously damaged by an eruption of salt, and the fall of a large portion of the intonaco at the left hand corner. By its side is the final episode of the series, the saint's decapitation, where S. George, prostrate in prayer, awaits the stroke of the executioner who stands with arm uplifted, awaiting a signal from one who with bending frame stands behind the saint and appeals to him to abjure his error. A curious child near this figure, a circle of soldiers with lances complete a composition alike remarkable for decorum and feeling, for true action and gentle expression, and for harmonious colour. Above the two last mentioned scenes, the Virgin and child in profile receive the homage of the family of Soragna, Rolandino and his wife Mathilda, kneeling first under the protection of their patron saints; their sons under similar escort, being Montino, Guido, Bonifazio and Antonio; their nephews, Antonio, Simone and Folco, and last, under the guard of S. George, Raimundino the founder of the chapel. Of old the statues of these members of the Lupi adorned a sarcophagus in the middle of the chapel.

The four frescos of the upper course at the West side are devoted to the legend of S. Catherine, in which the painter repeated the episodes already illustrated by Masaccio in S. Clemente of Rome.

The first, which is hardly visible, is the refusal of Catherine to worship the idol, whilst her companions kneel before it in adoration. In the second, she convinces the philosophers, whose conversion is shown by their attitudes and by the surrender of their books which they have thrown into a fire. In the third, an attempt is made to torture her with the wheel, but lightning from heaven and the wand of an angel break the instrument. The painter being under the necessity of varying the same incident already depicted in the martyrdom of S. George, represents S. Catherine kneeling, between the fragments of the wheel, whilst in the upper story of the palace the Emperor looks on. Last is the beheading, and a distant episode of angels awaiting the saint's death to take her soul to paradise. The lower series re-

presents S. Lucy before a Roman prætor, sentenced to death for her refusal to abjure. The next composition is fine and animated. On the left, S. Lucy with joined hands and looking up to heaven, with an expression of gentle repose and confidence in her upturned face, stands bound; and the rope wound round her form is fast to a team of six oxen, goaded by drivers in animated action. A figure behind the saint pushes her forward, another tugs at the rope, and a third, in the centre, implores her to move.[1] The crowd in surprise are converted by the miracle, for the will of God has enabled S. Lucy miraculously to withstand the efforts of her persecutors. The scene is in the court of an edifice built out into wings, in one side of which two persons appear in converse. It is a fine and well distributed composition where the human form is not better delineated than that of the brute creation, where progress is visible in the details of an architecture tasteful in style and studied in detail.

A third fresco is devoted to the martyrdom of S. Lucy by burning oil at the stake. Her intended punishment being miraculously inefficacious, the executioners deprive her of life with their knives.

In the last compartment, the martyr lies on a stretcher in an interior, watched by a crowd, a part of which is in prayer; and one of the figures to the left wearing a cap is said (one may ask on what authority) to be a portrait of the painter whose name once existed on the border of the frame. Of this inscription, which is now illegible, it is sufficient to say that Mr. Ernst Förster affirms[2] having read "Avantiis" or "Avantus Ve . . ." whilst the Marquis Selvatico read "Jacobus". The question thus remains in obscurity and reduces itself to this, whether the Jacopo or Avanzi, supposed to have inscribed his name, is of Bologna or Verona, and whether the frescos are by him or by Altichiero. The only test is that of composition, distribution, execution, and colour; and of these it is enough to repeat that they are identical with those of the Cappella S. Felice, and that the diversity of hands

[1] The group of the saints with 8 figures and traces of architecture drawn with point on vellum is in possession of Mr. Robinson in London. The drawing is masterly and free.

[2] Kunstblatt, No. 6. 1838.

to be traced in the carrying out of different parts, is the same in both buildings. The fresco of the decapitation of S. George displays the same execution as that of the crucifixion at S. Felice, but the fresco of S. Lucy dead on her stretcher has the greyer tones, the harder outlines of the inferior paintings in the other chapel.

Whether the Jacobus or Avanzi of S. Giorgio be a Veronese or a Bolognese is of little interest. It is important on the other hand to determine to what school he belonged. This can only be done by comparison between the frescos of Padua and others at Verona and Bologna. An opportunity shall presently occur to prove that the Paduan frescos of S. Giorgio and S. Felice are similar in character to others assigned to the same hands at Verona, and that they disclose the style of painters whose manner was inherited soon after by the later artists Stefano da Zevio and Pisanello. A record proves that Altichiero was capo-maestro at S. Felice, and there is no doubt that he was a Veronese painter. If his assistant Jacopo had been a Bolognese, he would probably have exhibited the manner of the painters of that country; but whatever part he may have taken in the decoration of the two Paduan chapels, he did not betray a spark of Bolognese character. It is therefore obvious that the Avanzi of Padua was not identical with Jacopo de' Avancii Bononiensis, whose crucifixion in the Colonna gallery at Rome has been noticed; nor is it less clear, that, supposing the two Jacopo to have been Bolognese, neither of them can be admitted to have lost the style of his school so as to transform it into that of the Veronese artists. As for Jacobus Pauli, he is *à fortiori* out of the question.

Turning to the Library at Padua, where detached fragments are preserved of frescos which, according to Morelli's notes to the Anonimo, or rather according to Campagnola and Rizzo whom he quotes,[1] were executed by

[1] Anonimo, ub. up. p. 30.

Altichiero and Avanzi, no new light is thrown on a controversy that has occupied so many pens. Campagnola says that "Jacomo Davanzo" painted, on the left hand in the hall, the captivity of Jugurtha and the triumph of Marius. Altichiero and Ottaviano of Brescia, says Rizzo, confirmed in this by Michael Savonarola,[1] were the authors of these subjects, and of several portraits of Roman Emperors. Petrarch and Lombardo della Seta, adds the Anonimo, had also their likenesses there.[2] Unfortunately the formless fragments of these works preclude mediation amidst such conflicting opinions. On the other hand, a fresco in a niche above the tomb, in a chapel to the right of the choir at the Eremitani of Padua, is striking as recalling the manner of Altichiero and Avanzi. It represents the coronation of the Virgin, with two kneeling captains in armour on each hand, introduced by their patron saints, — the angel and the Virgin annunciate at the sides of the recess, all of which have the character of the best frescos in S. Felice. Wall-paintings of some interest in this inquiry are still preserved in a porch leading into the lateral portal of the ex-church of S. Michele at Padua. One of them is an adoration of the Magi in which, according to tradition, the persons behind the Magi are members of the family of Carrara.[3] Above these scenes, an ascension of the Saviour is reminiscent of the same subject by Giotto at the Scrovegni. Finally, above the portal, a Virgin and angel annunciate, with the quaint additions of a cat and a fowl, complete the number of frescos in the locality. Remains in a court of the same building represent the stoning of Stephen and a Virgin covering a multitude with her cloak. These are all paintings by one artist whose name may be revealed by the following inscription on a stone in the porch:

[1] Commentariolus, ub. sup. in Muratori. Script. Vol. 24. p. 1175.

[2] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 30.

[3] In the distance is the angel announcing to the shepherds, and the flight into Egypt. Another represents the descent of the Holy

"MIII.^{c}.LXXXXVII a dì ottavo del mese Septembris
.
pinxit qũe genuit Jacobus Verona figuras."

No doubt the composition of the frescos is very much below that of the S. Giorgio paintings, yet some figures recal those in the chapel of Raimundino Lupi, and, more interesting still, are executed on the same technical principle. They are clearly by one who followed the school of the painters of S. Giorgio and S. Felice. We may suppose that the Jacopo Veronese, whose name is here inscribed, is Jacopo Avanzi who undertook the decoration of the church of S. Michele, but entrusted a part of the work to assistants. Their comparative inferiority would thus be accounted for. Or the same Jacopo Avanzi was really inferior to Altichiero and shows his feebler talent alone in S. Michele, thus inducing the belief that he was a subordinate at S. Felice and S. Giorgio. At all events the paintings of S. Michele have a family likeness to those completed for the Lupi, and none to the works of Jacopo degli Avancii at Bologna.

In conclusion, it may be said that the painters of S. Felice, S. Giorgio and S. Michele are all of one school at various degrees of perfection, and that that school is of Verona, not of Bologna. The character of the painters of S. Felice and S. Giorgio is that of men who might have issued from the atelier of Giotto. Their masters are unknown, nor is it possible to suppose that they rose under the tuition of such men as Turone or his cotemporaries whose works have been noticed at Verona. The student is therefore tempted to place more confidence, than he otherwise would, in the assertion that Giotto visited Verona. Yet it is not the less strange, that the painters of Padua, at the close of a century in the first years of which Giotto produced such great works, should be Veronese and not native Paduans. Though Verona can no longer boast of the masterpieces which Vasari

Spirit, a third the funeral of the Virgin containing, it is said, portraits of Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Pietro di Abano.

assigns to Altichiero and Avanzi, its edifices still contain frescos which display their style, and in particular that of the former. Of this number is a votive Madonna above the tomb of Federico Cavalli in the chapel of that family at S. Anastasio. The Virgin, enthroned with the infant, receives the prayers of three captains in armour presented to her by S. George and two other saints. The work is in the manner of Altichiero, more so than a fresco in the same chapel representing a miracle from the life of S. Gimignano. A wallpainting of the same class decorates one of the rooms in the Palace on the "Piazza de' Signori" and represents the Virgin and child between S. James and S. Apollonia and a saint in episcopals.

A votive fresco of the Virgin with a donor presented by patron saints, like those of the Lupi at S. Giorgio of Padua, adorns a space in the upper aisle to the right in S. Zenone, — reminds the spectator of the poorer frescos of Raimundino Lupi's chapel, and reveals a point of contact, as regards technical execution, with the frescos of S. Michele of Padua. Yet this fresco bears the inscription:

"Petrus Paulus de Capellis de Verona, monacus abatialis anno 1397."

A year earlier, one Martino completed the pictorial decoration of a pulpit in S. Fermo with frescos of prophets and saints, handled with some talent, designed with care, and coloured in warm and well fused tones. They disclose a painter of the mixed style of Altichiero and Stefano da Zevio, and were indeed assigned till quite lately to the latter until the following words were discovered on the cornice of the pulpit:

„Opus Martini."

If this should really be an artist's name, it occurs for the first time in the history of Veronese art; and he was a cotemporary of Altichiero and Jacopo. A fresco in the same manner may be noticed in a recess above the outside of the S. Fermo portal. It is thus obvious that Veronese edifices are decorated with paintings in the

character of those which form the attraction of various Paduan churches and chapels, and that we possess the necessary means for distinguishing the Veronese school from that of Bologna. The peculiarity of the former is the impress of great Giottesque maxims more sharply and durably stamped upon them than on others in Italy; and its taste for colour, characteristic not only in Altichiero, but in Stefano da Zevio and Pisanello. This quality was indeed cultivated by the two last to the detriment of the severe laws of composition. At Padua, however, Veronese artists were not the only strangers who painted in the Giottesque manner at the close of the century.

Giusto Johannis, of the Menabuoi of Florence, is obviously a comrade of Agnolo Gaddi, of the school of Giovanni da Milano, and his name appears in the register of Florentine painters, in 1387, as "Giusto di Giovanni, popolo S. Simone." He was made citizen of Padua in the lifetime of Francesco da Carrara,[1] and seemed fitted to claim some of the support extended to the Altichiero's and Avanzi's. One of his earliest works, in a bad state, lately in the hands of Dottore Fasi at Milan,[2] bears the inscription:

"Justus pinxit." Hoc opus fecit fieri doña soror Ixotta, filia q̃dam dñi Simonis de Terzago MCCCLXIII mẽsis Martii."[3]

An equally authentic example of the master is a triptych belonging to the Ottinger Wallerstein collection at Kensington inscribed:

"Año dñi MCCCLXVII.

[1] Vide the original record in Brandolesi ub. sup. p. 281. with other proofs of his existence at Padua in the Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 102.

[2] Strada Ravello.

[3] The Virgin enthroned with the infant in her arms, has quite the character of Taddeo Gaddi's Madonna in the Museum of Berlin, an opinion easily maintainable as regards the grouping, less so as regards the face of the Virgin which has been seriously damaged and repainted. (The blue dress is repainted in parts.) The same style is impressed on two medallions of prophets in the spandrils of the niche. The Virgin's form is long and slender, the infant interesting in his white tunic as he pulls at his mother's veil. A female at each side adores the majesty of the Virgin.

and behind the panel, in the character of the time:

Justus pinxit in"[1]

It is an altarpiece in excellent preservation whose composition and execution fully justify Giusto's position amongst the good Giottesques of Taddeo Gaddi's school, and whose gay, soft and well fused colour has a peculiar charm. Unfortunately the frescos assigned to him at Padua are not authenticated by his name. Vasari's authority must be relied on for the decorations of the cappella Luca Belludi built for the Conti of Padua in 1382.[2] The frescos have been so injured by Domenico Sandri's restoration in 1786, that little can be said with confidence, except that they have a Giottesque character corresponding to a certain extent with that of the authentic altarpieces previously noticed. Yet the Anonimo gives them to Giovanni and Antonio of Padua.[3] Amongst the subjects, one is the crucifixion of S. Philip, in which it is said that portraits of Berualdo dei Conti, Eccelino and Guido his sons were introduced. Other episodes from the life of S.S. Philip and James, from the legend of the beato Luca Belludi, with half figures of the descendants of Jesse in the spaces between the arches and cupola, complete the total decoration of the chapel. The least injured picture of the series is the martyrdom of S. James killed by an executioner with a club. Without going into details, one may admit that the painter was of the Florentine school and possibly Giusto.

He was, if we credit Michael Savonarola, the author of the decorations of the Paduan baptistery,[4] an edifice once

[1] Some read the final word as "Archa or Arquã". It might be "Aritiô or Arezzo." The Virgin is crowned by the Saviour, between six saints, two playing angels, a cherub and seraph in adoration. Beneath this are S.S. Paul, John the Baptist, Peter, Margaret, Barbara, and Catherine. On the left side the angel Gabriel surmounts a nativity; on the right is the crucifixion. On the outer side of the wings, the expulsion of Joachim and the angel comforting him, the meeting of Joachim and Anna, the presentation in the temple, and the marriage of Joseph and Mary are represented. (Exhibited at Manchester under No. 288.)

[2] Vide Padre Gonzati, ub. sup. and Vasari. Vol. VI. p. 94.

[3] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 7.

[4] Commentariolus, ub. sup.

completely painted inside and out. Erected, according to local writers, after 1378 by Fina Buzzacarina, wife of Francesco da Carrara,[1] it is adorned in the old style, with the Redeemer in glory in the cupola, in the midst of converging circles of angels singing and playing hymns in the presence of saints elect, scenes from the old testament, from revelations and from the life of S. John Baptist filling the lower courses. One of the subjects is votive, and represents the Virgin enthroned with the infant Saviour holding a bird, and adored by Fina Buzzacarina, kneeling under the protection of her patron saint. Other saints, in tunic and mantle or episcopals, stand by on each hand. Tasteful gay colour of a rosy carnation shadowed in grey, round and regular forms in the heads of females, are characteristic of this piece, which is perhaps in better preservation than the rest. The Giottesque maxims are apparent enough in these frescos which recal those of Giovanni da Milano in the Rinuccini chapel at S. Croce of Florence. They are apparently by Giusto, whose character is as distinctly impressed on them as it is on the pictures that have been described.[2] Giusto's style, however, is not only in the frescos, but in an altarpiece decorating the chapel at the side of the Baptistery, where the Virgin and child is a centre to a series of smaller panels.[3] It is a picture of some merit, tastily coloured, but embrowned by age. The walls of the chapel in which this altarpiece is placed are also decorated with paintings by Giusto, amongst which a Virgin in the midst of the apostles develops his peculiar phase of Giottesque art.[4]

in Muratori. Script. Vol. 24. p. 1169.

[1] Brandolesi, ub. sup. p. 119.

[2] The names of Paduan artists, such as Giovanni and Antonio, were noticed by the Anonimo as being inscribed at his time above the door leading from the Baptistery to the cloister.

[3] The baptism of Christ, S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and the four doctors of the church in the upper courses, scenes from the Baptist's life and 12 half length saints divided on each side of a Pieta in the predella.

[4] A certain grace in action and gentleness of type, akin to those qualities in Giusto, are apparent in a life size Virgin giving the

Nothing certain, unhappily, is recorded of Giovanni and Antonio whose names have been preserved by the Anonimo; yet it is not impossible that they may have been numbered amongst the artists who decorated the Paduan Salone, a vast hall whose sides are filled with paintings, by Zuan Miretto an unknown artist, and by a Ferrarese.[1]

Of this edifice which was begun in 1172 and finished in 1219, it is known that a fire destroyed the contents in 1420, when the roof was reduced to ashes. It was enlarged at that time by the removal of three partitions which divided the space, and re-adorned with paintings. Whether any of the older pictorial decorations were preserved it is difficult to say; but as has been seen in these pages, there is no pretext for the assumption that any of Giotto's works should exist there now. The area of the Salone is rhomboidal, and doors open from the hall to the various offices dependent on it. Above these a course of frescos in various compartments illustrates the business carried on in the offices to which the doors may lead. The lower decorations, in a triple course, illustrate the various Zodiacal signs and the exercises proper to the seasons which they symbolize. On the South wall, three spaces are filled by the Virgin, the Magdalen at the Redeemer's feet, and S. Paul the Hermit, kneeling in prayer. Beneath these (left) is the Coronation of the Virgin, and S. Mark giving money in alms. Fifteen minor spaces represent the twelve apostles distributed amongst the Zodiacal signs, according to the time in which the church celebrates their festivals. Eight figures of the winds and divers constellations add to the complicated interest of the whole. The remaining portions of the walls are divided into seven classes, six of which, in compartments, are decked with illustrations of the exercises peculiar to each month and its dominant planet. The mystery of man's redemption forms the seventh class placed in the sign of

breast to the infant Saviour in a niche to the right in the Arena of Padua. A rosy flesh tone, and careful execution, a round and youthfully shaped head, some stiffness in the attitude of the infant, might point to Giusto, or one of his assistants, as the painter. The monument erected about 1380 to Bonzanello and Niccolo da Vigonza in the passage from S. Antonio to the cloisters, is graced by a fresco representing the coronation of the Virgin between saints with the kneeling figures of the two noblemen above named; and the execution of the work resembles in some measure that of the frescos in the baptistery, and in the chapel of the Beato Luca Belludi.

[1] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 28.

the Bull and Gemini, with figures allusive, or prefigurative, of the sacrifice of Christ, the crucifixion and the effects of the sacrifice as explained in Revelations.

There is no truth in Brandolesi's assertion, that these numerous works were repainted by Giusto after the fire of 1420.[1] There is indeed sufficient proof that that painter was dead in Sep. 1400,[2] not only in records but from the inscription on a funeral stone in the outer wall of the Baptistery of Padua inscribed:

"Hic jacet Domenicus et Daniel fratres et filii quondam magistri Justi pictoris qui fuit de Florentia. Migravit ad Dominum die S. Michaelis MIIII.C."[3]

Of the chapel in the Eremitani of Padua, in which Giusto painted the liberal arts, the Virtues and Vices,[4] nothing remains, as the walls were thrown down in 1610. They were done in 1370 for M. Tebaldo de Coltellieri.[5]

Padua, however, was not celebrated alone for the works of the Altichiero's, Avanzi's and Giusto's, it boasted an artist of its own, Guariento, who was the first to adorn the great Council Hall at Venice in 1365 with a Paradise, and incidents of the "war of Spoleti", admirable in the eyes of the public of that time which was wont to visit the place in crowds on Ascension day.[6] His pictures became less valuable in the lapse of time, and Gentile da Fabriano, the Bellini and Titian in succession repainted the space which he had first adorned. It was not an ill advised taste that thus preferred the works of the great colourists to those of Guariento, if the latter were executed in the style conspicuous at Bassano in the crucifixion commissioned of him by the friars of S. Francesco. This work still exists. It is now preserved in

[1] Brandolesi, ub. sup. p.p. 4—8.

[2] Ibid. p. 7, where a record is quoted alluding to the heirs of Giusto.

[3] Ernst Förster, in Kunstblatt. No. 13. 1838.

[4] Scardeone. Thes. Antiq. ub. sup. Vol. VI. p. 42. Vasari. Vol. VI. p. 94.

[5] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 22.

[6] Commentariolus of Savonarola in Muratori, ub. sup. Vol. 24. p. 1170, and Sansovino, Delle Fabbriche Pubbliche. Lib. VIII. p. 124 in Hist. di Venetia.

the Pinacoteca of Bassano and represents the Saviour in benediction above the figure of the crucified Redeemer, the Virgin and Evangelists at the extremities of the horizontal limb, and a little female in prayer below under whom the following inscription may be read:

"Guarientus pinxit."

"Emulatrix bona Maria Bovolinorum, Helenĕ inventrix crucis et clavorum. Sanxit hanc ipsam pietate Bassanorum, ut orent pro ea Cristum dominum dominorum."

If any trace of Giottesque influence in this production can be admitted, it is in the attitude of the crucified Saviour, whose square body is fairly supported on the cross; but the arms are short, and the drawing of the legs defective. The type is an old one, yet not without softness of expression. Verde shadows, white lights, dark outlines, and absence of relief, are further characteristic. A careful execution, tones not too harsh in contrast, allow the critic to place Guariento somewhat beyond the mere imitator of traditional forms. The Saviour in benediction has wide staring eyes, whilst the head of S. John with his open mouth and startling gaze resembles an antique tragic mask in the style of the Roman decline. A Virgin and child, with a donor, in the same gallery, an angel and Virgin annunciate in one of the outer walls of the church of S. Francesco, are further examples assigned to Guariento. His labours at Padua have suffered much from time and other causes. In the Eremitani,[1] he painted allegories of the planets, and in the choir, small scenes in dead colour, with such subjects as Christ crowned with thorns, Christ carrying his cross, an Ecce Homo, S. John, the limbo, and the resurrection, all under architectural niches. A large crucifixion is said still to decorate the wall above these, now covered by a modern picture of Fiumicelli. Scenes from the life of S. Augustin in colours decorate the upper walls, and incidents in the borders comprise Samson and Dalila, Judith and Holophernes; but these have suffered from repainting in 1589,

[1] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 22. Brandolesi, ub. sup. p. 218.

and cannot be criticised. The dead colour paintings are executed with a certain amount of fancy, but feebly and in the old style. The figures are short in stature and defective in proportion; — large of head, yet fairly relieved, and drawn at least with care. Guariento is in fact a painter who inherited the manner of the Italians of the time preceding the revival of Cimabue and Giotto.

A fragment of frescos once in the choir of the church of S. Agostino of Padua,[1] a coronation of the Virgin, by Guariento, is preserved in a very injured state in the Eremitani and exhibits some of the feeling noticeable in the foregoing.

To him likewise local historians have assigned the frescos of the cappelletta in „Casa dell' Urbano Prefetto", part of which, saved from the ruin of that edifice, are in the Academy of Sciences at Padua[2] in a damaged state. The subjects are derived from the old testament.[3]

According to Brandolesi, Guariento flourished at Padua in 1316, and was buried in S. Bernardino.[4] The reason why he exhibited so little of Giotto's influence may have been his stay at Venice, where oriental art was preserved till a very late period. As Giotto in the beginning of the century failed to create a school devoted to him, so at a later period the Giottesques whose works have been

[1] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 31. Brandolesi, ub. sup. p. 157.

[2] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 158.

[3] They represent the Eternal with Adam and Eve, Isaac about to be sacrificed by Abraham, Judith and Holophernes, Joseph sold to the Egyptians: in all six pieces of which the Judith is best preserved. Here is the same hand and style as at the Eremitani. A number of panels in the same Academy are scattered and seem once to have formed an altarpiece probably by Guariento. Amongst these an Archangel Michael weighing the souls, a S. John Evangelist holding up his pen and leaning against a panel on which an angel with a book is placed, do not lack movement or character, but they have the same traditional types, the angel has the round head, the vehement action of the old time. In the same feeling, a Virgin with a great diadem enthroned and holding the infant, deserves attention as being painted in a thin tempera with harsh contrasts of colours, verde shadows, rouged cheeks and broad touches in light, yet executed with minuteness and care.

[4] Brandolesi, ub. sup. p.p. 241 and 282. Nothing remains of the works noticed by the author at the Colombini. p. 62.

noticed left no influence behind them. The Salone alone with its low class paintings suffices to prove, that before the rise of Squarcione in the fifteenth century, Padua can claim no place in the list of cities that fostered schools of their own. Then indeed it became entitled to respect, and contributed powerfully to the development of those artists who resumed the study of the antique and smoothed the upward path for subsequent painters.

Before passing to Venice, a glance may be given to such remnants of art as illustrate the early time in the chief towns of Lombardy. An old example of painting at Milan[1] is to be found in the tomb of the abbot Guglielmus Cotta erected in 1267 in the monastery of S. Ambrogio,[3] and inscribed:

"Dom. Gŭllm. Cotta, abbas Sct. Ambroxi. Obiit MCCLXVII. XII entrante mense Octobris."[3]

The monument is near a door leading from the monastery to the church of S. Ambrogio through the subterranean "chiesetta of S. Satiro." On the slab of a quadrangular bier is a „Graffito" of the deceased, and in a recess of the wall into which the slab was let in is a wallpainting which once represented a Virgin and child to the right, with a bishop and friar in adoration,[4] all painted on a yellow ground speckled with white stars. In the sides above the recess, traces of an angel in flight at each side remain. Above, a tabernacle resting on three arches, supported on pillars at the sides and on projecting coloured heads, contains vestiges of three painted figures, a bishop in benediction in the centre, between two saints. Medallions above the niches, four in number, contain figures of angels. This and other rude specimens of Milanese skill in the thirteenth century

[1] In the church of S. Ambruogio at Milan a recent discovery has been made under whitewash of a Virgin, child and a saint on a pilaster, a work of the 11th to 12th century.

[2] See antea, for mosaics in S. Ambrogio and a crucifix alleged to be by Fra Gabrio.

[3] Signor Girolamo L. Calvi, in his Lecture "Sullo Stato delle Belle Arte in Milano". Milan 1860. p. 5, misquotes the date giving it as 1257.

[4] All but obliterated, but the nimbuses still visible in relief.

need only be recorded for the sake of reminding the reader that art existed then in Milan at the same low ebb as elsewhere.[1]

Michele de Ronco is another Milanese artist whose existence in 1360, 1373—7, is noted in Count Tassi's[2] work, and who laboured at Bergamo, but nothing remains in Bergamo or elsewhere to justify any remark as to his manner, and it is not possible to determine whether he was intended by Vasari when speaking of Michele da

[1] Close by, a lunette near a door bears traces of an "Eternal" with the double edged sword issuing from his mouth, rudely executed at a later period than the paintings of abbot Cotta's tomb.

In an old tower contiguous to the Monastero Maggiore at Milan in niches, resting on painted pilasters, are painted figures of saints, Michael Archangel, S. Benedict, Francis receiving the Stigmata, S.S. Peter and Paul, a crucifix the Saviour with four nails, Martyrs behind barred windows. The style of architecture and mode of colouring reveal a work of the 13th century, in a rude and much damaged tempera.

Fragments of frescos produced in the 14th century, now in the Academy of Fine Arts at Milan, reveal no very great progress in the lapse of centuries. They once formed part of the decorations on a tomb in the demolished church and monastery of the Servi erected to the memory of Theodoric of Coire and bore the inscription:

"Hoc opus fecerunt fieri Enricus et Rainardus p̄ aia Teodorici de Coira qui obiit sub anno 1382. Septembris. Symon de Corbeta fecit."

These much damaged and originally feeble paintings represent, the life size Virgin in profile with the infant, between S. Catherine of Alexandria and another female saint (right), and S. George introducing the kneeling figure of Theodoric in the garb of a knight. Other fragments in the "depot" of the Academy, a Virgin and child enthroned between mutilated figures, much injured, part of a headless figure, and a S. Cristopher, betray the feeble hand of the same Symon de Corbeta, the least defective of his productions being the last mentioned. The reader may be spared the enumeration of other pieces alleged to be of great age but really of a later time. A crucifixion with the Virgin and saints in the choir of the Duomo, a Virgin and child much damaged and apparently of the rise of the 15th century are proofs that the rude manner of such painters as Symon de Corbeta was preserved to a later time. Of Giotto, as has been said, here is no trace, any more than of Stefano Fiorentino (Vas. Vol. II. p. 17). Rosini (Storia, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 202) claims attention for certain Giottesque remains in the Cistercian abbey of Chieravalle, outside Milan, and sees in them traces of the hand of Giovanni da Milano. But these, at least such remains as are now in the cupola of the church, are only productions less ugly than those of Symon de Corbeta. Others in the cemetery are formless remains. (For a full description see Caffi (Michele) Illustrazione di Chieravalle. Milan 1843. p. 48—9.)

[2] Tassi, (F. M.) Vite &c. Bergamo 1793.

Milano, the pupil of Agnolo Gaddi,[1] or whether he alluded to Michelino who lived in the fifteenth century. Count Giorgio Giulini, in his Memorie,[2] describes him as celebrated for painting animals, and mentions a picture by him representing some laughing peasants, which had been often copied; adding however, that he was not very skilful in uniting his figures with the perspective of his edifices. The count follows Lomazzo[3] in this. He is corroborated as to Michelino's capacity in painting animals by the Anonimo,[4] who notes a book of coloured ones in the Casa Vendramin at Venice. He decorated the court and other parts of the Casa Borromeo at Milan, where his name was, of old, inscribed:

"Michelin. P."

Unhappily the whole of these frescos have been whitewashed, with the exception of a small space in a corner to the right as one enters the second court, inclosed by the walls of an outhouse, within which the curious spectator may, with the aid of a ladder, observe a fresco representing a party of pleasure in a boat, of life size figures in round turbans, clearly and firmly drawn in a style not unlike, though better than, that of Antonio da Ferrara. About fifteen figures are crowded together, — men with falcons, — women in festive apparel, children, mariners with a white flag fast to a pole. The style and costume both reveal a painter of the early part of the fifteenth century, fairly able in rendering form, and in producing colour.

In a room to the right, in the first court of the same edifice, used for storing, figures in the same costumes and character as the foregoing are likewise to be seen. There is a dance of knights and dames, a party playing at ball, another playing at cards, not a little damaged

[1] Vas. Vol. II. p. 156.

[2] 4° Milan. 1795. Lib. XI. p. 434.

[3] Gio. Paolo Lomazzo Trattato della Pittura &c. 4° Milan 1584. Vol. VI. p. 359.

[4] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 81.

but composed of figures thinner than those in the second court, and perhaps painted a little earlier. Still the contours and clear soft profiles have much the same appearance in both places. It is an interesting series of fragments for the insight which it gives into the Milanese art of the fifteenth century, and for the costumes of the period; but there is no trace of Agnolo Gaddi's teaching.[1] Count Giulini assigns to Michelino a portrait of Giovan Maria Visconti Duke of Milan, which would fix the period of his existence between 1402 and 1412.

In 1404, a Michelino da Besozzo or de' Molinari is found recorded as a glasspainter[2] in the Duomo of Milan, and fragments of his work are preserved which reveal in him no great talent. Possibly this Michelino is identical with the author of the frescos in the Casa Borromeo.[3]

At Bergamo, if nothing remains of the time when Michele di Ronco is supposed to have lived, there are paintings of the fifteenth century detached from the demolished church of S. Giuseppe, now preserved in the Vescovado, but of little value.[4]

In S. Michele of Pavia a fresco in the apsis represents the Coronation of the Virgin in a glory of angels, with a prelate in adoration in front. It is the rude production of a painter named Andreino da Edesia, author of other works that betray the hand of one living in the rise of the fifteenth century.[5]

[1] No trace, except that Michelino is of the time immediately following Agnolo's, and there is a general character of a common period.

[2] See Calvi (G. L.) Notiz. Milan. Ronchetti. 1859. 8°. Part. I.

[3] The sacristy of the canons of the Milan Duomo contains, in a press plate, a picture of the Virgin and child with 3 angels supporting a tapestry with the renewed or forged inscription "MCCCCXVIII. Michae de Besotio". Another part of the picture represents the Presentation in the temple. The work is that of a miniaturist, in character not unlike the frescos in Casa Borromeo. Another artist Leonardo di Bisuccio has been mentioned as executing works at Naples.

[4] We may revert to these.

[5] See for notices of Andreino di Edesia, and Bernardino Zenale di Treviglio, Ces. Cantu. Illustraz. del Lombardo-Veneto. p. 173.

Vestiges of paintings in the vaulted ceiling of the transept in the Duomo of Cremona display a common hand and are curious only as regards costume. They are assigned to one Polidoro Casella supposed to have lived in 1345.[1]

After the middle of the thirteenth century, when, as has been noted elsewhere, the Baptistery of Parma was decorated with frescos announcing an effort to improve on the degenerate art of the period, artists of a still mediocre character flourished in succession in that city. In the Baptistery itself the lower walls are covered with rude productions, the least defective of which is a fragment of a figure of S. Lucy, to the right of the entrance, above which the curious may read the words:

"B̃tolin (? Bartolin) de Placen. f."[2]

[1] The character of paintings of this period may be found in a colossal erect Virgin holding the infant and adorned by a kneeling patron inscribed: "Benedictus Fodrius hanc ex voto anno Salutis MCCCLXX." The figure of the patron is repainted in the style of Boccaccino. The dress of the Virgin is renewed, the figure long, slender, of angular forms, falsely assigned to Giotto and possibly by Casella.

[2] A crucifixion with saints, more modern, and painted at the close of the 14th or rise of the 15th century reveals the slow progress of Parmesan art at that time. Setting aside the rude paintings of the latter period in the chapels of the Parma Duomo, the spectator may pause to notice the wall decorations of the sacristies. In that of the "Canonici" a ceiling with the Saviour in benediction, side walls with a partially renewed "nativity of the Virgin", prophets in the arch of the entrance, an annunciation with a kneeling donor and a much injured "Sposalizio" may repay examination. In that called "Del Consorzio", of old, Cappella S. Martino, second rate productions are a Madonna adored by a bishop introduced by his patron saint, in the ceiling, on the side, S. John the Baptist with two angels above him, and in other spaces figures of prophets. If, as tradition vouches, the kneeling bishop be Monsignor Rusconi whose episcopal reign at Parma lasted from 1380 to 1412, the date of these paintings may be fixed with some certainty, the chapel having been erected by his orders and being sacred to his remains. A Madonna on a pilaster in the choir of the Duomo is without any specific character.

Later works may be found in the ex-church of S. Francesco of Parma, one of which, in part obliterated, represents a kneeling patron in front of the Virgin and child enthroned between S.S. John the Baptist and Francis. An inscription reveals the following:

"Hæc figura fecit fieri magister de Mociis de Cotignana murator 1448."

Of the same feeble class is a remnant of a crucifixion, the only remaining production in an edifice of which the walls have recently been whitewashed.

Piacenza, of which Bartolin seems a native boasts also of relics dating as far back as the close of the fourteenth and rise of the fifteenth century. Such are much repainted figures of saints on the pilasters of the church of S. Antonio, a picture in eight compartments[1] illustrative of the life of S. Anthony, protector of Piacenza in the sacristy of the same church; two predellas with half length saints[2] in the Archivio Capitolare of S. Antonio, and frescos or rather remnants of the same, in the right transept of the cathedral, representing the Virgin and child adored by a bishop presented by a female saint and S. Lawrence, another female and S. John the Baptist, the whole assigned to the above mentioned Bartolin.

Passing from Lombardy to the province of Friuli, the reader of these pages may remember the paintings of Colalto near Conegliano, which are a mixture of the Florentine with the manner of Guariento. Maniago was able to describe early in our century a number of works in Aquileia, Grado, Sesto and Concordia.[3] The facade of the Duomo of Gemona, he adds, was covered with scenes from the legend of S. Christopher inscribed:

"MCCCXXXI. Magister Nicolaus pintor me fecit. Hoc opus sub Johñe Camerario quondam Petri Merisoni."[4]

They were much damaged, but clearly by the earliest artist on record in those parts. But next in interest to these were the frescos in the parish church of Venzone, celebrating the consecration of that building in 1338. We regret the loss of the wallpaintings by Nicolaus at Gemona, a loss caused by the reconstruction of the church front. But the frescos of Venzone are still in existence. This town is about five miles distant from Gemona, on the road to Tolmezzo. The church is of the

[1] Of the close of the 14th century.

[2] Of the rise of the 15th century, and very rude.

[3] Maniago. Storia delle Belle Arti Friulane. 8° Udine 1823. p. 35.

[4] Ibid. and Siruti. Notizie di Gemona, p. 119. ap. Maniago.

fourteenth century, and the wall of the chapel to the left of the choir is covered with an apotheosis of the Beato Bertrand, patriarch of Aquileia, with ten bishops at his sides and angels waving censers above their heads.[1] Beneath them a group of nine or ten friars sing at a desk, whilst the patron Bartolommeo Sclusano kneels on the right hand foreground attended by three youths, — four dames of his family sitting or kneeling on the left.[2]

The central group of singing monks is the best part of a work which is clearly of a Giottesque style; and the figures lack neither, character, proportion, nor expression. The colour is of a light key. The rest of the fresco is redder in tone, and seems by another hand, but, though ruder, is executed on the same principles as the rest. If this be a production of Nicolaus whose facade at Gemona is taken down, that artist may be classed amongst the mediocre followers of the school of Giotto.

Lanzi may be consulted for other productions of this district and for lists of artists whose works are not forthcoming.

Venice last claims attention. It may be said to have

[1] The angels to the left are gone, to the right two waving censers and one holding a taper remain. Beneath the feet of these figures are inscriptions partly effaced and difficult to read, but preserved in a copy of the fresco now in the choir, as follows: "In Xsti. nomine amen annis suę Naťis currentibus 1338 Indictõne VI dię s̃da Augusti, ad laudem et gloriam Dei omnipotentis ejusque intemeratę genetricis Virginis Marię nec non ad honorem B. Andrę Apost. sub cujus v̄cabule et nomine R̃mus in Xsto Pater et B^us D^us Bertrandus Dei gratia S. Aquilejen: Cũte dignissimus Patriarcha consecravit hoc Templum una cum Rdo. Pat. b. Petro Archiepiscopo, Nazareno nec non b. b. Episcopēs Guidone Concordiensi: Vitalę Emonensi: joanne Parentino: Andrea Caprolano: joanne Savinensi: Marco Domocensi: Augustino Pelonensi, et Pietro Lesinensi quos quidem b^us b^us Archiepũm et Episcõpos ad ipsam consacrationem celebrandam prudēs et notabilis vir. Bartholomeus Sclusanus dę Venzono (tunc Camerarius ipsius Ecetę) pariter congregavit. et sicuti creatori altissimo placuit ante predrām presulum segregationem prētus Bartholomeus sue vitę diem clausit extremus cui funeri presutis."

[2] The name of each person represented is written beneath the figures, much abraded and difficult to read.

been, as regards art, a Byzantine colony; and admitting, with Zanetti,[1] that there were numerous painters there in 1290 who claimed to be native Venetians, it is not the less true that the old traditional forms and customs of early centuries were preserved in painting till the middle of the fifteenth century. Every thing in Venice bore so completely an Oriental character, not only in edifices and mosaics, but in the luxury and fondness for show of the inhabitants, that one may easily conceive its clinging long to that which had already been rejected by the rising taste of freer people in other parts of Italy. Besides, Venice, like Sicily, preserved her relations with the East, and thus kept alive the traditions of Byzantine art to the exclusion of the influence of Giotto and his followers. Her immobility affected Padua; and as late as 1350 we find mosaics such as those of the chapel of S. Isidore, in S. Mark at Venice, illustrating the life of the Baptist, as thoroughly oriental in character, in brilliancy of colour, richness of execution and classicism of composition as any of the older productions of the same art in previous times. Leaving to Zanetti and Lanzi the catalogue of early names without works,[2] which may be enlarged by a reference to Verci,[3] and which only proves that numerous painters existed at Venice in the thirteenth century, we may glance at the altarpiece or "Ancona" covering the silver plates of Oriental carving in S. Marco, representing the dead Christ with apostles and incidents from the life of S. Mark inscribed:

"Magister Paulus cum Luca et Johanne filiis suis pinserunt MCCCXLV m̃s Ap̃l die XXII."

Yet this production of Venetian art is a mere date; and gives no clue to the artists' ability,[4] because of the

[1] Della pittura Veneziana. 1771. p. 10.

[2] Lanzi, Vol. II. p. 73. Zanetti p. 3.

[3] Verci. Notizie sopra la Pittura Bassanese. Venezia 8° 1775. p. 9.

[4] We have two wills (dated 1324 and 1344) if not the works of Angelo Tedaldo, a painter inhabiting S. Cassiano in Venice. They are preserved in the Archivio Notarile of Venice.

complete repainting of the old surface. One may still see generally that the artists were followers of the Byzantine style. The name of Paulus, however, is not scarce in the annals of Venice. Morelli, in his notes to the Anonimo,[1] after remarking the disappearance of all traces of a painter named Jacopo di Barberino, of one Perenzolo who flourished before 1335, and of Marco, mentions, as a designer for arras, one Paolo, by whom a picture formerly in the sacristy of S Francesco at Vicenza bore the inscription:

"MCCCXXXIII Paulus de Venetiis pinxit hoc opus."[2]

But another and earlier production from the same hand, a Virgin and saints in the Pinacoteca of Vicenza inscribed: "Paulus de Venetiis 1323," is peculiarly characteristic showing that, with the unmistakeable impress of old art on his works, Paulus had a certain taste in colour and drapery and some idea of character in depicting heads. As late as 1346 he produced an altarpiece for S. Nicolai at Venice of which Zanetti has preserved a record.[3]

A follower of Paulus was Lorenzo whose earliest altarpiece undertaken at the request of a senator of the noble house of Lion for the high altar of the church of S. Antonio di Castello, is now in the Academy of Arts at Venice.[4] It bears the inscriptions:

"MCCCLVII Hæc tabella facta fuit et hic affissa per Laurẽcius pictorem et Candiacum[5] scultoıem ĩ tẽ rẽgis ven. viri Dñi fris Coti D. abbatib. de Flot . .[6] and fun-(d.a.t.o.r.i.s) mon(a.s.)ti."

[1] Anonimo ub. sup. notes. p. 222.

[2] A part of the picture representing the Saviour in flight towards paradise with the infant soul of the Virgin in his outstretched hands betrays even in the engraving of Rosini (Stor. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 143.) an unmistakeable Byzantine style.

[3] Zanetti, ub. sup. p. 11. The price was 20 gold ducats.

[4] No. 5. Sala degli antichi depinti.

[5] Zanetti reads Zaninum and gives the date falsely as 1358. ub. sup. p. 8.

[6] Zanetti reads Flor. for Florentia, an error. See Cicogna Iscrizione Veneziane . Venez. 1824. fol. Vol. I. p. 185.

"Hanc tius S. Agne triumphãt. .
Orbis Dominicus Lion. ego nunc supplex arte prepo..itam dono tabellam."

The subject is the annunciation with a miniature figure of Domenico Lion at the Virgin's feet, the Saviour in benediction and figures of saints in the upper courses; and a record, preserved by Zanetti, states the cost of it to have been three hundred ducats of gold.

A better, indeed the best, picture of Lorenzo is an altarpiece in the Museo Correr at Venice representing the Saviour enthroned in the midst of the apostles and giving the keys to S. Peter. Angels fly about the Redeemer's head. On the border, the following words may be read:

"MCCCLXVIIII mense Januarii. Laurentiũ pinxit."

Here is a production executed with a certain power as regards colour, of excessively fused tones and entirely varnished with a lustrous fluid containing no doubt a mixture of wax. The Saviour's mien might almost be called noble, but the forms and draperies are obviously reminiscent of the period preceding the Florentine revival.

Two pictures of 1371 by Lorenzo are preserved. One is a series of figures representing S.S. Peter, Mark, John, James, Nicolas and S. Lawrence,[1] with the following on the borders beneath the two first mentioned:

"MCCCLXXI mense Novemb. Laurent. pinxit."

the second an annunciation[2] formerly in the school of S. Giovanni Evangelista inscribed:

"MCCCLXXI Laurent. pinsit."

Both are in the Academy of arts at Venice.

The Campana collection now in Paris contains a picture, one year later in date than the foregoing, with the subject of the Virgin enthroned, inscribed:

"MCCCLXXII mense Septemb. Laurentius de Venetiis pinxit."

The heads, however, are repainted.

It may be remembered that in a chapel of S. Jacopo

[1] Academy of Arts at Venice. Sala XI. Nos. 373—5, 391—3.
[2] Same place. No. 389.

Maggiore at Bologna a large cathedral altarpiece has been described whose upper panels bear the name of Jacobus Pauli.[1] All the figures of the lower course are in the old style with high projecting foreheads, and not without a certain antique sternness; the angel is long and slender, the S. George animated in movement. The picture is clearly Venetian, dark in tone, painted in sharp and mapped out planes of full bodied colour, verde in the shadows, red on the checks, and participating of the manner of Lorenzo and Stefano who shall presently be mentioned. The latest notice of Lorenzo seems to be a record quoted by Cicogna which represents the painter as living in 1379 at Venice and contributing money to the prosecution of the Chioggian war.[2] His panels, with the exception perhaps of that in the Correr Museum are all painted in a substantial, opaque, and hard tempera of sharp tones, dryly but carefully outlined; and his figures are generally defective in type and in the drawing of the extremities. Were the frescos of Mezzaratta better preserved, it might be possible to determine in a positive manner whether the Lorenzo of Bologna is the same as the Lorenzo of Venice. As the Mezzaratta frescos now stand, no connection is apparent and the painters are not identical. Yet Lanzi had had occasion to see „in the noble house of Ercolani at Bologna" a picture inscribed „Manu Laurentii de Venetiis 1368."[3] A coronation of the Virgin in the Brera of Milan[4] is attributed to Lorenzo and displays his style or more perhaps that of a cotemporary, Stefano, or the Pievan di S. Agnese, whose pictures might be confounded with Lorenzo's. A Virgin holding a rose with the infant in her arms on a curious

[1] The lowest course of this antiquated picture contains S.S. Martin, Anthony, and Michael, a niche gilt and without ornament, an angel, a saint, and S. George overcoming the Dragon; above this base, a row of niches with busts in relief at each side of three little subjects, surmounted by another row of saints, Peter, Paul, Nicolas, Gregory and another.

[2] Cicogna, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 185.

[3] Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 79.

[4] No. 123. of Cat.

heavily shaped throne, is a specimen of his skill in the Museo Correr, and bears the signature:

"MCCCLXVIIII a dì XI avosto Stef. pleb. Sc̃e agnẽ P."

The style is Greek like that of Lorenzo, the hands defective, long and lean, the colour dark, the panel prepared in red, as may be seen where the varnish has dropped. A coronation of the Virgin, the centre to an altarpiece of which the remaining parts are by another hand, is in the Academy at Venice,[1] inscribed:

"MCCCLXXXI Stefan Plebanus sc̃tæ Agnetis pinxit."[2]

The ablest Venetian artist of the fourteenth century is Niccolo Semitecolo, whose first picture, a coronation of the Virgin, dates as far back as 1351, being inscribed:

"Nicolo Semitecolo MCCCLI,"[3]

whose latest are of the fifteenth century, proving the length of the painter's career. His best efforts are those of 1367, at which date he executed an altarpiece, now divided, in the library of the chapterhouse of the Duomo at Padua, representing the Virgin and child, with the Trinity beneath it,[4] S. Sebastian before the judge, his martyrdom, execution, and deposition in the tomb; beneath the judgment and execution are the words:

„Nicholeto Semitecholo da Veniexia impẽse MCCCLXVII a dì XV di Decẽbre."[5]

This masterpiece of the early Venetian school need not be criticised with reference to composition or arrangement, being more remarkable for violence and quaintness

[1] No. 16. Sala degli Antichi depinti — comes from the convent of S. Chiara.

[2] In this manner in the Ex-Campana Gallery, now in Paris, under the name of Ottaviano da Faenza is a triptych of the Virgin between S.S. Anthony, Bartholomew, Francis, John Baptist.

[3] No. 394. Academy of Arts at Venice.

[4] The Eternal holds the Saviour with outstretched arms as if crucified, but without a cross. Both his and the Redeemer's face are serene, the latter open eyed.

[5] In the martyrdom, the Saint is bound erect to a stake fixed in a tressel with groups on each side and soldiers on the left shooting under encouragement from a priest. (The flesh tints in the executioners are repainted in oil.) In a distant lodge two crowned figures seem engaged in conversation with the martyr. S. Sebastian is afterwards killed by an executioner with clubs.

of action than for order or symmetry. Life and passion are realized in the old forms, but with the advantage of a certain intelligence in the drawing of the nude. S. Sebastian, for instance, though unideal in conception, is not devoid of proportion, or feeling in expression; but a vulgar realism may be traced in the details of his frame. A large torso is supported on slender but coarsely jointed limbs; superabundant hair covers his head. The types and movement are the vehement ones of the old time, and some of the bowmen with large heads and staring eyes are curiously like Tartars in face. Occasional groups please in spite of defective forms. The skill of Semitecolo is in fact that of a man following old traditions and methods, and painting with colours less dull than that of most of his cotemporaries. The warm yellowish carnation, shadowed as usual in verde and spotted with red in the cheeks, does not repel the eye by too great harshness of contrast, but pleases by additional fusion. Precise outlines define the forms with simple minuteness. A certain ease in the drapery and judgment in the mode of throwing it about the form are qualities of the master; but it must be borne in mind that these are the best of Niccolo's works, and that the remaining examples of his manner are less perfect. The minor panels of the coronation signed by the Pievan di S. Agnese in the Academy of Venice are much in Semitecolo's manner.[1] A Virgin giving the breast to the infant with various saints in subordinate spaces at the Museo Correr is signed:

"MCCCC. N. Semitecolo."

The inscription of an altarpiece in S. Maria de Servi at Venice has been preserved by Sansovino[2] in the following words:

"MCCCLXX. XX Decembrio. Nicolo Semitecolo fecit hoc opus."

Enough is known to justify the assertion that Semi-

[1] No. 16. Academy of Arts at Venice.

[2] Sansovino ub. sup. Lib. III. p. 59.

tecolo lived till 1400; and the certainty of this fact may help us to the solution of some open questions in the history of early Venetian art, that for instance which concerns the identity of Semitecolo and other painters of the name of Nichola. A Virgin enthroned in the Academy of Venice,[1] bears the inscription:

„MCCCLXXXXIIII. Nicholas."

Another Madonna in the midst of angels recently purchased for the Academy from the Manfrini collection, is inscribed with the following:

„Hoc opus fecit fieri Dñs Ulcia belgarzone civis Yadriensis MCCCLXXXXIIII. Nicholas filius nigri Petri pictoris de Veneciis pinxit hoc opus qui moratur in chapite pontis Paradixi."[2]

This Madonna distinguishable for a certain grace in the movement of the principal figure is more like a work of Semitecolo than that of any other cotemporary Venetian. The Anonimo notices a crucifix in S. Agostino of Verruchio inscribed:

'MCCCCIIII. Nicholaus Paradixi miles de Veneciis pinxit et Chatarinus Sancti Luče inaxit (? incixit)".

On the whole, the paintings of Nicholas Paradisi, so-called from his residence near the bridge of that name, are but little inferior to those of Nichola Semitecolo, and they give weight to the opinion of Zanotto and Cicogna,[3] that two names conceal the same painter.

Lanzi describes two altarpieces in Venice, signed severally "Angelus pinxit and e Katarinus pinxit." Nothing is known of the former. The latter's name appears as the carver of a picture by Nichola Paradixi just noticed. He also appears in a similar capacity in conjunction with one Bartolomeo, whose altarpiece, described by Cicogna[4] as in the church of Corpus Domini at Venice, represents scenes from the life of the Saviour and is inscribed:

[1] No. 6. Sala IX.
[2] No. 259. Academy of Venice.
[3] Vol. III. p. 89. and Vol. IV. p. 675. of Iscrizione ub. sup.
[4] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 6. and Vol. III. note to p. 89.

„Bartolomeu mî Paul pinxit,
Chatarino Filius Magistri Andrẽe
incixit hoc opus."

But that Chatarinus was also a painter is shown by his altarpiece in the hands of the Conte Orsi at Ancona,[1] on the border of which one reads:

"Chatari . . . nus de
Venecii pinxit."[2]

This is a production important only for its inscription, being executed with little talent, and defective not merely in types which are ugly, but in colour which is harsh, dull and raw. The gazing eyes, the broad rude touch and hard outlines are equally repulsive; and in his work Chatarinus reveals the germ of the style which became marked in the school of Crivelli.

It has never been affirmed that the early Venetian school was great in composition. It *has* been said that it was from its origin a school of colour. Yet in the fourteenth and half the fifteenth centuries the Venetians were not only inferior colourists to the Florentines, but to the Siennese and Umbrians. That Gentile da Fabriano, an Umbrian, shed his influence over the art of Venice is admitted. He was on friendly terms with Jacopo Bellini who had studied the Florentine masterpieces in the city that produced them. But Venice did not lead as a school of colour till the arrival of Antonello da Messina and the rise of the sons of Jacopo Bellini. She kept that lead under Giorgione and Titian, and if at first she clung to old and worn traditions long after they had been abandoned by other cities, she compensated for previous

[1] Contrada delle Stade. No. 67. Representing the Madonna, between S.S. John the Baptist and Anthony the abbot, Christopher, and James, with a crucifixion in the upper course between S.S. Barbara, Bartholomew, and Lucy, Catherine, Chiara, and Mary Magdalen. A small figure of a donor kneels at the feet of the Virgin.

[2] The painter's name is divided by a shield, with the donor's arms.

supineness by the splendour and number of her later painters.

As there are in Sicily but few remnants of art in the fourteenth century, and these are not of paramount interest, we shall note such examples as remain in a chapter devoted to Antonello da Messina, and his predecessors.

CHAPTER X.

BRUNELLESCHI. GHIBERTI. DONATO.

The close of the fourteenth century is marked, in the policy and literature of Italy, by a decline of general culture. The genius of the Italian tongue, brilliantly represented by Petrarch and Boccaccio, disappeared in the cloud of soulless writers who present to us less the spirit than the husk or shell of the past. The fifteenth century, however, witnessed the restoration of learning and the rekindling of a sacred fire, whose flame has never since been suffered to expire. Art partook of the same changes, and became tinged, in the fifteenth century, by the partiality evinced for ancient Greece and Rome. Brunelleschi restored to architecture, at least, the measures and proportions of the antique, and reinstated their rules and order. He incidentally studied and gave an impulse to sculpture. Ghiberti, too, devoted time and thought to the analysis of the models of the classic time;[1] but the man on whom those models were most indelibly impressed was Donatello.

It is foreign to the aim and purpose of these pages to tell the story of the lives of these great and interesting men. Yet their influence upon their cotemporaries and successors was so great and so important that we are

[1] He describes, in his commentary, many then recent discoveries of antiques, and Albertini (Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 12) mentions several as existing in the Casa Ghiberti, one especially a marble vase, which Ghiberti had caused to be brought from Greece. Vasari too mentions certain torsos and "Anticaglie", as he calls them, of bronze and marble. Vas. Vol. III. p. 120.

justified in glancing at the principal works which they left behind them, and in explaining the tendencies and peculiarities which they reveal. Brunelleschi appears to us, even at this distance of time, as an extraordinarily gifted man. Born in the fourteenth century,[1] his father would have had him bred to the law or to medicine. But his genius lay in a different direction, and he entered the atelier of a goldsmith, where he studied all the branches of the arts and sciences usually taught there. Through the same course which brought Verrocchio and Leonardo to fame as painters, sculptors, and engineers, Brunelleschi became the greatest engineering architect of his time; and, circumstances leading him to a special pursuit of one brauch amongst the many which he had mastered, he gradually abandoned design and sculpture, the study of perspective and statuary, for the more lucrative one in which he distanced his numerous competitors. No reader of Vasari's delightful biographies will have forgotten Brunelleschi's candid remark upon a Christ crucified which Donatello showed him. „You have crucified a rustic", he cried;[2] and to prove more fully what those words were intended to convey, Brunelleschi proceeded to carve in wood a similar figure which extorted from Donatello the admission that he was beaten at his own weapons. This work is still in S. Maria Novella at Florence. It shows us that, though Brunelleschi was not imbued with the Christian ideal of type, though he failed in selection, which was the quality of Giotto and Angelico, he was still fully alive to the necessity of ennobling the features and form of the Saviour, and possessed a fibre of gentleness which might be sought in vain in Donatello. At the same time, he displayed a natural progress in rendering the play of flesh and muscles. His was clearly a higher nature than that of his friend, one not as yet redolent of the materialistic spirit in which the new century opened, one still enjoying

[1] Born 1377. Died 1466. [2] Vas. III. p.p. 198 and 246.

a tinge of that religious feeling which lingered yet awhile in the breast of some choice artists. Before finally dropping the sculptor's tools, he was one of those who competed for the gates of S. Giovanni; and no competent judge, who compares the bronze relief, assigned to him at the Uffizi, with that attributed to Ghiberti, will fail to conclude that it was hard to decide which of the two possessed most talent. It must be candidly confessed, indeed, that, after carefully examining both works, the critic may be convinced that the relief of Brunelleschi is conceived and executed more in accordance with the true maxims of art, whilst that of Ghiberti is more calculated to please.[1]

Ghiberti, who enthusiastically urges the claim of the Tuscan school of painting to the perfection of the Greeks,[2] but who need not be taken as literally meaning all that he says in this respect, had clearly intended, at the outset of his career, to become a painter. Unwilling, perhaps, to compete with his father, who was a sculptor, he chose to forget the rules of plastic art. The competition for the gates of S. Giovanni altered his resolve; and he went in for the prize with others, amongst whom was not Donatello, as we are now aware.[3] The manner in which he carried out the work of the first gate, in company with Bartoluccio, his father, illustrates a remarkable tendency in the age, the introduction of a style exclusively pictorial in the execution of bas-relief, a new feature that was soon to find its concomitant in painting.[4] The prototype of Ghiberti in his first great enterprise is Gio-

[1] Brunelleschi's relief is numbered 391, that of Ghiberti 392. Both represent Abraham's sacrifice. Albertini in "Memoriale" ub. sup. p. 11, notes Brunelleschi's relief as being the ornament of a marble altar in S. Lorenzo of Florence.

[2] Ghiberti com. ub. sup. p. XXII.

[3] Vasari (Vol. III. p. 103) notes the presence of Donatello amongst the competitors, and (p. 104) even describes the model which he submitted. No record justifies this statement, and we know that in 1401, the competing year, Donatello was but 17 years old. See Donatello's income tax papers in Gaye. Vol. I. p.p. 120—3.

[4] This phase of art in Ghiberti is ably developed in Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p.p. 230 and following.

vanni Pisano, the general aspect of whose work, its unity, distribution, action, and festooned drapery, were obviously in the later artist's mind. Giovanni had already introduced into his sculptures a pictorial element unknown to Niccola.[1] This element was extended by Ghiberti in his first gate, whilst, in accordance with the great Giottesque maxims, he still made every part fairly if not completely subordinate to one great and severe law. Ghiberti thus showed to advantage, even when compared with Andrea; though trusting principally, as Giovanni Pisano had done, to action for effect.[2] The Evangelists and doctors of the church, on the lower courses, display indeed an energy of movement which proves that action was really superseding the gravity of statuary in general; and this feature in the art of Ghiberti was that which his assistant Donatello exaggerated in the pulpits of S. Lorenzo at Florence.[3] How the Florentines followed up this path till Michael Angelo produced the triumph of physical force over the ideal of form, in the Jeremiah of the Sixtine chapel, is clear to every observer. It is to be noted, in the meanwhile, that the art which thus linked itself anew to the tradition of Giovanni Pisano had already swept aside much of the influence of Giotto. Indeed, what these bronzes of Ghiberti wanted was the great law of balance in distribution; and they illustrate the use of indirect means for affecting the spectator in the absence of the perfection resulting from the full application of essential maxims. Ghiberti, in fact, repeated, in his branch, the fault of Masaccio in painting; and a genius like that of Uccello, of Mantegna, or Piero della Francesca in the sister art, would have been required to keep sculpture within the due bounds of positive scientific principles.[4] If we examine the numerous statues which

[1] See the dismembered pulpit of Pisa, of 1302, antea. p. 147.

[2] This is apparent in the birth of the Virgin, and in the annunciation of the first gate, in both of which reliefs Ghiberti's style recals that of Giovanni Pisano.

[3] As for instance in the S. John Evangelist, in thought, with his chin in the hollow of his hand.

[4] The crucifixion and the trans-

Ghiberti executed before the completion of his first gate, we may note in the bronze figure of S. John Evangelist of Orsanmichele, rigidity and hardness allied to progress in the mode of rendering form;[1] in that of S. Stephen,[2] the same peculiarities with a nobler mien, yet with an undue sacrifice of the figure to copious festooned drapery; in that of S. Mathew, which Ghiberti claims to have produced, but for which Michelozzo, his assistant, received part payment, greater freedom of motion, better draperies and a more modern manner.[3]

In 1424, the first gate of S. Giovanni was completed; and Ghiberti received the commission of the second, which remained in hand till 1452.[4] Its peculiar beauties and defects have been explained and commented by many, with indulgent favour by Rumohr,[5] with smaller approval by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is not doubtful that the faults which characterized the first were repeated with interest in the second, and that Ghiberti finally substituted to the real laws of bas-relief a pictorial style which sought to increase the illusion of the spectator by the introduction of linear perspective.[6] We may admit the art with which the sculptor varied the planes on which his figures were placed; we may be charmed by the

figuration may be considered as best sustaining the principles of basrelief and the maxims of composition perfected by Giotto. In the annunciation there is more action and less balance, and the same remarks may apply to the nativity and adoration of the Magi.

[1] This figure was executed in 1414. See Ghiberti's journal of that date in Baldinucci, ub. sup. Vol. V. p. 40.

[2] Vas. Vol. III. p. 110.

[3] Ghiberti com. in Vas. Vol. I. p. XXXII. See for the payments due to Michelozzo Michelozzi, his tax paper; Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 117. He describes himself as Ghiberti's assistant; and the statue was commissioned of Ghiberti. See the record of Aug. 26. 1419 in Baldinucci, ub. sup. Vol. V. p. 44. In 1421. Ghiberti announces, that the figure has failed in the casting, and consents to recast it at his own expense; — record. Ibid. Vol. V. p. 51. In 1422, he finally received 650 gold flor. for the work. Ibid. Vol. V. p. 52.

[4] It was finished in 1447, but only gilt in 1452.

[5] Forschungen. Vol. II. p.p. 230 and following.

[6] The same system was pursued in the reliefs of the monument of S. Zanobi at S. Maria del Fiore commissioned in 1439. See Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 543.

beauty of isolated parts or episodes; but the critical eye vainly seeks one picture in which the simple qualities required by the gravity of sculpture are fully maintained. The general features of this great work are crowding of figures, and their undue subordination to the distances and accessories, a reversal of the Giottesque principle which makes distances of minor importance; an application of linear perspective to plastic art, unusual, and perhaps to be entirely condemned, but at the same time, great progress over past efforts in the definition of form and a perfection in the use and production of ornaments of fruit, garlands, and birds in their natural shape, inimitable and unsurpassed to this day. How far the latter quality may be detrimental by casting the figure subjects into the shade may be left to the individual judgment of the observer. Vasari, who always preferred modern to older art, naturally placed the second before the first of Ghiberti's gates. In this he has been followed by Rumohr. The true maxims of art were, however, best preserved in the first, least in the second.

The same age which welcomed the gentle talent of Angelico, the manly genius of Masaccio, the polished art of Brunelleschi and Ghiberti, gave expansion to Donatello's rugged style.[1] A daring energy, a fiery temper, and a frank demeanour, united to an open disdain of the finesses of culture, were remarkable in him; and his life and works, if studied apart by a philosopher and a critic, would yield the same conclusions to both. His character and style are alike illustrated in that encounter with Brunelleschi, which ended in the triumph of the latter. "To you the power of delineating the Saviour, to me that of representing rustics," such was his final remark to his friendly rival.[2] But Donatello was by no means an ordinary man. The strong pulsation of his blood, the febrile activity of his hand might disable him from reflecting on the creation of ideal gentleness of type or

[1] Born 1386. Died 1468. [2] Vas. Vol. III. p. 247.

selection of form. They could not but impart to every thing he undertook a masculine energy equally original in stamp and powerful in its impression on the beholder. Donatello, indeed, was a man whose influence on cotemporary art was beyond measure great, whose fame extended far outside the bounds of Italy, and who stands forth in history as the archetype, on which Michael Angelo was modelled. Michael Angelo might truly admire the polish of Ghiberti, and declare that the gates of S. Giovanni were worthy of guarding the entrance to Paradise; but his own style was faithfully moulded on that of Donatello; and we recognize in two great Florentines of different ages the same characteristic features.

The complex of Donatello's numerous works reveals the extraordinary powers of one whose spirit and fire carried him beyond the limits of sober and select thought. He worked and created with a vehemence properly called *furia*, by the Italians, and suggesting comparison with the fiery war steed, who, with swollen nostrils, strains at the curb and disdains the bit. His works are the true reflex of his nature. Yet his command of means was in no wise common; and it is to him more than to Ghiberti that we owe the style which Vasari usually calls "modern".[1] The study of the models of antiquity was more marked in its influence on his productions than upon those of Ghiberti. One may still contemplate with surprise the classic style preserved in works embodying the subjects, and imitating the manner, of the Greek time;[2] one admires the more distant but not less certain trace of that influence in works illustrative of Bible history. If, among the many statues of David which Donatello produced, we choose one which now adorns the collection of the Uffizi, we shall agree with Vasari[3] that the life

[1] No doubt Ghiberti and Brunelleschi had their fair share in the creation of the modern style; for one man cannot alone produce so great a change. But Donatello was the chief instrument in it.

[2] See the bronze patera in Casa Martelli at Florence.

[3] Vas. Vol. III. p. 252. The

and fleshiness in it are admirable and the more praiseworthy if the difficulties of bronze be considered. We shall contemplate with pleasure elastic motion rivalling that of a living man; and we shall be justified in adding, that no creation of the revival, from the fourteenth century to the time of Michael Angelo, is more entitled to claim respect and admiration, because of the true development of the maxims and laws which are combined alike in it and in the Greek models. The youthful champion, trampling with his right foot on the helmeted head of Goliath, his right hand grasping a long straight sword, the left holding a stone and resting on the hip, stands, life size, and all but naked before the spectator. On the head, whose profile is of classic line, is an ancient helm, which casts a broad shadow on the youthful forehead; and copious locks luxuriate about the neck. An admirable unity marks the contours of the form, whose select parts reveal a true feeling for the beauties of Greek statuary. Donatello, in fact, displays the results of a deep study of the antique, combining in a single work the truth of nature with nobleness of shape and of mien, chasteness of form with breadth and ease of modelling. More happy in his mood than at other periods of his career, he seems to have curbed the natural impetuosity of his temper and to have allowed a cooler judgment to restrain the natural fire that burned within him. We may regret that he should not have constantly obeyed this restraint, and that he should have fallen so frequently into a less noble realism; but it is due to him to greet with a just applause those works in which he gave proofs that he possessed the highest gifts that can grace a sculptor. His David has a perfect harmony of power, of character and of parts, and had posterity been deprived of all his works, except that, he would, on the strength of it, be called the best sculptor of his country. Amongst

statue is numbered 398, at the Uffizi. It had belonged to Cosmo de Medici and was sold by his sons Lorenzo and Julian for 150 flor. in 1476. Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 572.

the figures which have been usually taken as a test of Donatello's power, the best known is perhaps the S. George of Orsanmichele. Firmly poised on his two legs and resting his hands on the shield that guards him, he suggests to the spectator a feeling of conscious firmness and security. A relief of S. George encountering the Prince of darkness adorns the pedestal of the niche originally occupied by the statue; and affords a perfect example of the modern art to which Vasari alludes. So vigorous is the action, so fleshy are the forms that they recal to mind the pencil studies of Leonardo da Vinci, whilst the polish of the marble and the gentleness of the kneeling female illustrate anew the sculptor's capacity when he controlled his habitual exuberance of spirit. Michael Angelo could not have treated more perfectly than Donatello has done, the large planes of drapery which cover part of the armour of the statue. In this particular indeed, we may recognize another favorable feature in a style sufficiently remarkable already. Providence has seldom gifted one mortal with a combination of qualities which may be found isolated in many; and Donatello was not one of the most favoured in this respect. But whilst his manner reveals much that deserves moderate applause, it has clearly many qualities of value. He frequently sacrificed the perfection of the whole for the elaboration of parts; but some of these parts were not unfrequently marked with the stamp of undoubted progress. His draperies are an evident proof that he possessed an innovating spirit. Whilst Ghiberti did nothing more than continue the abuse of superfluous festooned garments; and often made a figure but a peg on which to hang a tunic; whilst, in this, the great author of the gates of S. Giovanni failed to maintain the simple maxims of Giotto and Orcagna, Donatello, mindful of the laws of sculpture, sought ever to remind the spectator that, beneath the cloth, there moved and breathed a human body; and he carried out this necessary law of statuary by defining the under forms and by a judicious

use of girdles or belts, a method in which he was faithfully followed by Mantegna and Michael Angelo. He took into due account the action of the joints on the surface of the flesh, and introduced the necessary folds on the skin of the inner bends, whilst he rendered the tension of the other parts or their repose by large and massive planes, according to the rules which Leonardo da Vinci afterwards laid down in one of his treatises. Yet even these qualities in him were not unalloyed, and the critic is forced to admit that he fell into occasional conventionalism, lost sight of the necessary simplicity, and overcharged his draperies with useless detail. The greater genius of Michael Angelo was not indeed free from this reproach; but if conventional, and unselect, he avoided the too frequent error of his predecessor.

The powerful and stern figures of SS. Peter and Mark at Orsanmichele, of the Zuccone or Baldpate and other Evangelists on the westside of the Campanile of S. M. del Fiore at Florence, are all examples of the qualities that were combined in Donatello. It is true that the statues of the Campanile are not so cleverly adapted as they might be to the spaces which they were intended to fill. But the master was not often at fault in this respect; and Vasari gives a telling account of the manner in which, being intrusted with the execution of the S. Mark of Orsanmichele, and having finished it according to his judgment in the form best suited to the position it was to occupy, he discontented the syndics of the Linaiuoli by showing them the statue on the ground, and, a few days after, roused their admiration to the highest pitch, by discovering it unaltered in its niche.[1] Whether Donatello owed this scientific application of the law of optics to statuary to Brunelleschi, or to his own study of the antique, it was an eminent quality in him, and the art of creating form so as to appear natural when seen at

[1] Vas. Vol. III. p. 249—50.

certain distances and heights, has seldom been better applied than it is in the S. Mark of Orsanmichele.

These were not the sole difficulties of his practise which Donatello encountered and overcame. In the faces of the pulpit of Prato, on the round surface of which gay infants dance, he shows his mastery in the lowest relief; and thus appears to be, of all Italian artists, the ablest in this most difficult branch. It may be admitted that he went to the extreme of flatness; still, he is all but unique in the effort, and in the success which attends it. Were it worth while to add this example to foregoing ones, the student would only be strengthened in the conviction that Greek models yielded inexhaustible fruits to the genius and energy of Donatello. If we contemplate other works, we shall see that he derived advantage equally great from the study of animal nature. The statue of Gattamelatta at Padua, not merely displays the master's power in limning the human form, but reveals his ability in rendering that of the horse. Donatello, in fact, shares with Verrocchio the honour of having, in equestrian statues, made a nearer approach to the antique than any Italian sculptor of subsequent or previous times. We have thus illustrated by a few remarkable examples the qualities of a great sculptor. Some of his defects have been incidentally touched upon. We must complete the impartial enumeration of others. Donatello was seldom select; and he frequently indulged in the slovenly fault of reproducing square and vulgar forms, in which the excess of life in the action of muscles or limbs was insufficient to make the spectator forget the unnoble nature of the being represented. Too frequently form, rustic in mould and in strength, revealed a sacrifice of idealism to details. A grand feature in the art revived by Giotto was its intense gravity of religious feeling. We have noted the gradual disappearance of that feature in the lapse of years, as the revival of letters introduced the study of extinct languages and of pagan philosophy. Many artists, however, continued to treat exclusively religious subjects; and of these Ghiberti was one. Donatello, on

the contrary, reproduced actual imitations of the deities and emblems of antiquity; and he was so little imbued with the idea of the divinity of the Saviour that he naturally failed when he took in hand such a subject as the crucifixion. Brunelleschi justly reproached him when he declared that his Christ was a rustic. The figure exists to this day in S. Croce of Florence,[1] and is not only a realistic imitation of a low nature, but a reproduction of an imperfect form, of a bony and muscular nude with a large head and weak chest. But Donatello was not merely at fault when called upon, as on this occasion, to display perfect ideal of form and religious feeling. He was equally unsuccessful whenever he had to reproduce any one of the less fine or placid moods into which the human frame may be thrown. His Magdalen in the Baptistery of Florence is but a suffering and emaciated shell, unfeminine in every sense, and with hardly a trace of such original beauty as might be supposed to linger in a frame borne down by long anguish and penance. The extent to which Donatello could allow his cooler experience to desert him is shown in the exaggerated and grotesque groups forming the reliefs of the pulpits of S. Lorenzo at Florence. Yet in the midst of this exaggeration one marks originality, fancy, and a vehemence of passion, which seem to foreshadow the efforts of Michael Angelo in his decline.

In the handling of bronze, Donatello has been described as careless or inexperienced; yet Vasari's praise of the casting and chiselling in the Judith and Holophernes of the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence is undeniably correct and just.

[1] In the Cappella Bardi.

CHAPTER XI.

PAOLO UCCELLI.

We have seen the feeling for classic art survive the tentative efforts of the earliest centuries to carry on Christian painting with pagan models; we have traced its existence throughout the decline of the dark ages, and during the period which witnessed a deep religious spirit animate the painters of the revival. We now perceive that the antique, which the most religious of the mystics had not entirely neglected, regained an absolute sway. The worship of the literature and philosophy of Greece, which Savonarola opposed in vain, now filtered into every branch of art, and invaded both sculpture and painting. The artists of this time were probably aware that no attempt to reach the ideal could be successful without a deep and continuous study of nature. At that inexhaustible fountain they might take from each creation that which seemed most perfect, combine these parts into a splendid whole, and revive the greatness of a by-gone age. Some choice spirits may have seen the goal, and tended towards it. They may have entered the road that led thither without considering the obstacles which might stand in their way. It was certainly given to none in the fifteenth century to reach it. There was still too much to be done before an ideal could be attained; and years were spent in an effort to give a forward impulse to the arts or sciences which are the concomitants of perfect painting. Some took up perspective; others, chiaroscuro; many struggled to improve the old mediums. Two

very natural results followed from the efforts of the time. The study of old Greek models rested exclusively on works of the chisel. Of these the material form became impressed on the painter's eye. Sculpture thus invaded with its peculiarities the domain of painting. The demand for marbles and bronzes too continued to produce men equally able with the chisel and the brush; but who imported the laws of bas-relief into painting, as Ghiberti had imported the laws of painting into bas-relief. Men who sought to impart to productions of the brush the polish and sharpness that dazzle in works cut out of metal. The subjects rendered familiar by the study of the antique became fashionable; and the Bible or saintly legends no longer formed the exclusive food for artistic activity. For this invasion of the old Christian ground by mythology, the time seemed aptly chosen. The ardor of religion had truly passed away or remained confined to a class. Purely religious painting, perfected with a view to exalt and embody the lessons of a fervent faith had sunk into the grave of Angelico who had lived to see new generations spring up around him unmoved by his example or careless of his honest enthusiasm. These still continued to represent religious subjects, but did not preserve the stern simplicity neccessary to give them grandeur or impress the spectator with their solemnity.

This was not all. Those who had been convinced that a study of nature, and not a mere imitation of the most perfect models, was necessary for the revival of the genius of an extinct art, were led to spend more than usual time in examining and analyzing all natural appearances. In this effort, most tarried by the way, lost sight of the aim towards which the subtle knowledge of nature should have led them, and became realistic imitators, who forget, that the ideal is based on selection. The characteristic features of Florentine art in the fifteenth century are thus, oblivion of the great aim which should animate every artist, a praiseworthy effort to master the various branches of perspective, light and shade, and the chemistry of painting,

with a tendency to imitate the mere outer show of the antique or an unselect nature.

We shall not say that the painters of this time deserve more blame than praise. In so far as they had aims, their efforts were meritorious. The religious school which preceded them was doubtless more in the path of the truth; but had been without many of the advantages which the later labourers in the field were enabled to glean. Such as may think that art is not an emanation or expression of the feeling of its time, or do not appreciate the old simplicity which made every thing subordinate to a sublime Christian idea, may be right in preferring the more realistic, or naturalist school, as it has been called, of the fifteenth century. There are beauties and excellence in both.

The first painter of Florence who displayed the characteristic features which have been thus rapidly sketched, is Paolo Doni, or Uccelli. Born at the close of the fourteenth century (c. 1396[1]), he was apprenticed to Lorenzo Ghiberti and, as "garzone di bottega", (1407) no doubt fagged for Donatello and the other assistants who worked the second gate of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni.[2] It was thus his fortune to live at a period when Brunelleschi and Ghiberti carried on their memorable feud; when Donatello was preparing to startle his countrymen with the originality of his vehement style. It was an age in which the science of perspective was already an object of ceaseless research; in which Brunelleschi was to teach Masaccio the rudiments of that science; Ghiberti was to introduce it, in spite of all previous experience, into bas-reliefs; and Donatello was preparing to show its use in altering the natural forms of statues to suit the position

[1] In 4 tax papers, of 1427, 1433, 1442, and 1446, Paolo gives himself a different age. In the 2 first he says he was born in 1397. In the 3d he gives the date of 1402, in the last that of 1396. A record of 1469 contains a declaration of his age and infirmities. He there again states that he was born in 1396. Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p.p. 146—7.

[2] Thomas Patch, ub. sup. La porta del Battistero di S. Giovanni.

in which they were intended to rest. It was no wonder, therefore, that the bias of a youth so situated, should be, first, to imbibe the maxims which regulate the production of bas-relief next to master if possible those laws of perspective and foreshortening which seemed the great necessity of the time. Finally it was not unnatural that, in his attempt to apply the laws whose substance he desired to master, he should fall back upon nature as the source of all truth.

Uccelli, whose works are unhappily but too scarce, or damaged at the present day, still shows us that there were more of the elements of the sculptor than of the painter in him. We are puzzled, however, to point out where he learnt to paint. It is well known that the sister arts were usually practised in each atelier of Florence. Ghiberti had been a painter; but we seek in vain for pictures by him or by Donatello. Uccelli's works point unmistakeably enough to the same source of teaching which served for Masolino and Masaccio, and is revealed in the manner of Fra Filippo. Sharing with Donatello a general contempt for select nature, he drew with a hardness of line which betrays familiarity with sculpture. But his colour, if it may be judged from the damaged creations we still possess, was fused, careful, slightly cold in shadow, but of a rosy tone in the flesh lights. He sparingly used liquid and not unpleasant tints over the grey preparations. The effect upon the spectator's eye is that of flatness. We possess pictures of his early and of his later time; the first, tentative, and imperfect, revealing the course of his struggle towards a true representation of foreshortened parts and perspective lines, giving us the block, without the pliant action of bodies, full of realism and detail; the last, more masterly and perfect, with figures in good form and proportions, draped so as to develop the shape with propriety, but still reminiscent of bas-relief in their plasticity, and in the peculiar distribution of the groups and episodes.

In the first class are three out of four panels repres-

enting incidents of battle, adorning, of old, the garden of the Bartolini at Gualfonda near Florence.[1] The eagerness of rival purchasers has left but one to the Uffizi at Florence. Two others are in the ex-Campana Collection at the Louvre and in the National gallery. A daring boldness of action marks the knights and barded steeds in tilt which form the subject of the panel at Florence; but the conception is more praiseworthy than successful; and the effect of certain movements, such as that of a kicking horse, is ludicrous and grotesque. Again, the foreshortened position of a prostrate steed presenting his belly and heels as well as the legs of his fallen rider to the spectator, suggests the wish rather than the power to overcome a difficulty of no mean kind. Perspective of broken lances, shields, and helmets, is laboriously carried out; and distant episodes of archers, men at arms and dogs, show that Uccelli already possessed the art of perspective; but the spectator has before him the lifeless and wooden models of divers figures, their geometrical substance without the final dressing that should give life to the form and its action. Added to this, sharp outlines cut out the figures; and the injury done by time and restoring to the colours renders the whole production of less interest to the lover of good pictures than to the critic. The piece serves, in fact, as a medium for a show of a knowledge in foreshortening, whereas perspective should have no other aim than to make the picture true and productive of a natural illusion.[2] One can fancy Donatello saying, at sight of such a work. "This perspective of yours makes you drop the certain for the uncertain. These are things which can only be of use to a workman in marquetry."[3] It is not uninteresting, however, to note at the outset that Uccelli attacked at once a series of difficulties.

[1] Vas. Vol. III. p. 96.

[2] This picture (No. 21. 1st Corridor) is signed on a shield to the left "Pauli Ucieli opus". Buggiardini restored this and the remaining panels; but did more injury than good. The surface is blackened. See also Vas. Vol. III. p. 96.

[3] Vas. Vol. III. p. 89.

He not only revelled in the details of armour, saddlery, and plumes, which marked the panoplies of his time, but he studied horses, dogs, and birds. His partiality to the latter is the origin of his nickname. He even attempted to depict the strangest animals; and Vasari relates of him that, in the ceiling of the Loggia de' Peruzzi at Florence, he figured the elements as four animals; the earth as a mole, water as a fish, and fire as a salamander. He should have symbolized air as a chameleon, but deceived by a similarity of structure in the name, he substituted for the lesser creature a camel.[1]

In the next piece, at the Louvre, in which a leader in armour, on a sable horse, and with a high hat, has drawn his sword, and prepares to follow a first line of knights, starting with couchant lances, the action is more calm, yet the forms are still wooden. The movement of the footmen in the intervals of the cavalry are true; but, in them, as in the group of riders in armour at the right side, there is still a rigidity approaching that of stone. The best of these panels is that of the National Gallery,[2] representing the battle of S. Egidio, fought by Malatesta, who appears, with his youthful nephew Galeazzo at his side, issuing the order to advance. Without any colour in consequence of abrasion, without swing in the drawing, because of the sharpness and broken quality of the outlines, without dignity, because the figures are feeble and lean, and the costume of the time is not picturesque, this piece may still command attention. The heads of Malatesta and Galeazzo are modelled in soft and well fused tones of rosy hue and spare impasto; the shadows are slightly cold, but the whole is executed in the most careful style after the technical method observable in the works of Masolino and Fra Filippo. Galeazzo in profile, a boy of fair hair and complexion gorgeously attired in a gold embroidered dress,[3] is a happy effort of the artist's pencil. Uccelli

[1] Vas. Vol. III. p. 97.
[2] No. 583.
[3] Note in the execution of details of costume, that the stuff and gold embroideries are glazed with a general warm and fluid tint.

possibly had but to copy nature to succeed, for the youth was evidently handsome; and it is suggestive of this belief that when Uccelli painted figures in which he was not bound to produce a portrait, the forms of head which he preferred were round and plump in external outline, pinched and small in the more minute detail.[1] As to the action, — the shape of steeds and their riders, — the profuse finery of dress, ornaments, and distances of landscape, — the character of this example is not essentially different from that of the rest of the series to which it belongs.

We have no means of ascertaining the exact time when these pictures were executed; although the subject of one of them, that of the battle of S. Egidio, points to a date subsequent to 1416; nor are we rich in anecdotes of Uccelli's private life. Vasari's description suggests the idea of a man much worn by study, toiling at night over perspective problems, earning little and not producing much.[2] The anecdote of Uccelli's flight from the monks of S. Miniato because they fed him exclusively on cheese,[3] might however lead to the belief that hermit's fare was at least not habitual with him; whilst the facts, that he made a will as early as 1425 and possessed a house worth a hundred florins in 1434, sufficiently prove that, albeit his fame might not be great, yet his means were ample.[4] It is clear, from his returns to the income tax office, that he lived at Florence, with but little interruption, until 1446;[5] and well founded doubts may therefore be urged against the statement of Vasari, that Uccelli, accompanied Donatello in 1444 to Padua.[6] Yet we may not deny that

[1] Something in the drawing of this picture makes it reminiscent of the manner of Fra Filippo. The colour suggests the same idea, being laid in with a liquid brush, of a flat but golden tone, where not abraded.

[2] Vas. Vol. III. p. 89.

[3] Vas. Vol. III. p. 90.

[4] Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p.p. 146—7, gives the original records: Uccelli's house was in Via della Scala.

[5] Income tax returns for 1427, 1433, 1442 and 1446 are mentioned by Gaye, ub. sup. and that of 1434 is given in full.

[6] Vas. Vol. III. p. 96. We have minute records of Donatello's stay in Padua, of the sums paid him for works at the Santo, of the pupils and assistants that were with him. The name of Uccelli

Uccelli, at some period of his life was in that city; for the Anonimo (Morelli) notes that the frescos of the Palace of the Vitaliani were by him.[1] About 1436 Uccelli completed a portrait of the English Condottiere, Hawkwood, in S. M. del Fiore at Florence. It did not meet with approval from the council of the works; and a record of that year "orders the capo maestro to take down the equestrian figure which is not properly painted by P. Uccelli, and requires the artist to repaint it in terra verde,"[2] or dead colour. Whether the order was obeyed, or whether the figure now in S. Maria del Fiore be the one which was disapproved, is immaterial. It was not unlikely that the critics of the time should have been struck by a peculiarity which has since been stigmatized by Vasari,[3] and which has given rise to long comments from more modern critics. This peculiarity lies in the action given to the horse on which Hawkwood rides, unnatural, according to Vasari, because the steed only rests on one fore and one hind leg, unnatural perhaps, according to the judgment of the council of S. M. del Fiore, but masterly and true to nature in fact, being indeed but a counterpart in drawing of the action given by Donatello to the horse of Gattamellata at Padua.

Uccelli's purpose was, in obedience to instructions, to represent Hawkwood in full panoply as he might have appeared in marble, had the provision, made in 1393 for the erection of a monument to his memory,[4] been carried out. Being painted in green earth it would naturally preserve the appearance of stone; being drawn by Uccelli with the same attention to the laws of optics which had dictated to Donatello the proportions of his S. Mark in

does not appear in any of these records. See: La Basilica di S. Antonio di Padova. 4°. Pad. by Padre Bernardo Gonzati. Vol. I. Caps. IV. and VI., and the proofs in the "Documenti" appended.

[1] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 23. Uccelli here painted figures of giants for a ducat a piece.

[2] The original provision for a monument to Hawkwood was made in 1393. (Gaye, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 536.)

[3] Vas. Vol. III. p.p. 94—5.

[4] See note antea.

Orsanmichele, it might have induced the spectator to believe that his glance was truly directed towards a natural creation of plastic art. The beholder sees in fact an imitation, first: of a stone sepulchre leaning on brackets high up on the wall and properly drawn as if seen from below; secondly: a pedestal resting on the sepulchre; and thirdly: the profile of a stepping horse on which Hawkwood with the batoon of command rides with security and ease. If executed in 1436, this work proves that Uccelli was thus early master of his craft, and far advanced beyond the period of groping and trial which witnessed the production of the foregoing pieces. Natural in movement, broadly designed, as well as nobly conceived, executed with consistent power, this statue of Hawkwood reveals Uccelli possessor of the arts of foreshortening and perspective, and conscious of human and brute forms in their best proportions. It shows us the high standard of scientific knowledge which had been attained by Florentine painters about the middle of the fifteenth century;[1] but, above all, it displays Uccelli's style founded essentially upon the study of statuary corrected by the study of nature.

In other examples, such as the frescos of the cloisters in S. M. Novella, where bas-relief is again imitated not only by the use of dead colour, but, as in bas-relief, by the distribution of the scenes into distinct parts within given spaces, Uccelli discloses still more concretely the various phases of his acquirements and inherent defects. Without poetic thought, he subjects incidents hitherto represented with religious tenderness and feeling, to a coarser contact with humanity. He reminds us of the imperfections

[1] This piece originally executed in fresco, has been since transferred to canvass, and is somewhat damaged by the operation. The back-ground, the saddle, and bridle, are red. The painter's name may still be read:

"Pauli Uccelli opus."

In S. M. del Fiore, Uccelli also painted the face of the clock inside the church (Vas. Vol. III. p. 95.). Four heads at the angles of the square circumscribing the dial may still be traced, but they are so damaged that they give no clue to the master's style.

of ordinary men whose form and action he realizes with hard and unchoice character, yet the plastic forms accuse a fruitful study of nature, with recurrent reminiscences of the antique, — fair proportions and real bone and muscle beneath broad draperies. Perspective is carried to a high level of perfection in its application to animate and inanimate objects, and an improved artfulness is visible in the mode of rendering projections of shadows.

The subjects of the frescos in the cloisters of S. M. Novella are numerous:

Starting from the space nearest the entrance from the cloister into the church, the eye first glances (left) at the animal creation, (right) the creation of man in the lunette. In the first the Eternal of human size, in copious drapery and grave attitude, is surrounded by animals of various kinds. In the second, parted from the first, by a rock, the Eternal, again, advances and helps Adam to rise. In the lower course of this arched space are traces of the form of Eve and of the Father, with the Temptation to the right.[1] The second lunette contains the Expulsion and "Adam and Eve labouring by sweat of their brow." In the lower course, is the sacrifice and the death of Abel. The third lunette and its lower course, rudely represent the building of the ark and the procession of God's creatures; and they suggest either that Uccelli had no part in their production, or that some inferior painter renewed them at a later time.[2]

Far more interesting is the fourth lunette, of the deluge, in the upper part of which angels and monsters seem to urge the elements to the destruction of every thing on the earth's surface. On the right, floats the ark in turbid waters,

[1] Part of the intonaco in the creation of animals has fallen and much that Vasari describes is gone (Vas. III. p. 92). The creation of Adam is better preserved, the most perfect indeed as regards condition of the whole series. The trees in the distance originally painted in red are spoiled by retouching. This and other back-grounds are originally water colour, not fresco. In the creation of Eve there are but traces of the upper part of the outline of the Creator in profile, and of the form of Eve. Adam is gone. In the Temptation one still sees on the left the outline of Adam and a serpent about the tree. The latter has a human head of a pleasing regular profile and not in dead colour like the rest. On the right, Eve holds the apple. The distance is red.

[2] Vasari notes that "two scenes are by another hand" (Vol. III. p. 92.)

a lofty edifice of wooden beams, at whose window Noah receives the dove. A similar edifice floats to the left, whilst, between the two, various episodes, incident to a vast and universal inundation, are depicted. In the distance, a thunderbolt rends an oak. Nearer, and amongst other scenes of anguish, one may note a naked figure on a float in friendly contact with a bear, both determined to repel a lion who swims towards them. A figure to the left of this strives to gain a footing on the steps of the floating edifice. More in front to the right, a naked wretch grasps with the energy of despair the sides of a barrel in which he is floating. A woman before him supports an aged man on the back of a swimming buffalo. To her right an erect figure in full draperies is grasped at the feet by a drowning man. The upper part of the body of a dead child is on the water near the foreshortened frame of one, face upwards, presenting his feet to the spectator. A crow pecks out the eyes of one of the dead; and a buoyant corpse lies supine on the billow with head and shoulders to the beholder. On the left foreground, a naked man on a horse threatens with a sword one in a similar condition, defending himself with a club. Between them a tired wretch still paddles on his back. Pressed to the side of the ark by the wind which glues his wet garments to his frame, stands another victim of the elements.[1]

Noah's sacrifice, in the next lower course can be traced in a few parts only. The figure of the Creator, appearing in air with his head away from the spectator, is a mere outline. One sees further the heads of persons kneeling about an altar, and a rainbow. Then comes the "Ebriety of Noah, where the patriarch lies on the ground, foreshortened; and his son stands over him, about to cover his nakedness. In rear, and in the centre of the picture, another son starts back in surprise; and, on the left, Shem points at the prostrate frame of his father. A trellice with grapes is behind Shem, a cabin, with two casks of wine,[2] behind the central

[1] This fresco is not without damage. The drowned child on the right is half repainted, the figure whose eyes are pecked out by the crow is repainted with the bird itself on lines different from the original ones. The figure in the distance to the left, creeping up the steps, is retouched. The foreshortened corpse on the right, with its head to the spectator, is in a similar condition. Besides this, whole pieces of colour are new.

[2] In the trellice is the outline of a figure. Vasari pretends that the perspective of the casks is incorrect, but the accuracy of his remarks in this respect cannot now be tested.

group. It is a pity that this fresco, which Vasari praises and criticises, should be much injured. The figure of Shem is preserved, with the exception of a part of the face, shoulder, and right hand. The upper part of the central figure remains, with part of the head and shoulder of that covering the nakedness of Noah.[1]

Injured as these frescos have been, a careful analysis of their parts may yield some fruitful observations. The conception of Adam's creation reveals a new realism, an effort to show, not a creative act resulting from a mere enforcement of will, but a material exertion of physical force. Adam does not move alone, and at the command of God; but the Creator takes him by the hand and helps him to rise; and the spectator unmistakeably notes the muscular exertion which is necessary for the performance of the action. The nude of Adam is in fact a realistic study of a muscular and well proportioned nude, neglected somewhat in the drawing, chiefly of the extremities, but rendered with a plasticity reminiscent of statuary. A breeze plays through the broad draperies of the Eternal, the folds of whose garment still show, with some festooning, the principal masses of the flesh beneath them.[2] But, that which betrays unmistakeably the education of Uccelli is the lozenge frame with its checquered black and white pattern, and the red background.[3]

Uccelli finds means to represent, in the deluge, motion and irresistible force, the rush of the wind, the fury of the elements and the helplessness of man. He does not attain the highest tragic awfulness, but he combines much that contributes to it. In this composition, especially, appears his tendency to import into painting the laws of distribution habitual to the sculptor of bas-reliefs. He divided his scene into three great parts, joining them well together for the sake of unity and introducing a strong realism into the incidents. His power of keeping the human form, even when draped, before the spectator's eye is

[1] Thus it is clear that the whole of the figure of Noah is new.

[2] The meandering line of the drapery skirts is a remnant of the teaching of Ghiberti.

[3] The background though red



THE DELUGE. A fresco in S. Maria Novella at Florence, by Paolo Uccello.



NOAH'S SACRIFICE, a fresco in S. Maria Novella, by Paolo Uccello

shown in the figure clinging to the ark and pressed to its side by the force of the wind. The clammy garments show the fleshy parts below, and the gale makes the folds flap again. Here, too, may be noticed Uccelli's accuracy in rendering the projection of shadows; for, though the storm is in full rage, the sun still shines through an opening in the clouds. As to perspective and anatomy, sufficient is to be found in this one fresco for tracing the exact picture of Uccelli's talent; and for gaining the conviction, that he had mastered the problem of retreating lines to various vanishing points on a common horizon, or in the definition of circles and curves at different distances and on numerous planes. His masterly foreshortening, in floating corpses must have astonished the men of his time. His knowledge of the forms of animals, native and foreign, is equally apparent and curious.

The daring with which Uccelli depicted the Eternal, descending with his head away from the beholder, justly surprised Vasari. Its counterpart is to be found, in Uccelli's century, only in a similar figure by Piero della Francesca in the fresco of the dream of Constantine at S. Francesco of Arezzo.

In the Ebriety of Noah, which seems the last of the series, Uccelli displays greater boldness of hand; but he still preserves characteristic peculiarities, such as oval heads with angularly lined features. The figures are elastic in movement, firm in tread; and the colour, where preserved, is well modelled and softly fused in the system already noticed. The figure of Shem is, according to Vasari, a portait of Uccelli's friend, the painter Dello. That painter had wandered in his youth into distant countries and had settled in Spain. He returned, however, in 1446 to Florence, where he remained two years. He was at the time about 42,[1] and that is the apparent age

like the sky (repainted) is simple in its mass of rock. The foreground is a meadow with flowers.

[1] Dello was born about 1404. His life shall be sketched later, with the assistance of new documents discovered by Signor Gaetano Milanesi. See Gior. Stor.

of Shem in the last of Uccelli's frescos. We may assume therefore that the cloister of S. Maria Novella was painted by Uccelli about 1446—8.

The historian may regret that he cannot record the time when Donatello, Brunelleschi, and Antonio Manetti were gathered together by Uccelli as in a gallery with Giotto at their head. The genius of Giotto, it is clear, was still acknowledged by the painters of the fifteenth century. The sources of his power were beyond the ken of the single artist, it is true; but the realist painter and sculptor, the daring architect, the mathematician, who helped by science the solution of perspective problems, were willing, it would seem, to admit that a combination of gifts had found place in the early Florentine master, and entitled him to stand at their head. Little of the original work remains in the series of portraits of these men, now in the Louvre under the name of Uccelli.[1] The impression which it creates is that of an old copy of the time of Pontormo.[2] The inscription is modern. Yet the portraits correspond with Vasari's descriptions and the wood-cuts in his original edition; and a close inspection may permit the critic to admit that the picture is a genuine one of the time, and really by Uccelli.

A wide divergence of thought and of talent separated Paolo from Masaccio. But one should have thought the latter not unworthy to be classed amongst the geniuses whom we have but now seen brought together in one picture. Some concealed record may yet come to light, from which we shall learn that Masaccio and Uccelli were not unacquainted. We have it indeed on fair authority that the latter painted the predella of an altarpiece in S. Maria Maggiore at Florence, of which the principal panel was by Masaccio. But this, and many other works

degli Archivi Toscani ub. sup. 1860. 3d quarter p. 10. These paintings were executed with funds left for the purpose as far back as the year 1348 by Torino di Baldese, a merchant of Florence. See com. to life of Dello in Vas. ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 54.

[1] No. 184. Louvre Catal.

[2] So completely is the picture repainted.

of interest produced during a long course of years have been totally lost to posterity.[1]

Uccelli, in his later years was invited by the brotherhood of Corpus Cristi at Urbino to paint an altarpiece. His name did not escape the attentive Giovanni Santi, who gives him a good word in his Elogio;[2] whilst the records of the brotherhood contain items of payments to him for his work and for his journey from Florence in 1468.[3] The altarpiece is no longer to be found; and there is no authentic picture of the master in Urbino. Yet in S. Agatha of that city a predella was long preserved as a part of an altarpiece executed by Giusto of Ghent. It may now be seen in the college of the R. P. Scolopi contiguous to S. Agatha. The subjects, six in number, are derived from a legendary description of the theft of a pyx:

First we note, in a room, a dame, at a counter, presenting, apparently to a silversmith, the pyx with the wafer of the host upon it. Next comes a scene in two parts. To the left is an interior where the silver of the pyx is smelting on a fire to the right. Blood flows out of the pot, and the miracle seems to fill the purchaser with a very natural terror. The female, with two children stands by as if in thought. Outside, in the second part, soldiers are bursting the door.

[1] "L'antiqua chiesa di S. M. Maiore fu: nella quale e una tavola di Masaccio: la predella et l'archo di sopra e di Paolo Uccelli." Albertini. Memoriale. ub. sup. p. 12. Vasari also mentions a work by Uccelli (Vol. III. p. 90.) saying, it was a fresco in a chapel at the side of the door leading to S. Giovanni, representing the annunciation. In the ceiling, Uccelli painted the four Evangelists. Richa (Vol. III. p. 281.) notes the existence of a picture by Uccelli in S. M. Maggiore on a pilaster to the left of the portal. All these works, however, have disappeared. The same fate has attended: the paintings of Uccelli in the Spedale di Lemmo (Vas. Vol. III. p. 89.); in the convent of Annalena, now razed (ibid. Vol. III. p. 89); scenes from the life of S. Francis in S. Trinita; the monochrome frescos, since whitewashed in the cloister of S. Miniato; the altar dossal in the Cappella de' Pugliesi at the Carmine (ib. Vol. III. p.p. 90. 91.); canvasses representing animals, in the Casa Medici (ib. Vol. III. p. 91.); scenes from the life of S. Benedict in the Monastery of the Angeli (ib. Vol. III. p. 95.); and an incredulity of S. Thomas in the Mercato Vecchio (ib. Vol. III. p. 98.)

[2] See the passage in Pungileoni. Elogio Storico di Gio. Santi. 8°. Urbino. 1822. p. 73.

[3] Ibid. p. 74. The dates of payments are August 10. and Oct. 31. 1468.

In the third compartment the pyx, miraculously entire, is carried in procession to the church from which it was stolen. The fourth represents the guilty persons brought to the place of execution by a train of soldiers on horseback, in the dress of the period, and blowing trumpets. At one side the female awaits the cord at the gallows. The fifth part is confined to the burning of the receivers of the stolen silver at the stake. The last scene shows the dead body of one of the guilty ones swollen in death, — angels carrying away the wafer of the sacrament, and devils waiting for the soul of the criminal.

This predella was evidently ordered by the wealthy patron of some altar in S. Agatha. His arms cover a shield above the chimney in the interior of the first piece of the series. In this as in all the parts, the perspective is remarkably correct. The figures are steady of tread and drawn with much fidelity from nature. The style of Uccelli is displayed in the general oval character of the full faces and their small pinched features, in the slender necks and frames, in the vulgar individuality which reveals merely a patient study of nature, and in the hard cutting lines which minutely and sharply define the forms. The drawing of the horses in the processions is equally characteristic of the master. The colour, though abraded, is still warm, of an equal, and therefore monotonous, value of tone; and recals to mind that of the early battle pieces of Gualfonda. Copious details of costume and ornament confirm the impression that Uccelli is the painter of this piece.

In the same manner, though executed with less power, is a Virgin and child, with attendant figures in possession of the Duke of Verdura at Palermo. The Virgin's face seems cast in the mould peculiar to Fra Filippo. The colour is transparent and golden; and the picture recals to mind those which usually pass in galleries for productions of Baldovinetti or Pesellino.[1]

[1] Gold-ground. The Virgin, half length, holds the infant erect on a stage before her. Her right hand grasps the stage. On each side is a vulgar angel whose ornaments and wings are engraved in the gold-ground.

Uccelli was seventy two years of age when he visited Urbino. In the following year he was unable to move. A placet is still in existence in which he declares to the Uffiziali of Florence (Aug. 9. 1469) that he is aged seventy three, that his wife Mona Tomasa di Benedetto Malifici is infirm, that his son Donato is sixteen years old, that he, Paolo, is old, without means, and unable to work.[1] Uccelli probably died soon after this and was buried in S. M. Novella contrary to the clause of his early will which declared that he desired to be buried in S. Spirito.[2]

His genuine works are not to be found in public galleries.[3]

The name of Dello is connected with no existing works except those of the cloister in S. Maria Novella. We shall therefore proceed to notice them, prefacing the few remarks which they suggest by new facts lately discovered by Dottore Gaetano Milanesi, and correcting with their assistance the slight and confused story of Vasari.[4]

Dello was the son of Niccolo Delli a tailor and Orsa his wife, and was born about the year 1404 (the positive date of the event being confused by the contradictory statements of three different income tax returns, of 1427, 1430 and 1433). Vasari's assertion that he was apprenticed to the double profession of painter and sculptor seems contradicted by the fact that the works in terra cotta which are assigned to him are proved to have been by Bicci di Lorenzo, but is confirmed by records at Sienna.[5] Dello had hardly entered his

[1] Gaye Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 147.

[2] Ibid. Richa states that he was buried in S. M. Novella. See Chiese Flor. Vol. III. p. 78. Vasari says Uccelli died in 1432. This may be a misprint for 1472. (Vol. III. p. 98.)

[3] In one of the cabinets of the Munich Gallery (No. 557.) is a S. Jerome assigned to Uccelli, a feeble work of the time of Fra Filippo without sufficient character to justify the critic in assigning it to so good a master.

A figure (life size) of Cardinal Niccola of Prato is catalogued under Uccelli's name in the Galleria Comunale at Prato (No. V.). This common production of the 15th century is not by him, and can indeed only be a copy or adaptation from an older likeness of a cardinal who died early in the 14th century.

[4] The life of Dello is in Vasari. Vol. III. p. 46 and foll. The notices of Dottore G. Milanesi are in Giorn. Stor. ub. sup. anno 1862. p.p. 10—12. 25—29.

[5] See antea. The works in question were in S. Maria Nuova

twentieth year when Niccolo Delli his father, being keeper (1424) of the fortress of Montecerro, in the Tuscan Romagna, surrendered it to the forces of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. For this treason, as it was then considered, he was sentenced (*in contumaciam*) to death on the twenty first of Nov., and fled to Sienna. Here Dello succeeded in finding employment, and executed a brass figure that struck the time on the top of the tower of the Palazzo.[1] From Sienna, Niccolo and his sons proceeded to Venice (about 1427), where they remained some time; Dello causing his name to be registered *pro forma* in the guild of the Speciali at Florence (1433).[2] Dissatisfied with his new residence, and perhaps unable to earn, Dello emigrated to Spain and is proved by the income tax return of his mother, Orsa, (Florence 1442) to have lived in Seville for many years. His fortune was such, that in the course of time he gained wealth and the title of "Cavaliere", and on his return to Florence he claimed and obtained from his native city (1447 new style) the recognition of that title.[3] He returned to Spain in 1448,[4] and is recorded by Filarete as still living in 1464—6, the period in which the "Trattato d'architettura" was written.

The twenty four episodes of the Genesis which Dello is said to have painted in the cloister of S. M. Novella are all more or less defective in style and execution, and the last twelve slightly differ from the first; but the same spirit pervades all the compositions of the series. Some scenes indeed are not without interest, but it is not possible to find one in which a petty conception, a rude and hasty execution are not combined. The frescos seem the weak production of a man who followed, and made but slight approach to, the manner of Masolino, and who contrasts most unfavorably with his competitor in this very cloister, Paolo Uccelli. They may have been carried out by an

and the church S.S. Dodici Apostoli. Vas. Vol. III. p. 46.

[1] Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 390.

[2] "1432—33. XXVI. Januarii. Pro Dello Nicolai Delli pictore populi S. Fred. de Flor." (Giorn. Stor. ub. sup. p. 11.)

[3] The record by which Dello or Daniello received the "insegne della liberta e del popolo" at Florence is in Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 27. It is dated June 27. 1446.

[4] Vasari states that Dello returned to Spain because he could not bear the raillery of those who had known him in a humbler character than that of "Cavaliere". Vol. III. p. 50.

artist of incompletely formed talents. They seem incompatible with the supposition that their execution should have been entrusted to Dello after he had earned fame in Spain and returned to Florence in 1446. It may be true that Dello's portrait was painted by Uccelli when he completed the series of the Genesis. The portrait now pointed out as that of the Spanish "Cavaliere" is aged enough for Dello's years at that time, but the existence of the likeness does not help the critic to decide the question at issue.

A picture which might do honour to Dello, were it proved to be by him is that exhibited under his name in the collection of Mr. Barker in London. It represents the adoration of the Magi[1] and displays, in richness of composition, in details of costume and landscape, a style that might suggest the classification of the painter amongst those who held the manner of the Peselli. Though embrowned by time, the picture is fine and far superior to the frescos of the cloister of S. M. Novella. Its technical execution points to a realistic artist of the middle of the fifteenth century whom we should not wonder to find issuing from the Peselli's school.

Vasari assigns to Dello the usual industry of painting chests and furniture. He even says that he thus adorned a room in the house of Giovanni de' Medici, but it would be hard to point out any works of this kind at the present day. Dello's Pieta in the SS. Annunziata, which is noticed by Vasari,[2] cannot be found, nor do we know of the existence of frescos painted by him (according to Richa) in S. Agata.[3]

[1] A round.
[2] Vas. Vol. III. p. 46.
[3] Richa. Chiese. Vol. V. p. 285.

CHAPTER XII.

ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO AND DOMENICO VENIZIANO.

Cotemporary with Uccelli, and celebrated, not less for his talent, than for a certain legendary violence of temper, lived Andrea del Castagno, an artist, of considerable power, clothed in a hard and rough bark of rustic coarseness, but a good fellow, as his pet name of Andreino[1] indicates, and one to whom the study of drawing and of nature owed some improvement in the fifteenth century.

Born in 1390, a few years before Uccelli, and called del Castagno, either because the poor hamlet of that name in the Muggello witnessed his entry into the world, or because he lived there in childhood, his father Bartolommeo di Simone was a labourer and small proprietor of S. Andrea a Linari in the country of Florence.[2] An orphan in early years,[3] he tended the flock of a cousin by Castagno, and would probably have spent his days in rustic labours, but that he stumbled by chance upon an itinerant painter at work in a tabernacle, and, fired by the wish to study the artistic profession, he began scratching rude figures on walls and stones. He thus attracted the attention of Bernardetto de' Medici, who took him to Florence, where

[1] He is called Andrein by Gio. Santi in his Elogio (Pungileoni Elog. Stor. ub. sup. p. 73), Andreino by Albertini, Memoriale ub. sup. p. 13, and Andreino degl' Impiccati by Filarete in the dedication to his MS. Trattato d'Architettura. (See also Gaetano Milanesi in Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani an. VI. 1862. p. 7.)

[2] Ibid. p. 2. The date of Andrea's birth, the place and his father's name are given by the painter in his first return to the income tax at Florence in 1430.

[3] In his return he cannot give

he entered upon his apprenticeship.[1] His path in life was not strewed with flowers. Andrea tells us, in 1430, that it was true, he possessed a hut and two small pieces of land in his father's village, but he was poor, very poor; had in Florence neither bed nor board nor lodging, and no wordly substance; and that he had been recently discharged from the Hospitals of S. Maria Nuova and the Pinzocheri, after four months illness.[2] He lived to paint in after years, in one of the refuges which had sheltered him, and to make for himself a name as a man of energy and talent. A few years before his death, he owned a house in the Via de' Fibbiai at Florence and led an orderly married life.[3]

Some pretend that in his youth he was bound apprentice to Masaccio;[4] others, that he only studied Masaccio's manner.[5] His style tells us that he was a realistic imitator of common nature; that he was not a pupil of Masaccio, Masolino, or Angelico; but that he may have issued from the school which produced Paolo Uccelli and Peselino. Incorrect in drawing, he still possessed style; and the quality of his power was akin to that of Uccelli. The frescos of the Casa Pandolfini at Legnaia, and the equestrian picture of Niccola di Tolentino, which is the last of his productions, would alone prove this. Yet these works also show that Andrea del Castagno was a realist of a lower nature than Uccelli. His mode of drawing reveals a bold hurtling decision; his draperies have a sculptural character; and his perspective is not without science. The peculiar vigour which distinguished Donatello seems to have existed in the coarser frame of Andrea; and a natural inclination might well unite two men, such as they were, in the bonds of friendship. Vasari seems to have been exactly in the truth when he described Andrea as "gagliardissimo."[6] The action of his figures

the name of his mother. Giornale Stor ub. sup.

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 140.

[2] Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 2.

[3] Ibid. p. 2.

[4] Baldinucci, ub. sup. V. 329.

[5] Lanzi, ub. sup. I. 80.

[6] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 141.

was in truth full of energy and swing. But, in expression, he was one of the most vulgar of the realists. As a colourist, he was distanced by almost all his cotemporaries, and never produced anything but hard, raw, and unpleasant work. Yet the strength that was in the man is still imposing; and Castagno deserves the place which he occupies in art history.

Two crucifixions which we owe to him are in the monastery of the Angeli at Florence.[1] One in the first cloister represents the Saviour of life size, crucified between the Virgin and S. Benedict, and the Evangelist and S. Romualdo, with the Magdalen at the foot of the cross. It discloses to the spectator Christ, of good proportions and action, well studied in the nude, not too vulgar in face, and of a type which bears comparison with that of the Redeemer in the Trinity by the Peselli lately purchased for the National Gallery.[2] Not a little striking at the same time is the resemblance of character between this wall painting and an altarpiece gable representing the same subject by Piero della Francesca, now in the Spedale at Arezzo. A common realism and technical method appear to unite the two painters; and this is apparent not only in the principal figure, but in the Virgin, which both artists represented in vulgar lamentation with her cheek resting on her hand.[3] Common grimacing features are excessively striking in the S. Benedict; and the hands are cramped as if by epilepsy.[4] S. Romualdo, in profile, grabbles at his hair. But Castagno obviously knows of the tragic only the outer and visible signs. The inward grieving he is unable to depict. His drapery has the stiffness and consistency of paper, his outlines are hard and angular, his mode of rendering hands or feet coarse

[1] Not in the places given by Vasari, but, no doubt, they are those to which he alludes. (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 149.) The monastery indeed has undergone many changes since the 16th century.

[2] From the late Bromley collection.

[3] The Evangelist is open mouthed and shows his teeth. The background is blue.

[4] A fault which may be found also in Piero della Francesca.

and clumsy. His colour is a liquid tempera of a dull tinge, laid on without much knowledge of the harmonic keys, yellowish in flesh lights, with superposed earthy shadows rubbed in so as to allow the undertone to crop up.[1]

The second crucifixion at the Angeli is in the fifth cell in the second cloister, and without the figure of the Magdalen. It exhibits an excess of vulgarity even in the Saviour, whose frame is almost an anatomical caricature.[2]

In a happier mood Castagno painted, for the niches of a hall in the Villa Pandolfini at Legnaia, a series of heroes and sybils, the remnants of which have been transferred to canvass and taken to the depot of the Uffizi. Suiting the design of his figures to the height of the spaces, calculating the perspective of the parts according to the rules applied by Uccelli and Donatello, he devoted a niche, in the rural temple, to Pippo Spano, the patron of Masolino and victor of the Turks; to Farinata, the liberator of his country; to Niccolo Acciaiuoli, the seneschal of Naples; to Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, the immortal poets of Italy; to Esther, Tomiris, and the sybil of Cumae. A frieze crowned the lintels of the niches, and a correct perspective might allow the spectator to caress the illusion that the hall was honoured by the presence of a select and celebrated company.[3] To gain a correct impression of them, indeed, these figures should be seen in their original places, where their supernatural size, the bold freedom of their attitudes, and something of the classical in their appearance would give them still greater value. Pippo Spano, in a defiant attitude, bending the steel of his rapier in his two hands, and with legs apart, challenges the world and seems capable of victory.

[1] This mode of colouring may be seen also in the works of Piero della Francesca.

[2] This crucifixion is blackened in the shadows by damp. An engraving of it is in the Ettruria Pittrice. Richa (Chiese. Vol. VIII. p. 174.) notices its existence.

[3] The niches were rectangular, formed by pilasters with cornice and architraves. The nine figures above enumerated form but a part of a series which occupied the four sides of the hall. They were the ornament of one side only. The villa Pandolfini at Legnaia is now a farm belonging to the Rinuccini family.

There is dignity in the poets, slender, wiry activity in the sybils, with that peculiarity of length in neck and limb, and exaggerated size in the extremities, which characterize the later Pollaiuoli and Botticelli. Study of the antique is clear in the half figure of Esther,[1] yet the coarse vigour of Andrea is visible in a large and common hand. The spaces are filled in with energetic firmness by one who knew the maxims of art as they were developed by Uccelli and Donatello, by one who might truly be called the rival of the former, the imitator in painting of the sculptural boldness of the latter, but whose fibre is coarser, and whose taste is more unselect and vulgar than theirs. Castagno, in fact, shows an impetuous spirit, in bold freedom of action and outline, in the dash with which the colours are used; — a knowledge of antique examples, in classic costume and head dresses. His tones are of the hue of brick in the flesh tints of males, of a more delicate yellowish tinge in the sybils, broadly modelled with a brush full of liquid medium.[2]

Such a talent as Andrea's was well calculated for the production of works requiring no selection. He was therefore well suited to perform a duty imposed on him in 1435, by the Florentine government; and the fallen leaders of the Peruzzi and Albizzi were no doubt pictured by him, with daring truth, on the walls of the Palazzo del Podesta.[3] His success is proved by the name which he then earned of Andreino degli Impiccati. Free of the guild of barber-surgeons and grocers, in 1444,[4] Andrea is known to have laboured in that year for S. M. del Fiore

[1] Originally in the centre of the wall, above the door.

[2] Vasari notices the same paintings twice: once, as at Legnaia in Villa Pandolfini. Vol. IV. p. 141; again, as in Casa Carducci Pandolfini at Florence, ibid. p. 150. The last statement is no doubt an error.

[3] Vasari's statement (Vol. IV. p. 150) that the paintings at the Palazzo del Podesta represented the traitors of the Pazzi conspiracy (1478) is devoid of foundation, because Andrea del Castagno died before that time. But on this point see postea.

[4] He is registered as "Andreas Bartholomei Simonis pictor populi S. M. del Fiore". See the original record in Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 3.

at Florence, and to have furnished the "opera" with a design of a deposition from the cross for one of the rounds of the cupola. In 1446, he painted some of the panels of the organ of the cathedral,[1] and in 1455 he executed the portrait of Niccolo di Tolentino.[2] This equestrian likeness was to imitate statuary and to represent the military chief in full dress, with the batoon of command, on a sarcophagus resting on brackets against the wall. It has been since transferred to canvass and hangs in the cathedral, where it challenges comparison with Uccelli's Hawkwood. It is a fine work for the period in which it was produced; being actively in motion, and true to nature; but it reveals in Andrea more vehemence than grandeur or dignity; and the forms of the horse lack the purity which characterizes that of Uccelli. The draperies are sculptural, and the laws of place are duly observed; the drawing is bold and broad, but the forms are heavy and somewhat coarse.[3]

Four years previous to this time Andrea del Castagno had been commissioned to execute certain frescos for the hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence;[4] and after he had finished a S. Andrew in the cemetery and a Last Supper in the refectory, he began a series of frescos in the choir of the church; painting in one compartment the angel and the Virgin annunciate, in a second and third, the presentation and death of the Virgin.

His rival in S. Maria Nuova was, according to Vasari, Domenico Veniziano, whose creations excited in Andrea such envy and invincible jealousy, that he waylaid the Venetian and murdered him at the corner of a street.[5] Vasari is so certain of Andrea's guilt, that his narrative is everywhere coloured by undisguised indignation. In a preamble he balances the virtue of those whom generous

[1] Ibid. p. 3.

[2] See the original commission for this work, without the name of the painter, in Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 562.

[3] An armed soldier stands at each corner of the sarcophagus.

[4] "La cappella majore (S. M. Nuova, è mezza di Andreino e mezza di Dominico Veneto, benchè alcune figure dinanzi siano per mano di Alex° Bal." (Baldovinetti). Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 13.

[5] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 149.

rivalry excites to deeds of greatness, with the vice of those in whom the success of a friend is but food for envy and malice.[1] He depicts Andrea as a resolute and vindictive character, flattering to gain the confidence of his enemy, unwavering in his purpose, and securely gaining his end by cunning and force, at the same time so brutally hasty in temper, that he pursues a boy with the intention of killing him, because he removed the ladder from his scaffolding in S. M. del Fiore.[2] Yet Vasari was clearly unable to specifiy the exact cause which led Castagno to murder Domenico; and the reader may seek in vain in his pages for an adequate motive for such an act.

The truth is that Andrea was not guilty of the crime imputed to him, and one or two records suffice to prove his innocence. In the first place, Andrea did not paint at S. Maria Nuova simultaneously with Domenico Veniziano, six years having already expired since Domenico completed his share in the adorning of the choir (1445), when Castagno began his frescos (1451); and in the second place Domenico Veniziano survived Andrea nearly four years.[3]

The paintings of Andrea and Domenico in S. Maria Nuova are not in existence. Domenico may thus have worked in oil colours, and Andrea may have executed one of his subjects with an oil medium.[4] There are no means of ascertaining the fact. Andrea's remains, however, are works in tempera, and tend to discredit rather than to corroborate the statement that he used oil in his colours. Domenico seems, as far as one can judge from the pictures left to us, to have used a medium tempered to a certain extent with oil. We may have occasion to discuss the question of the introduction of oils and varnishes

[1] Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 139.

[2] Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 145.

[3] Signor Gaetano Milanesi enters largely into this question, adducing all possible collateral proofs in support of the assertion that Domenico lived later than Andrea del Castagno, concluding with the quotation of Domenico's and Andrea's registry of death, which settles the matter. See Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p.p. 6. 7.

[4] The death of the Virgin was so painted, according to Vasari. (Vol. IV. p. 147).

in tempera in the life of Antonello da Messina. It is enough to note for the present that the efforts of the Florentines of the fifteenth century to substitute oil for other mediums were tentative and in a great measure unsuccessful; that a long time elapsed before tempera was abandoned altogether and that many pictures were executed partly in the old method and partly with oils. The perfected system of the Van Eycks was not discovered in Italy, but introduced from the Netherlands, and came but slowly into common use.

Though Andrea's works in the choir of S. Maria Nuova have disappeared, a fresco of the crucifixion, with attendant figures, in the neighbouring Loggia of the Hospital of the Oblate, may be assigned to him,[1] the figure of Christ being similar in character to those in the monastery of the Angeli and recalling those of the Peselli, but creating a better impression on the beholder, because the style is less coarse, the hands and feet less common. On the other hand, Castagno's remaining frescos in S. Croce, of the Baptist and S. Francis together in a niche, display in full his power of realizing in the minutest manner the wiry and muscular nude of a fasting solitary. His S. John is aged and more like S. Jerom than the Baptist. The face is that of a peasant with straggling hair looking up to heaven and beating his breast. The nude is drawn with a melancholy truth, and the figure rivals that of the Magdalen by Donatello, in its appearance of privation. One may observe the sinewy forms mapped out in the manner afterwards peculiar to Mantegna; the bones, muscles, veins and skin defined with astonishing precision. As usual, the laws of place are judiciously applied; but the draperies and colour have defects similar to those of previous examples, which it is therefore needless to repeat.[2]

[1] The building is annexed to S. Maria Nuova. The Virgin and Evangelist are at each side, the Magdalen at the foot of the cross. In the foreground at each side kneel two canonized Benedictines.

[2] One can still see that the figures were transferred from a

At S. Giuliano in Florence, Andrea is said to have painted a fresco.[1] The convent, much altered since Vasari's time, still contains a crucifixion in a lunette above the portal. Yet the style and execution are unlike those of Andrea. There are not four figures at the sides of the cross, as Albertini and Vasari state; and the work is that of a painter who lived in the sixteenth century.[2]

According to Vasari, one of the tabernacles on the road to L'Anchetta outside Florence was painted by Castagno.[3] But, from Porta S. Croce to L'Anchetta, not one of the numerous tabernacles contains paintings in his style. The only work of his time, indeed, is a Virgin and child dated 1408 and noticed amongst the works of the Gerini. One may conclude, either that Vasari is in error, or that the tabernacle painted by Castagno has perished. This fate indeed befel most of his works; including the frescos at S. Miniato which are recorded to have been finished in 1456.[4]

Amongst the pictures assigned to Andrea del Castagno in the public Galleries of Florence one is a bust portrait of a beardless man, in the Galleria Pitti.[5] The head is that of a powerful person, in the strength of manhood, with heavy lips and a volume of hair tufted on the forehead, beneath a barret. The drawing of the parts is bold and decisive and carried out with a breadth characteristic of

cartoon, pricked and pounced in the usual manner. The shadows and outlines are verde.

[1] The crucifixion with four figures was, according to Vasari and Albertini, above the portal. (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 142. Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 12.)

[2] Yet Rosini engraves the piece as by Castagno (Plate XLI.), and the annotators of Vasari follow his opinion. (Vol. IV. note 2 to p. 143.) The subject of the present painting in the lunette of the portal of S. Giuliano is the Redeemer crucified, the Magdalen at the foot, S.S. Julian and John Evangelist at the sides, of the cross.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 149.

[4] Vide Cenni di S. Miniato, p. 161. The works of Andrea which are no longer visible may be enumerated: a figure of S. Andrew in the cappella di Luca at S. Trinita (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 141); a standard for processions in the Company dell' Evangelista at Florence (ib. p. 142); scenes from the life of S. Julian, in the chapel of that name; S. Jerom and a Trinity, in the chapel of S. Girolamo; a Lazarus, Martha, and the Magdalen, in the chapel of Orlando de' Medici, at the Servi of Florence (ib. p.p. 142—3); a flagellation in the cloister of S. Croce (ib. p. 143); a nude of charity in La Scarperia in Mugello (ib. p. 150); a picture in S. Miniato fra le Torri (ib. p. 148, Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 14), executed in 1456, according to an inscription on the picture itself copied by Baldinucci, Opere. ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 335.

[5] Pitti Gallery No. 372.

the master. The portrait has indeed Andrea's low keys of tone and is painted with great care and fusion on a general flesh ground of verde; and the forms are heavy as in most of his productions. Though but a head, the picture reveals characteristic traits of Castagno, and leads the critic by a natural sequence to the contemplation of a Virgin and child between SS. Cosmo and Damian in adoration, and the standing figures of S.S. John the Baptist, Mary Magdalen, Francis and Catherine of Alexandria, an altarpiece originally in S. Ambruogio and now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[1] This piece which has been attributed to more than one painter is now with sufficient cause catalogued under the name of Botticelli. Yet in some of the figures, and especially in that of S. Catherine, one may notice some of that heaviness and coarseness in the rendering of form which is a peculiarity in the portrait at the Pitti. The painter evidently copied a coarse and rustic model having large hands and feet. The S. Cosmo, kneeling to the left, is also of common type, and the draperies are in fair style; but, in this respect, Castagno had elsewhere attained to equal excellence.[2] The Magdalen standing in rear of S. Cosmo, — the S. Francis, — recal to mind similar figures by Domenico Veniziano, the latter being, at once, a somewhat nobler repetition of that by Castagno, and of a figure not unlike that of Domenico Veniziano in the altarpiece of S. Lucia at Florence. There is a clear resemblance of style, in fact, between Domenico Veniziano and Andrea del Castagno, as there is between the latter and Piero della Francesca who studied under Domenico. The name of Andrea may thus be put forward as a fair claimant for the authorship of the picture now under notice, the more so, as the colour is of his usual low and verde tinge, at least insofar as the damaged condition of the surface enables one to judge.[3] Besides this piece, three others in the Academy of Fine Arts at Florence are assigned to Andrea del Castagno. S. Jerom[4] in the desert, in one of them beats his breast with a stone in his hand, in front of a crucifix, in a landscape of

[1] No. 46 now under the name of Sandro Botticelli, of old assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio.

[2] See postea, the S. Jerom in the Academy of Arts at Florence. (No. 38.) Galerie des grands tableaux.

[3] Does not Vasari tell us that Andrea del Castagno was the best painter in Florence, and notice him as the master of one of the Pollaiuoli with whom Botticelli painted. (Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 139 and 151.)

[4] No. 38. Acad. of Arts. Galerie des grands tableaux.

which the trees are animated by birds. The coarse vigour of Andrea, or his school, is visible in the work whose tempera is raw and dull; but the draperies are more careful than in Castagno's frescos. The Magdalen,[1] and the Baptist[2] are two figures which may remind the critic of works of Filippino's decline.[3]

In the museum of Berlin, a Virgin with the dead Christ on her knees surrounded by saints and angels on Golgotha, reveals the style of Andrea del Castagno.[4] The figure which most truly displays his manner is a bony and sinewy S. Jerom, the nude of whose frame is mapped out after the manner conspicuous in the later Mantegna, — the expression of whose face is hard and stern. The grimace in the Virgin's face is not agreable. The thin bodied colour is yellowish in tone, the shadows of a yellowish brown through which the verde undertone appears. Another picture in the same gallery, representing S. Jerom, a small predella piece,[5] is of a similar character to the foregoing, but the tempera is more spare and the execution coarser. A second S. Jerom of the same class may be seen by the curious in the depot of the Berlin Gallery. A third, which is a repetition of no. 1139 at Berlin, may be seen in the Lombardi collection at Florence.

A small crucifixion in the Municipal Gallery at Prato[6] with the fainting Virgin, the Evangelist, the Magdalen, SS. Jerom and Francis, seems entitled to be classed amongst the works of Andrea del Castagno. The group of the Virgin raised by S. John is in the feeling of that in Angelico's fresco of the refectory of S. Marco at Florence; but the S. Jerom is peculiarly in Andrea's manner.

Andrea del Castagno died, probably of plague, on the nineteenth of August 1457, having lost his wife a few

[1] No. 37. Acad. of Arts. Galerie des grands tableaux.

[2] No. 39. ib.

[3] A S. Jerom (No. 44. id.) in the Academy of Arts is exactly in the character of N^os^. 37 and 39, yet is assigned to Fra Filippo. In the same Gallery No. 6, Galerie des anciens tableaux, a Magdalen at the foot of the cross, tempera on canvass is in the manner of Luca Signorelli yet catalogued under the name of Andrea del Castagno.

[4] No. 1055. To the Virgin's left is S. Jerom, to the right S. Augustine. In rear is the cross with an angel at each extremity of the horizontal limb. Distance a landscape.

[5] No. 1139. In the distance are episodes, S.S. Sebastian, Roch and Tobit netting the fish.

[6] No. VII. Prato Cat. under the head of "Scuola Fiorentina".

days before. He was buried in S. Maria de' Servi at Florence.[1]

Of Domenico Veniziano, hitherto so intimately and so unjustly connected with the imaginary misdeeds of Andrea del Castagno, no one knows the birth or education. Were chance to reveal that he was born in Venice, the question would still arise: Where was he taught, and by whom? Even now and with the materials that are at hand, one may assume that Domenico learnt design and painting in Tuscany. In Venice, where artists clung during the whole of the fourteenth century to the antiquated manner of the early ages, Domenico could not have laid the foundation of a style which, in its prime, bore the indelible impress of Florentine greatness. The rise of the fifteenth century created little change in Venice, and we shall have occasion to note that this state of things lasted till the time of Giovanni d'Allemagna, Gentile da Fabriano, and Antonello da Messina.

In the early part of the fifteenth century Cosmo de' Medici lived in exile at a distance from Florence. The time which he spent in Venice, the interval during which his sons journeyed from place to place in search of support towards the reestablishment of the family in Florence, may have amply sufficed to lead to an acquaintance between them and Domenico. It appears indeed, from the tenor of a letter addressed by the artist from Perugia to Piero de' Medici in April 1438,[2] that Domenico had long been connected with the fortunes of the Medici family, that he owed to Cosimo a debt of gratitude, and perhaps substantial favours, and that he was at that time sufficiently confident of his powers as an artist to request, that he might be allowed to paint for the head of the house an altarpiece; and to declare that, if that request were granted, "he hoped to do marvels." Domenico, at the same time, shows himself intimately acquainted with

[1] Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 2.

[2] April 1. Vide Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 136.

the names and means of Florentine artists at the date of his letter. He knew that Fra Filippo and Fra Giovanni (Angelico) were actively employed, and that the former was, at that very time, busy on the altarpiece of S. Spirito.

In a previous chapter, the state of Perugian art in the fourteenth century has been described. The creations of Perugian painters resembled those of all other artists of the neighbouring cities at that time. The rise of the fifteenth century did not witness any improvement. Not a single work exists to prove that Domenico could have studied there with fruit. When Giovanni Buonfigli began the series of frescos in the Palazzo del Comune at Perugia, which were commissioned of him in 1464, he displayed an art unlike that of the painters who preceded him either there or at Sienna. He executed them in a style akin to that of the Florentine school, and stamped in some measure in the mould of Domenico Veniziano and Piero della Francesca. If, indeed, one examines the short, stout, round headed figures, with aged and flattened features, peculiar to Buonfigli, he may perceive a distinct resemblance of character and of type, of arrangement and of drapery, with the works of the former and of Fra Filippo,[1] — in the nude, an imitation of the manner of Andrea del Castagno, the Peselli, and Piero della Francesca. The frescos of Buonfigli were to have been valued after their completion by Fra Filippo, Angelico and Domenico Veniziano. It is obvious therefore that Buonfigli was acquainted with the latter; it is probable that he had had lessons from him; and it is clear that his art was not a local but an imported one. The absence of all but a purely local art in Perugia, the intimate acquaintance of Domenico with Florentine painters and their works, the influence which he exercised on Buonfigli, prove that he must have studied in Florence, that his stay in Perugia

[1] Buonfigli imitates without improving on, or approaching the excellence of, Fra Filippo.

was of some duration. The date and tenor of his letter to Piero de' Medici are sufficient to warrant the assumption that he was born in the early part of the fifteenth century and that he was the cotemporary of Fra Filippo and Angelico. His surname of Veniziano may have arisen from the fact that he was of a Venetian family, a record, of 1439—40, describing him as "Maestro Domenicho di Bartolomeio da Venezia."[1] Vasari was aware that Domenico had resided in Perugia. He states that certain paintings which adorned a hall in the Casa Baglioni had caused his name to be heard even in Florence,[2] and that, being called thither, he completed numerous works. It is very likely that the appeal made to the Medici was not without effect, and that, through their influence, Domenico obtained a commission to paint the choir of S. Maria Nuova. The records of that hospital prove that he laboured there from 1439 till 1445; and they further reveal that his apprentice was Piero della Francesca, and his daily labourer Bicci di Lorenzo.[3] The frescos of the choir of S. Egidio in S. M. Nuova are no longer in existence, but Vasari is correct in saying that Domenico employed oil in the medium with which they were executed;[4] for the books of the hospital are full of items of payment for linseed oil furnished to Domenico during the period of his labours.[5] But it is clear that Domenico could not have learnt the Flemish system of oil painting from Antonello da Messina,[6] because there is no proof that Antonello should have visited North Italy so early, and because the

[1] See postea the text of this record.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 145.

[3] "M. Domenicho di Bartolomeio da Vinezia che dipigne la chapella maggiore di Santo Gidio dè dare a dì VII di Sett. f. 44, — et dè dare a dì XII di Sett. f. 2. 5. 15 posto Pietro di Benedetto dal Borgho a San Sepolchro sta collui." Record in Archivio dell' Arcispedale di S. Maria Nuova di Firenze, Quaderno di Cassa EE. 1439—40. f. 94, tergo, communicated by Gaetano Milanesi and published by Mr. Harzen in Archiv für die zeichnenden Künste. 8°. Leipzig, Rudolph Weigel. 1856. note to p. 232. For Bicci's assistance to Domenico see antea.

[4] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 147.

[5] Giornale Stor. degli Arch. Toscani. 1862. ub. sup. p. 4.

[6] Vasari asserts this in the life of Antonello. Vol. IV. p. 80.

system of the Van Eycks did not consist merely in the use of linseed oil as a vehicle to colours. The use of linseed oil in certain portions of pictures was not unknown, as we are told by Cennini, to the Florentines of the fourteenth century. Domenico seems to have extended this practise; and the solitary picture which we possess is clearly painted in a tempera composed of vehicles differing from the old ones. These modifications were tried at the same time by cotemporary painters, but were carried out with most success by Domenico's pupil Piero della Francesca, who, in 1466, accepted a commission to paint a church standard in oil,[1] and who succeeded admirably in that medium in the portraits of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino, which now adorn the Uffizi at Florence. How far the system of Piero della Francesca varied from that of the Van Eycks and Antonello must remain a matter for future study.

Rumohr is right in saying of Domenico's picture in S. Lucia de' Bardi at Florence that the head of S. Lucy is not unworthy of Angelico, whilst the other figures, the Virgin and child, S.S. John Baptist, Francis and Nicholas, display the mannerism of Andrea del Castagno. The figure of S. Lucy is indeed in some measure select in the spirit of Masolino and Angelico, or of Fra Filippo's youth. The attitude is noble, and the drapery participates at once of the simplicity of the Dominican or of Masolino, and of the research peculiar to Andrea del Castagno. The same remark, however, applies to the Virgin and child. Her hand simply supports the body of the naked standing Christ. He looks at the Baptist who points at him and seems to say „Ecce Agnus Dei." There is more maternal affection than purely religious feeling in the group of mother and child, but there is a pleasing inward repose in it. S. Nicolas in episcopals is a short, stout, yet weakly being, aged and not noble. But the painter falls into ex-

[1] For the company of the Nunziata at Arezzo. See the original commission in Giornale Stor. 1862. ub. sup. p. 9.

cess of commonplace in the figure and face of the Baptist whose lineaments, muscle, limbs, and extremities, are a mere realistic study of nature. The vulgarity in this figure is, however, of essential interest to the critic as it reveals the source from which Piero della Francesca obtained one of his most marked defects.[1] S. Dominick reminds one of the style of Andrea del Castagno.[2] Generally, the drawing is firm and clear, and the outlines have the precision which may be found in the works of Piero della Francesca, Verrocchio and Leonardo da Vinci. The general impression created by the colour of the picture is that of a light toned piece, of gay and well fused colour and fair impasto. The arched space in which the scene is laid is an advance upon the style of the works of Angelico, Masolino and Fra Filippo. The piece, as a whole, belongs to the class of those executed by these masters, and shows that Domenico was of the school which their creations display.[3]

Domenico spent his remaining days, it would seem, in Florence. In 1448 he painted two wedding chests for a wealthy person named Marco Parenti.[4] The only remaining monument of his skill is the fresco originally in a tabernacle on the Canto de' Carnesecchi, and now, transferred to canvass, in possession of Prince Pio at Florence.

The Virgin sits in a stone seat of considerable depth and drawn in false perspective. Her form, much larger than that of nature, is slender, natural, and fairly draped. The infant stands naked and in the act of benediction on her right knee. Her head is veiled, her neck in a low dress; and the step of the throne rests on a meadow decked with

[1] The drawing of the legs is coarse, and seems a prelude to that of the dropsical ones of Piero.

[2] As before remarked, see antea, Andrea del Castagno.

[3] The Virgin and child enthroned on a throne resting upon two hexagonal steps, is under a triple arcade between the Baptist and S. Francis on the left, S.S. Nicolas and Lucy on the right. A pentagonal screen of architecture lines the background. Trees show their leaves above the parapet. On the lower step of the throne are the words "Opus dominici de Venetiis, ho.. mater dei — miserere mei — datum est.

[4] Giornale Stor. 1862. ub. sup. p. 4. The price was 50 florins.

flowers. Above her, free in movement, the foreshortened figure of the Eternal looks down. Venerable and bearded in grey, he sheds rays from his mouth upon her head and seems to recommend her with both hands to the adoration of the faithful. Two heads of canonized monks originally at the Virgin's sides are likewise preserved, one aged and bearded, the other shaven and shorn.

Of the colour in this piece nothing remains to be said. The head of the beardless dominican, however, is but another development of forms, such as may be found in the saints of Angelico, about the crucifixion of the great refectory at S. Marco. The style is the same, but religious feeling and thought are less clearly marked than in the work of the friar. The head of the bearded monk is an imitation of a common nature.[1]

Domenico died at Florence on the fifteenth of May 1461, four years after Andrea del Castagno, who is supposed to have murdered him, and was buried in S. Pier' Gattolino.[2]

[1] The fresco is damaged, chiefly in the draperies and in parts of the heads.

[2] Vasari affirms that Domenico taking with him Piero della Francesca, painted in the sacristy of S. Maria di Loreto a part of the ceiling, but that, frightened by an outbreak of the plague, both artists fled and left their work unfinished. The date of the outbreak of the plague in the Marches is historically given as 1447. 1452. There are no traces of this fragment in S. Maria of Loreto. The eight sided space of the sacristy is now covered with frescos by Luca Signorelli. (Vide Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 19 and 145; and for the death of Domenico, Giornale Stor. 1862. ub. sup. p. 7.) Vasari is supposed, by Gaetano Milanesi, in the work just quoted, to have confounded Domenico Veniziano with one Domenico di Matteo, a Florentine painter who was really assassinated in the streets of his native city in 1448.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRA FILIPPO LIPPI.

The historians of Italian art may indulge in a justifiable exultation at having rescued one of their great painters from the stigma cast upon him by Vasari. It were to be desired that the character of Fra Filippo should be freed from the stain which rests upon it, as that of Andrea del Castagno has been cleared from the imputation of murder, which made his name for centuries a byword amongst artists. It is unfortunately not possible to give distinct proofs that Fra Filippo was not a monk of loose habits. Yet there is much in the history of his life, such as it lies before the student of this century, to cast doubts on the veracity of his accusers, and to mitigate the censure of the critic.

Filippo was the son of a butcher named Tommaso Lippi by Madonna Antonia.[1] Her death, shortly after 1412, — the date of this event, — his decease two years later, left Filippo an orphan in the hands of an aunt, whose poverty disabled her for the duties of a mother. In 1420 Filippo was registered in the community of the Carmine at Florence.[2] From that time till 1432, he remained an inmate of the monastery,[3] and probably studied painting in the neighbouring chapel of the Brancacci.[4] In 1430 he appears for the first time in the books of the Carmine

[1] This fact is ascertained from records kindly furnished by Dottore Gaetano Milanesi. According to Vasari, Filippo was born in the Contrada dell' Ardiglione by the Canto alla Cuculia in Florence and behind the convent of the Carmine. (Vol. IV. p. 114.)

[2] Records, furnished by Dottore G. Milanesi. ub. sup.

[3] Ibid.

[4] The doubts hitherto raised on

with the title of painter. In 1432, he left the monastery and ceased to be noticed in its records.[1] Hence the natural conclusion, that the works which Fra Filippo may have executed there, were completed between 1430—1432. We lament the disappearance of these early productions; in one of which, says Vasari, "the spirit of Masaccio seemed to have entered the body of Fra Filippo."[2] Such parts of the frescos of the Carmine cloister as have been rescued from whitewash can scarcely be said to display the characteristics of the friar.[3]

If indeed we attempt, in a rapid sketch, to resume the principal features of his style, we shall find that Fra Filippo's chief excellence was that which distinguished him as the greatest colourist, and the most complete master of the technical difficulties in art, of his time. He may not have stoically held to the severely grand maxims which signalize the genius of Masaccio; but he gave luxurious attraction to his works by a charm of colour, in which indeed he may claim to have been unique.[4] A full brush, handled with breadth, produced a deep impasto. A careful return to the parts fused them into a soft fulness, and left a bright clear tone behind. Yet Filippo was not free from the peculiarities of his age. In his effort to reproduce the reality, he did not aim at the rotundity of nature, but preferred the characteristic flatness usual in bas-relief. The want of massiveness so produced was, however, compensated by taste and feeling. His compositions were not without grandeur; and if he remained second to Masaccio in the perfect distribution and arrangement of a picture, he supplied his deficiencies by movement and

this point are settled now that we know that the frescos of Masaccio at the Brancacci were completed before, 1428.

[1] Records of Dottore Gaetano Milanesi, ub. sup.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 116. Fra Filippo's works at the Carmine were, a Pope conferring the rules to the Carmelites (terra verde) in the cloister, a S. John the Baptist in the church, a S. Martial on a pilaster near the organ.

[3] See antea in Masaccio.

[4] This is more particularly true as regards wall painting. And so, the Florentine school gives us, as before, a full sequence of progress in every branch of art.

exuberance, chiefly in the numerous pleasant episodes which give interest and animation to the scenes he depicted. His figures individually might be less dignified and grand than Masaccio's, but he threw an amount of life and gentle feeling into the heads and features, that, combined with beauty of colour, create a most pleasing impression. His style as a draughtsman was good. Master of nude form, though frequently generalizing the drawing of extremities, his pictures display less progress in the study of detail than those of Uccelli, Andrea del Castagno, Domenico Veniziano, or the Peselli; but, if inferior to them in this respect, he avoided the vulgarity of their realism. His draperies, particularly such as clothed female forms, were luxuriously adorned with ornaments in gilt relief, according to the fashion of the time, and to the example of Masolino.[1] He did not multiply realistic minuteness in landscape like his naturalist cotemporaries, but he preserved simplicity and due subordination. Fra Filippo's style in fact was a medium between that of the naturalists and that of Angelico, Masolino and Masaccio. Perspective owed little of its progress to him. He never ventured to foreshorten figures, and his architecture discloses little knowledge of the art which Uccelli brought to such comparative perfection. He supplied this want, however, to some extent, by atmosphere. At first he followed the architectural style of Angelico and Masolino. In the frescos of his later time one may observe somewhat heavier proportions. His partiality for luxurious ornamentation in pilasters, friezes and cornices, was, throughout his career, remarkable.

The productions of his early years can only be guessed at by due comparison with later and more certain works. Amongst the pictures which bear the impress of his style, but reveal at the same time a freshness and religious feeling reminiscent of Angelico and Masolino, is a nativity

[1] A peculiarity in Benozzo Gozzoli also, which Masaccio avoided or disdained.

in the Florence Academy of Arts. The meek intentness of the Virgin, kneeling in prayer before the recumbent Saviour, seems a natural emanation from one still saturated with the sentiment of the mystic school or of the cloister. The two angels hovering in attendance on the dove, whose rays fall on the newborn child, have the soft beauty of those depicted by Fra Giovanni. The short-necked infant and the bearded monk of the Camaldoles, whose trunk and head appear in the right-hand corner of the foreground, are in Fra Filippo's character. The light rosy key of clear tone which pervades the picture, the soft fusion of the tints remind the spectator again of Angelico and Masolino.[1] The picture has been assigned indeed to the latter, but is now more truly attributed to Fra Filippo. It is very probably the altarpiece which the Carmelite painted for the retreat of the wife of Cosmo de' Medici, of which Vasari speaks in the same sentence with certain small episodes given by Cosmo to Eugenius the Fourth (1431—39).[2] It may have been executed cotemporarily with another nativity now in the Academy of Arts, which in spite of much injury and abrasion also recalls the influence on Lippi of the manner of Angelico and Masolino.[3]

If we suppose that these pictures were completed by Fra Filippo when still an inmate of the Carmine, or immediately after his abandonment of the Carmelite cells, and if we assume that the first of them was painted for one of the Medici, we perceive that the connection of the

[1] This piece is numbered 26, Salle des petits tableaux, and was originally in the Camaldoles of Florence. Besides the figures described in the text, the youthful S. John may be seen on the right advancing to the front with a scroll and a reed cross. The hands of the Eternal issue from a rainbow in the sky. The distance is a landscape of rocks and trees. The principal figures are half the size of life.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 118.

[3] This picture (No. 12. Salle des petits tableaux) represents the Virgin adoring the infant on the ground, S.S. Joseph and Hilarion to the left, and in the same direction, but in distance, S. Jerom. On the right, behind a wall, is S. Magdalen in prayer in front of the hut. The distance is a landscape with shepherds and a glory of angels. According to Richa (Vol. X. p. 145) the S. Hilarion is a portrait of Robert Malatesti a monk of Annalena. This piece is men-

friar with Cosmo's family began at a much earlier date than Vasari believed.[1]

The story of Lippi's capture by the pirates of Barbary seems at all events to be a romance,[2] and there is no trace either of his stay in Ancona, the place where he is supposed to have been captured, or of his residence in Naples where he is said to have landed after his captivity. Nor is it true that his withdrawal from the convent in which he had been brought up involved his abandonment of the frock, or at least of some species of religious vow. We may note, on the contrary, that in all the pictures which bear his signature he calls himself "Frater Filippus." In a letter written by Domenico Veniziano to Piero de' Medici in 1438, he alludes to Lippi as Fra Filippo;[3] and in a note of his own to the same person dated August 13. 1439 the Fra clearly describes his condition when he says "I am one of the poorest friars of Florence.[4]" This note indeed is one of the most direct contradictions to the general tenor of Vasari's narrative respecting Fra Filippo that can be conceived. It paints the man, and gives such an insight into his struggles as to create a lively sympathy in his favour.

A year previous to the date of the letter, Domenico Veniziano describes, from the comparative distance of Perugia, the prosperity and fame of Fra Filippo and Angelico.

Fra Filippo, in August of the following year, laments that one of his pictures should not have produced the price which he anticipated. He tells how it has pleased

tioned by Albertini who calls the convent of Annalena by its old name of S. Vincenzio (Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 16) and by Vasari (Vol. IV. p. 120) who says that Annalena was a convent of nuns.

[1] Vasari states that Lippi became known to Cosmo de' Medici by the altarpiece which he delivered to S. Ambrogio of Florence: (Vol. IV. p. 117.) This picture was executed long after Fra Filippo and Cosmo were acquainted, as may be shown later.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 116.

[3] See antea and Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 136.

[4] Ibid. p. 141.

God to leave him, the poorest friar of Florence, in charge of six marriageable nieces who cannot live without his means. He therefore begs Piero de' Medici, then at Trebbio, in Mugello, to let him have wine and corn on account, that his nieces may not starve, when he goes away. He says complainingly further that Ser Antonio del Marchese has offered him a yearly salary of five florins, which, setting aside travelling expenses, would furnish him about the price of a pair of hose, and begs a few lines to that nobleman from Piero, possibly with a view to more liberal treatment and salary.[1]

This glance at a piece of real life contrasts, indeed, with Vasari's flowing description of the enjoyments of a loose and adventurous friar.[2] Is it possible that the monk who feeds, clothes, and attends to six marriageable nieces, and begs for corn and wine, should be the same whom Cosmo de' Medici locks up in his palace, as a modern manager locked up a celebrated dramatist indebted to him for a play; and who ties his sheets together that he may escape for days together to loose company and the enjoyment of sensual pleasures? Is it likely that the seducer of Lucretia Buti should, in 1452, have been chaplain, as we know he was, to the convent of nuns of S. Giovannino at Florence,[3] and that, in 1457, he should be rector of S. Quirico at Legnaia?[4] It is possible that Fra Filippo, though a churchman, may have erred. But the historian whose faith in the veracity of Vasari is justly shaken, will pause even before he admits that Filippino Lippi is the natural son of a Carmelite friar; and we prefer to believe that he was adopted, in the manner usual to the time. But, to return, if we resume the notice of such works as Fra Filippo may have executed in his earlier time, we may place next in order to the altar-pieces of the Academy of Arts at Florence, that of the

[1] See the letter in original in Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 141.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 118. 119.

[3] Communications from records in possession of Dottore G. Milanesi.

[4] Ibid.

Berlin Museum, whose signature "Frater Filippus" is a welcome confirmation of the patent originality of the picture.[1] Once in the Solly collection, its first destination is not known, but the delicate finish, the great fulness of its impasto, the gay and pleasing features which characterize it, lead one to class it as an advance upon the works previously quoted. The subject, as before, is the nativity, the Virgin kneeling in adoration before the infant lying on a bed of flowers, the youthful Baptist to the right, S. Bernard in prayer in a distance of hills, and the Eternal above, sending, as it were, the dove whose rays fall upon the frame of the Redeemer. In the same class are the two lunettes in the National gallery, representing the annunciation[2] and S. John the Baptist with six other saints,[3] both painted for Cosmo de' Medici, and long the ornament of his palace. These and the foregoing examples suffice to reveal the education which Fra Filippo received. He issued from the school of Masolino, Angelico, and Masaccio. Without being able to overtake the latter he followed a sure path of progress during a laborious and fruitful career, in which no weariness or carelessness, but a ceaseless activity and development are apparent to the last.

Domenico Veniziano alludes, in a letter already quoted, to an altarpiece which Fra Filippo had in hand in 1438. The donor of the picture, Gherardo di Bartolommeo Barbadori caused it to be placed in the chapel of his family at S. Spirito, before the expiration of the year in which Domenico wrote.[4] Somewhat grey from time, it depicts the Virgin erect on the first step of her throne, between angels and archangels, presenting the infant

[1] No. 69. Berlin Mus. Catal.

[2] No. 666. Nat. Gal. Catal.

[3] No. 667 ib. Both pieces were of old in the Riccardi (Medici) Palace. The first, purchased from the brothers Metzger, was presented to the Nat. Gal. by Sir C. L. Eastlake. The second was bought from Mr. A. Barker. No. 666 is marked with the crest of Cosmo, three feathers tied together in a ring.

[4] Richa, Chiese. Vol. IX. p. 33, notes the fact, misdating 1418, instead of 1438. See also Vas. Vol. IV. note to p. 119.

Saviour to the adoration of two kneeling churchmen.[1] It is one of the finest creations of Fra Filippo and proves to what height his talent had risen, at the comparatively early age of twenty six. A predella representing the annunciation, and three other scenes, once formed part of this picture and is now in the Florence Academy of Arts.[2]

Cotemporary with the Barbadori altarpiece, that which Fra Filippo executed for Carlo Marzuppini, claims attention.[3] The Virgin, in the centre of the picture, is crowned by the Redeemer, in presence of two kneeling patrons,[4] presented by four Bernardine friars, whilst six angels at the sides sound instruments or sing hymns of joy. One of the kneeling figures is that of Carlo Marzuppini, donor of the altarpiece to the cappella S. Bernardo in Monte Oliveto of Arezzo. He is said to have called Fra Filippo's attention at the time to the loose manner in which the hands were drawn; and there is no doubt that, if the altarpiece, which is now in the Gallery of the Lateran at Rome,[5] be carefully examined, one may admit that the hands are neglected in detail and sometimes of small proportions. Yet one fails to see the justice of Vasari's further remark, that Fra Filippo was led by this criticism to hide the extremities of his figures in drapery.[6] The anecdote, however, illustrates the critical tendency of the age; and it is not impossible that remarks similar to these should have contributed to diminish the means, and try the temper, of Fra Filippo in 1439. Be this as it may, the phase of neglect passed away, and in 1441, an important commission was offered and accepted. Lippi

[1] No. 234 Louvre. Some heads of monks are visible behind the parapet of the monumental throne.

[2] No. 42. Galerie des grands tableaux. The colour is somewhat injured, but the style and character prove that this is the predella of the Barbadori altarpiece.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 120.

[4] One to the left is aged, that to the right youthful.

[5] At the suppression of the convent of Monte Oliveto in 1785, the picture passed into the hands of the Lippi of Arezzo. It was then purchased (1841) by S^r. Ugo Baldi, who sold it to Carlo Baldeschi. The latter parted with it to Gregory XVI. who placed it in the Lateran Gallery. Some injury has been done by restoring.

[6] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 120.

painted an altarpiece for the nuns of S. Ambrogio. Damaged by repainting in most parts, it is now in the Academy of Arts,[1] and seems to have been one of the fine pictures of the master. The subject, similar to that of the altarpiece of Monte Oliveto, is a coronation of the Virgin amongst angels and adoring figures of saints, many of whom are Bernardine monks, and one, with the tonsure, to the right, is a half length portrait of Fra Filippo himself. An angel in front of him holds a scroll on which is written: "Is perfecit opus." We thus have a material proof that the painter still bore in 1441 the distinctive marks of a Carmelite friar.[2]

Some years later we find Fra Filippo receiving (May 16. 1447) forty lire for a Vision of S. Bernard adorning the space above the door of the Cancelleria in the Palazzo de' Signori at Florence,[3] a piece which now forms part of the Collection of the National Gallery, but which does not strike the spectator as attractively coloured or handled with the mastery remarkable in previous examples.[4]

All these pieces, and the number of commissions which Fra Filippo obtained from most of the great families and churches of Florence testify that his time was now actively employed, and that he was courted for his works in a pressing and continuous manner. We may suppose

[1] No. 41. Galerie des grands tableaux. Borghini noticing this picture in the sacristy of S. Ambruogio says, that it was signed at the base "Frater Filippus", and that on the ornamental frame were the words: "Ab hujus eccl. priore Francisco Maringhio an. MCCCCXLI facta, et a monialibus ornata fuit an. M. D. LXXXV." Riposo. 8°. Milan 1807. Vol. II. p. 108.

[2] A record discovered by Baldinucci informs us that the price paid for this altarpiece in 1447 was 1200 Florentine lire, enough, one should think, to satisfy the wants of a painter and any number of relatives. Baldinucci, Opere, ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 354. The record is given in full, yet one may doubt the accuracy of the ciphers forming the price.

[3] Ibid. same page.

[4] No. 248. Nat. Gallery. S. Bernard writes his homilies at a desk placed on a table formed of the solid rock. The Virgin, attended by angels appears before him. The panel is hexagonal and of a dull tone, very inferior to the work of 1441 at S. Ambruogio. Another piece in the Palazzo de' Signori noticed by Vasari (an annunciation, he says) and Albertini, has perished. (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 119.) Albertini, Memoriale. ub. sup. p. 15.

that when he received, in 1452, the appointment of chaplain to the convent of S. Giovannino at Florence, he owed this preferment to the all powerful influence of the Medici, and that Cosmo, "who always flattered him by caresses,"[1] did not neglect other and more substantial means of securing his good will. Cosmo, indeed, appears to have had some traits of character in common with Philip the Hardy of Burgundy. His patronage of art had a higher aim than the gratification of his own sense of the beautiful. The architects whom he employed not only raised edifices for his private use, but for religious communities whose influence in the state might serve his political views. He frequently made presents of pictures; and letters written by members of his family are extant to prove that, by such presents, he sought to captivate Alfonso of Arragon and the men about his court. One of these letters, written by Giovanni de' Medici to Messer Bartolommeo Serragli at Naples in June 1456, contains this interesting passage:

"I note what you write respecting the high esteem in which His Majesty (Alfonso of Arragon) holds the picture. This is pleasing to me, and if the Signor Conte *Deruano* (De Rohan?) wishes to have another, you can, on your return thither, take the drawing of it, and personally solicit in the matter; and if he is in no hurry, I think you may be able to have it, particularly as Fra Filippo is now settled at Prato."[2]

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 119.

[2] This most interesting letter hitherto unpublished is communicated by the friendly hand of Signor Jacopo Cavallucci of Florence and runs as follows:

Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici a Messer Bartolommeo Serragli a Napoli.

"Ho hauto una tua de' dì 29; et simile, prima, piu altre: in modo stimo haverle tutte che hai scritte. Et simile l' ho risposto due volte, et per la via l' ho mandate, et credo l' harai haute benchèvegho venghono tarde tanto, e che da me non resta lo scriverti et simile ti farò contrario. Intendo che la M[a] del Re è a buon termine et fuori di pericolo, ch' è m' è piacere singulare. Credo pure li sarebbe giovato assai se Mons. di Modena l' havesse potuto vedere et curare; et marravigliomi assai chome chi ama la sua Maesta non ordina che lui intendo tutto: pure si vuol presumere che a qualche buon fine si faccia. Idio provegha alla sua salute. Vegho quanto scrive la M[ta] havere stimata la tavola che m' è grato: et s' el Signor Conte

Bartolommeo Serragli seems to have found a willing ear for the suggestions of this letter, and Giovanni de' Medici, accordingly, ordered the drawing of Fra Filippo who forwarded it to him in a note of the 20. July 1457.[1] This note and the correspondence which follows give a perfect picture of the condition in which Fra Filippo usually found himself. But before we can deal with the matters which they contain we must take a retrospective glance at some facts which may help to elucidate the career of our artist.

Fra Filippo had relatives in Prato,[2] a small town within twenty miles of Florence, and he had had occasion to captivate by his works the superintendent of the cathedral, Geminiano Inghirami, for whom he had executed a transit of S. Bernard which is still preserved in the Duomo. Inghirami caressed the laudable ambition of adorning the choir or apsis of the edifice under his charge with paintings by a celebrated and talented master. The plan for this embellishment had been proposed as early as 1430 by Inghirami's predecessor, Niccolo Milanesi,[3] but had never been carried out. Inghirami suggested that Fra Filippo should be appointed to the duty of painting the frescos of the choir,[4] and we find that this suggestion had been agreed to, the painter having fixed his abode in Prato as early as June 1456.

We have seen him in Florence in 1439, complaining of poverty. In spite of his appointment to a chaplaincy

deruano ne vuole un' altra tornando tu in qua puoi pigliare il disegno et esserne sollecitatore, et se lui non hara pressa, credo la potra havere massime hora che Fra Filippo è ridutto a Prato. Penso che, poi scrivesti, la M^ta^ del Re sara gita a tal termine, che arai fatto il bisogno intorno a tuo spaccio, et credo ci sarai per S. Giovanni, et cosi l' aspettiamo che c' è buon essere. Del Conte Jacopo qua si dice lui havere hauti denari; credo sara suto poi scrivertì; ma pochi. Di nuovo niente ci è, se nonchè si dicie a Genova armano 6 navi grosse per mandare a Bonifazio per quella altre 6 tornano di Levante. Sentiremo alla giornata che seguira

Ne altro, X^to^ ti conservi.
In Firenze a dì X di Giugno 1456.
Tuo."

[1] Published in Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 175.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 121.

[3] Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi in Prato by C. F. B. (Canonico F. Baldanzi.) 8°. Prato 1835. p. 12.

[4] Ibid. same page.

in 1452, he seems to have been still in difficulties. A passage in the diaries of Neri di Bicci, under the date of 1454, refers to a deposit of gold leaf made by Fra Filippo at Neri's;[1] and, knowing, as we do, the usual distress of the Fra, the deposit betrays a wish to guard a valuable piece of artistic property from the grasp of urgent creditors.[2] The wants of the friar and the pursuit which he had to endure are clearly illustrated by the correspondence of which a part has already been quoted. On receiving from Giovanni de' Medici the order for a picture, he left the works of Prato, unwillingly, it is clear, and only after much pressing, and doubtless under tremor lest disobedience should lead him to incur the displeasure of a powerful patron. Having reached his shop at Florence in July 1457, he wrote from thence to Giov. de' Medici a letter inclosing a pen-sketch of a Virgin adorning the infant Saviour between two kneeling saints, one aged, the other youthful, intended to represent S. Michael. In the letter he says: "he has done what his patron imposes upon him in the matter of the tavola. He describes the S. Michael as so far advanced that it only awaits the ornaments of gold and silver to its armour, respecting which gold, he adds, he has been to one Bartholommeo Martello who informs him that he must arrange for it with Ser Francesco, and who reproaches him with the wrongs he had inflicted on his patron. Fra Filippo admits this wrong, humbly declares himself the slave of his protector, acknowledges an advance of fourteen florins, and asks for more, because the picture has much adornment, and three days are past since he has been able to do anything. Finally he hopes that a hundred

[1] Baldinucci, Opere. ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 354 quotes this passage.

[2] Neri adds in another entry of the same diary, that he had returned 30 pieces of the same gold to Fra Filippo; "who said he intended to apply it to a picture of S. Jerom executed for the Signore Gismondo on commission from Agnolo della Istufa." Neri's records, in com. to Vasari's life of Lorenzo de Bicci. Vol. II. p. 255. This Signor Gismondo may well be Sigismund Malatesta.

florins will not be considered too much for the picture which he promises to deliver on the 20th of August.[1] He concludes by expressing a wish to take a speedy departure."

The anxiety of Fra Filippo is clear in this letter. He wants money and for a good reason, as appears immediately after. Ser Francesco Catansanto, who seems to have been the agent of the Medici, writes ten days later to say that he has been in Fra Filippo's shop to "make him work," and that just as he was leaving, a creditor caused a seizure to be made, the result being a sale, and the retention of some things for rent. It is no wonder under these circumstances that Fra Filippo should have been anxious to leave Florence. The year had not expired when he became "Rettore Commendatario" of the church of S. Quirico at Legnaia.[2]

In 1458, Filippo's picture seems to have reached Naples, Giovanni de' Medici writing from Florence in May to Bartolommeo Serragli, to say: "I received your letters in the last days, from which I understand that you have presented the picture to the King's Majesty, and that it pleased him fairly; and I learnt also the mistake of Fra Filippo, at which we had some merriment."[3] It may be supposed by some, that the mistake of Fra Filippo has reference to the seduction of Lucretia Buti, which is said to have taken place at Prato about this time, but surely such an incident as that of the abduction of a nun would have been neither a subject of comment at Naples nor a theme for merriment at Florence.

As regards the pictures of Fra Filippo, thus despatched by the Medici to Naples, no trace of them is now discoverable. The legend of Vasari as to the friar's landing and painting for Alfonso finds a natural explanation in the incidents that have just been described. No picture

[1] Vide the original letter in Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. I. p.p. 175—6.

[2] See antea.

[3] See the original in Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 180.

by Fra Filippo exists at Naples unless one should assign to him a panel in the Museum representing the Virgin Mary seated, whilst two angels present to her the infant Christ, a picture akin in composition to one in the Uffizi[1] and like others of the same subject in the church of the Hospital degli Innocenti at Florence[2] and in the National gallery.[3] The style of the latter, and that of the Naples piece are similar, and reveal the hand of a painter combining the manner of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi.[4]

The transit of S. Bernard executed for Geminiano Inghirami of Prato is a fine and well preserved example of Fra Filippo's style, but less powerful than the earlier and much injured coronation of the Virgin in the Academy of Arts at Florence, or the altarpiece of S. Spirito. Still the groups are well put together, the figures animated and in good action.

The saint lies on a richly ornamented couch, bewailed by monks in clumps at the head and foot and by a solitary friar in the centre of the further side. In the middle of the foreground, a cripple stretches out his hand towards the bed, to be cured of his ailment, and at the sides kneel a monk (left) and Inghirami in prelate's robes (right). Numerous small episodes enliven the distance of hills; and in the air, the Saviour, in a glory of angels, looks down, whilst the Eternal above him gives a benediction.

About the time when this work was finished and before the frescos of the choir were begun, Fra Filippo was employed, if Vasari's story be credible, in painting a picture for the high altar of the convent chapel of S. Margherita of Prato.[5] Whilst he was busy on this piece he saw and fell in love with Lucretia Buti who had been sent there, either to be taken care of, or as a novice, by Francesco Buti, her father, a citizen of Florence. Having

[1] No. 18. First corridor, see postea.

[2] The picture is in a room contiguous to the sacristy.

[3] No. 589. Nat. Gal. Catal.

[4] Another picture in the Naples Museum which recals the manner of Fra Filippo is one assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio representing the annunciation between S.S. Andrew and John.

[5] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 121.

ascertained her name, and seeing that she was graceful and of pleasant mien, he obtained permission from the nuns to take her as a model for a figure of the Virgin. He could not resist the opportunity thus offered to him, and after some wooing, he induced Lucretia to sacrifice herself to him and took her home after a visit to the exhibition of the girdle. The sisters of S. Margherita did their utmost to recover Lucretia, but without avail; and the fruit of this illicit intercourse was Filippino Lippi, a painter of some fame after the death of Fra Filippo.

This story, as has been remarked, rests upon the sole testimony of Vasari, and, as such, requires corroboration. Contingent circumstances tend to create considerable doubts of Vasari's truth, and these facts may be stated in a few words. The Pitti gallery at Florence[1] is adorned with one of the finest Madonnas of Fra Filippo.

It is a circular picture representing the half length virgin seated in a chair with the infant Saviour, all but naked, on her knee. In her left hand she holds a pomegranate which the Saviour grasps with his right, whilst, looking up, he holds a few of the red grains in his left. In the distance to the left, S. Anna lies in bed; and the infant Virgin is in the arms of one of the nurses. At the bedside, a grand figure, nearer the spectator, seems by a gesture to announce the arrival of a female servant behind him with a basket on her head. To the right, two females, with presents, and one accompanied by a child, ascend the steps leading to the apartment. On a distant flight at the same side is the meeting of Joachim and Anna.

This group of the Virgin and child reminds one forcibly of those by Donatello or Desiderio da Settignano. The type of the Virgin's head, like most of those of Fra Filippo, is oval and modelled broadly in a low and flattened relief. The neck is, as usual, slender, whilst the child is healthy, robust, and short-necked, a peculiarity of extreme infancy. The drawing and the modelling of flesh remind us that the age was one in which the laws of bas-relief were followed in painting. The group of

[1] No. 338. Gal. Pitti.

mother and child, though noble and pleasing, is no longer conceived in the form of Angelico, or on the principles of the severely religious times. It is maternal, affectionate, but of earth, — not vulgar, but also not ideal. It represents the phase of art which Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael carried out more nobly and with more experience in their creations of the same kind. Fra Filippo is more real than they were; but he already inaugurates a new phase. Family joys, the friendly greetings and presents of such an occasion are celebrated in the episodes of the distance, which at the same time illustrate again, by their arrangement and the distribution of the spaces, the vigour with which the laws of bas-relief grouping were applied by Fra Filippo. The head of the Virgin is said, on what grounds, it is difficult now to say, to be a portrait of Lucretia Buti.

A nativity once in S. Margherita of Prato and now in the Louvre is assigned to Fra Filippo Lippi,[1] and described as that in which the friar painted the likeness of Lucretia.

The Virgin kneels on the left before the naked infant, whilst S. Joseph kneels in meditation apposite to her. Two angels in horizontal flight survey the scene, and the dove sends down rays to the Saviour. Lizards and a bird, crawl or perch amidst the stones of the ruin in which Christ has been ushered to the world, and the ox and ass peer out from the centre of the building, over which are remnants of rafters and thatch. In the distance to the left, three shepherds rest with their flocks.

The truth in a few words respecting this picture is, that it betrays the education, the character, and the technical style, not of Fra Filippo, but of a painter belonging to the naturalist class of Uccelli, Castagno, Baldovinetti and the Peselli. It is in fact a work such as Francesco Peselli or Pesellino might have produced, and which was,

[1] No. 233. An engraving of this piece is in the Ettruria Pittrice, and in the "Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi", by Monsr. Baldanzi ub. sup.

probably, painted by him under the influence of the Carmelite.

Fra Filippo, whose works are reminiscent of those created by Masolino and Angelico, lost some of his early timidity as he felt his power increase. From first to last however, even to the time when he executed the frescos of Spoleto, he maintained the same technical style, the same principle of colouring. The Louvre altarpiece is painted in a style different in every respect from his. It is of a hard and high impasto, of a dull yellowish tint in flesh. The composition is marked by features common to many artists of the time, — Fra Filippo included; but the picture may strike the spectator as more nearly akin in this respect to Baldovinetti's Nativity in the cloister of the SS. Annunziata at Florence;[1] and a close comparison of the two pieces will show that the resemblance may be traced further in a peculiar feeling which is common to the naturalists already mentioned. The composition is essentially one that might have been produced by Baldovinetti or the Peselli; and we shall see that the same verdict may be given as regards colour, drawing and action. There is a realism in the Louvre Nativity which precludes the exhibition of sentiment. The angel, partly foreshortened in the upper right corner of the picture, is as much in the character of that in the cloister of the S.S. Annunziata, as it is foreign to the character of Fra Filippo. The draperies, the heads, the realistic nude, the colour, the tempera, and consequently the technical method and execution, are as different from those of Fra Filippo as they are like to those of the Peselli and Baldovinetti. The Louvre Nativity may thus be classed with some certainty amongst the works of the Peselli.

Vasari tells how Pesellino imitated the manner of Fra Filippo,[2] and mentions in terms of just praise a predella added by the former to an altarpiece by the latter.[3] This pre-

[1] Dr. Waagen, a long time since, had assigned this picture to Baldovinetti. See Louvre Catal. (1849) where his opinion is contested.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 180.

[3] Ibid. Vol. IV. p.p. 182—3.

della is still in existence and reveals something of the technical style of the master, with more of the manner of Pesellino.

A predella representing the massacre of the Innocents, the adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the temple, is preserved in the municipal gallery of Prato[1] and described as belonging to the Louvre altarpiece. The compositions are good, and there is more of Fra Filippo's manner in them than in the Nativity. Still this is no reason for assigning to the Carmelite a picture like that of Paris, displaying none of his characteristic features.[2] As regards Lucretia Buti, it is clear that no arguments can rest on an uncertain painting. But be this as it may, no resemblance is apparent between the Virgin at the Pitti and that of the Louvre. The Gallery of Prato boasts of a genuine though not very favorable example of Lippi's style whose subject tends to confirm the suggestion of numerous critics, that it may have once belonged to the convent of S. Margherita of Prato.[3] The Virgin enthroned in an almond-shaped glory carried by angels, gives the girdle to S. Thomas. A canonized bishop and the archangel leading Tobit attend to the right; and to the left, stand S. Gregory and a fine figure of S. Margaret presenting to the Virgin a kneeling Franciscan nun. Tradition does not assign to the latter the name or the features of Lucretia Buti; but there is no doubt of the genuineness of the picture, although a coarse execution attributable to a pupil may be remarked in the figures of the bishop, the archangel and Tobit.[4]

These, however, are not the only pictures which prove the length of Fra Filippo's stay in Prato and the demand

[1] No. X.

[2] The Lombardi collection at Florence possesses two angels similar to those in the nativity of the Louvre. They are assigned to Fra Filippo. A much injured fragment of a predella representing the adoration of the Magi is in the same collection. The style is similar to that of predella No. X. in the municipal Gallery at Prato.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. note to p. 130. The same suggestion is made by the compilers of the Prato Gallery Catalogue, where this picture is numbered No. X.

[4] The execution is like that of a picture that shall be mentioned presently in possession of Signor

for his creations in that place. A family altarpiece, once in the Ceppo, and now in the municipal gallery[1] represents the Virgin and child on gold ground, between S.S. Stephen and John the Baptist, whilst in front to the left, Francesco di Marco recommends to the Virgin four of the poor members of the Ceppo, of which he was the founder. This is a piece in which much of Fra Filippo's feeling still remains, though it is discoloured by exposure "above a well in a court", says Vasari.[2]

But the finest altarpiece of Fra Filippo at Prato is the Nativity in the refectory of S. Domenico, where the infant lying on the ground is adored by the Virgin and S. Joseph, between SS. George and Dominick in a rocky landscape in which the shepherds play, whilst six magnificent angels sing canticles in the sky. The head of S. Dominick is turned upwards towards a miniature apparition of the infant Redeemer in a corner of the sky.[3] The colour of this fine altarpiece is low in consequence of long exposure to dust, but it was no doubt originally in Fra Filippo's best style; and the type of the Virgin is a fine one even amongst the master's best.[4]

When Fra Filippo undertook to paint the choir of the Pieve of Prato, he was asked to illustrate the lives of S. John the Baptist and S. Stephen, the first being the protector of the Florentine rule under which Prato was included, the second being the titular saint of the

Berti at Prato, attributed to F. Diamante, see postea.

[1] No. VIII. noted by Vasari (Vol. IV. p. 122).

[2] Ibid. same page. The grey under preparation has been laid bare. The figures are all but life size.

[3] In the distance also is the pent-house, the ox and the ass. The figures are $^2/_3$ds of life size. This picture is noticed by Vasari (Vol. IV. p. 122), who adds that the church of S. Domenico at Prato possessed two altarpieces by Fra Filippo.

[4] The manner of Fra Filippo or his school may likewise be discerned in a Presentation at the temple belonging to S. Spirito of Prato and assigned there to Botticelli. This church was formerly that of the convent de' Servi di Maria. The altarpiece comprises ten figures of almost life size. The Virgin in the centre presents the infant to Simeon between S. Bartholomew, two canonized bishops and another saint. Nearer the foreground at the sides are two brothers of the Servi. The picture is in a very bad state from repainting in oil and subsequent neglect.

church and the special patron of the town. When he began the work entrusted to him in the early part of 1456, he naturally gave his first attention to the story of S. John the Baptist which covers the lunette and lower courses of the right side of the choir.

The lunette is divided into two rooms, the furthest of which contains a majestic figure of S. Elizabeth on her couch. A servant at the bed side hands the infant to the nurses to be washed. The nearest presents to us Zacharias, seated in the middle of the space writing the name, whilst the infant, is held by a nurse in a stooping attitude at his knee, in presence of a standing figure on the right holding an ink-bottle.

In the next lower course is S. John's parting from his parents, with a distant episode in which he kneels near a bridge on a stream in a distance of rocks. A tree and the stream part this episode from the next portion of the same course, in which the Baptist appears in benediction approaching from the distance, and again, may be seen erect on a rock in the act of preaching to a multitude partly seated, partly standing.[1] The next course, beneath the foregoing, occupies not only the side, but part also of the end wall of the choir and represents, in a succession of divisions from left to right, the decapitation, the transfer of the head to the daughter of Herodias, and the dance. In this composition, the board is disposed in perspective on three sides of a rectangle with numerous guests behind it. Salomé, on the right, kneels as she presents the head to Herod who sits shrinking with Herodias at a special table, whilst two very handsome females in the foreground have fallen into each other's arms in a close embrace. To the left of the space, Salomé dances with great dexterity.[2]

One may note as particularly admirable, in the first fresco of the series, the arrangement of the persons and the distribution of the space. With great nature and truth in the action and attitudes, the figures, in their grand lines, form a composition on the pyramidal prin-

[1] The auditory is in part damaged by an eruption of salt on the wall.

[2] The colour is injured by restoring rendered necessary by damage incurred from damp. The fresco is indeed is a bad condition generally, and some figures of musicians almost obliterated.

ciple, — a principle carried out with equally good effect in the neighbouring episode of the imposition of the name. The female with the ink-bottle, Michaelangelesque in stature, motion and drapery, forms, as it were, the apex of a composition admirably distributed in reference to the retreating perspective of the apartment. But the group, which best illustrates a practise familiar at a later time to Fra Bartolommeo and Michael Angelo, is that of the parting of S. John. Elizabeth stoops to grasp her son for the last time to her bosom. Zacharias looks down upon them and rests himself on a pole, and the pyramid is completed by the servant in rear looking on. The resulting form of the combined contours might rouse the envy of a sculptor of bas-reliefs, so perfect is its arrangement. Divide the group as one will, the result is always a beautiful harmony of lines. In each figure, Lippi lavished the feeling proper to the development of its character, casting it in a large though slender mould and giving it grace of motion and of form.[1]

Less important but equally characteristic peculiarities of the master may be traced in the fresco of the Dance. Lippi's usual stamp of features, pinched types, angularly cut eyes, and flattened planes of flesh, may be noticed in the two females embracing each other. Their richly ornamented and embroidered costume, studded with precious stones, — their remarkable headdresses, illustrate a tendency usual in Lippi, and at the same time give an insight into the fashions of the period. Michael Angelo, whom Vasari[2] describes as an imitator and admirer of Lippi in many things, was clearly partial to the friar's mode of ornamenting female heads. The surprise of some of the guests at the tables, the musicians playing in the distance,[3] the springy activity in the dance of the daughter of Herodias[4] give a restless animation to the scene,

[1] One may note as a fine figure also that in thought on the right foreground of the sermon of S. John.

[2] Vol. IV. p. 126.

[3] In the distance to the left.

[4] The costumes, curling locks,

whose brilliancy is increased by the richness of the dresses, — the wealth apparent in the architecture and accessories of cup-boards crowned with vases. Yet the composition, in spite of its grandeur, is marked by a certain want of equilibrium and decorous simplicity.

The opposite side of the choir is devoted to the life of S. Stephen.

The birth in the lunette has been excellently described by Monsignor Baldanzi as follows:[1] "Inside a room the mother reposes in a dignified attitude on her couch. Between her and the spectator stands a dame whose ample draperies and dignified mien reveal an elevated condition. To the left, by the chief entrance, a youthful female carries presents in a basket on her head. At the foot of the opposite side of the bed is a maid servant. In the foreground is a cradle for the newborn child. But the moment is that when a phantom with large black wings and feet like claws has removed the child from its bed, and holding it in the left hand substitutes with the right another infant. The suspicious motion of the figure suggests a fraudulent exchange. A nurse sleeps with her head on the end of the cradle, and a boy who sees the wonder is too much afraid to cry out." The next fresco shows the spectator the recovery of the child, abandoned by the demon, but saved by a deer. In the next lower course, S. Stephen goes through the rite of ordination. He kneels and embraces the hand of the bishop. A fine figure in front to the left holds the crozier before a group of spectators. More to the right, S. Stephen is embraced by the owner of a house who seems about to lead him into an apartment, where a madman lies bound and surrounded by devils. Finally, to the right, S. Stephen disputes in the synagogue. In the third course the death of S. Stephen is represented. The saint lies in state in the centre of a church, bewailed by two females who sit in grief at his head and feet. On the left, the clergy perform the funeral service, on the right is a standing group of prelates and churchmen, prominent amongst whom is Carlo de' Medici, superintendent of the Prato cathedral after the death of Geminiano Inghirami

types and character recal the works of Sandro Botticelli.

[1] Pitture di Fra Filippo Lippi, &c. ub. sup. p.p. 31 and following.



THE DEATH OF S STEPHEN a fresco in the Cathedral of Prato by Fra Filippo Lippi.

in 1460. These groups stand on a platform, at the side of which to the left are the words:

"Frater Filippus, op."

In a corner to the right of this fresco Fra Filippo introduced the episode of the stoning of Stephen which has been greatly damaged by damp and by, perhaps, necessary restoring.[1]

The end wall of the choir, lighted by a window, is adorned with figures of S.S. Giovanni Gualberto and Albert. The glass of the window, representing the Virgin's gift of the girdle to S. Thomas, was executed in 1459 by Prete Lorenzo da Pelago,[2] from designs which seem to have been furnished by the Fra, so much do they remind one of his style. In the segments of the ceiling, the four evangelists and their symbols are depicted, each being seated on clouds under prismatic arches on a star-bespangled sky and in the midst of choirs of angels.

The frescos of this side are not better preserved than the rest, if we except that of the death of S. Stephen. The four evangelists of the ceiling are well placed in the spaces; and their colossal frames remind one much of those of Angelico. But their forms and action prove them to be of Fra Filippo's latest time.

One of the interruptions caused to this great work has already been noticed. Another occurred in 1461, when Fra Filippo proceeded to Perugia to value the frescos of Benedetto Buonfigli in the chapel of the Palazzo del Comune.[3] But these were not the only instances in which the friar neglected his duties at Prato. In November 1463,[4] the representatives of the town met for the purpose of resolving in what manner Fra Filippo could be forced to complete the work for which he had already received part payment;[5] and again, in April 1464, the four deputies elected to audit the painter's accounts reported

[1] A group much praised by Vasari (Vol. IV. p. 124).

[2] Pitture di Fra Filippo, by Monsignore Baldanzi. ub. sup. p. 20.

[3] Mariotti, Lettere Pittoriche. ub. sup. p. 132.

[4] November 21. Diurno della Comunita, in Baldanzi, ub. sup. p. 13.

[5] Ibid.

to the "Magistrato" that there was little chance of his completing the contract, unless Messer Carlo de' Medici should interfere and fix the absolute limit of time in which the work should be finished. These incidents have led at least one writer to insinuate[1] that the irregularities of the painter and the natural irritation of the authorities were caused by the consequences of the seduction of Lucretia Buti; but it is only necessary to remark that two facts are clear in the life of Fra Filippo. He was burdened with relatives, and hence, in spite of large earnings, in continual debt. These are fair reasons for charges of irregularity. It is hard indeed to conceive that the protection even of the Medici should have availed to protect Fra Filippo in Prato from the revenge of the nuns of S. Margherita, or of Francesco Buti, if he had been really guilty of the offence which is laid to his charge. It is obvious that either with or without the interference of Carlo de' Medici Fra Filippo was finally induced to complete the work of the choir, and thus, that, if justly accused, he must have braved the anger of his enemies. The last and finest fresco of the series in the Prato cathedral is clearly that which contains the portrait of Carlo de' Medici, and may have been executed after that prelate had been induced by the representations of the auditors to require of the painter the fulfilment of his obligations. It is the least injured of all those which adorn the walls of the choir, and is one in which the master exhibited in the fullest measure his feeling for colour, his power in the conception and design of majestic forms, his breadth of pictorial treatment. There is a conscious mastery of hand in the bold throw of the colossal figures on the wall, a life and power in the action and in the expression of the faces which reveal the exuberant nature of the artist. The wide nostrils, the tumid lips are depicted by one advanced in the study and reproduction of form. The groups are bound together with some art.

[1] Monsignor Baldanzi, in Pitture di Fra Filippo, ub. sup. p. 14.

But Fra Filippo is still inferior to Giotto and Masaccio in unity of distribution, the quality for which Ghirlandaio after him was grand. The figure of Carlo de' Medici is excellent, and foreshadows the great manner of the sixteenth century, so rich is its nature, so grand and distinguished its mien, so individual the portraiture. The draperies too are broad and admirable. "In the group of men who mourn over S. Stephen, Fra Filippo, says Vasari, painted his own likeness in the black dress of a prelate, with his disciple Fra Diamante."[1] The engravings of this group[2] generally point out the painter as standing at the extreme left rear of those who surround Carlo de' Medici in the fresco described by Vasari. This figure wears a violet skull cap, a black flowered silk mantle, and appears rather to be the chief of the chapter of Prato. Behind this personage whose right hand is open and raised, whilst his left grasps the end of the cloak thrown over his shoulder, is another, whose head is alone visible but whose cap is also of violet colour. This is usually declared to be a portrait of Fra Diamante. The costumes alone might suggest a doubt in this respect. But there are other reasons for believing that the portraits are not properly described. The so-called Lippi at Prato is not like the portrait in the altarpiece of S. Ambrogio, now in the Florence Academy of Arts. It is not like the bust on the monument erected to Fra Filippo's memory at Spoleto. There is one figure in the Prato fresco, however, which satisfies all these requirements. It is that of a man at the extreme right of the whole composition, showing to the spectator a full face, a head covered with a black skull cap, and a black dress. This figure is like one in the fresco of the burial of the Virgin at Spoleto and stands in the same attitude. Both resemble the bust on the painter's monument at Spoleto. Here therefore is the true portrait of Fra Filippo.[3]

The last days of our painter were spent at Spoleto,

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 125.

[2] See an engraving of it in Pitture di Fra Filippo, by Mons[r]. Baldanzi, ub. sup.

[3] As regards Fra Diamante we have no means of judging.

where he adorned the apsis of the cathedral with scenes from the life of the Virgin. The same spirit which dictated his arrangement of S. Stephen's death-bed in the Duomo of Prato was evinced by him in depicting the death of the Virgin in the hemicycle of the choir of Spoleto. The recumbent Mary on her couch, the apostles reciting the funeral service at her head, the groups of churchmen[1] and angels at her feet, the two mourning females between the couch and the spectator were arranged in the symmetrical form already carried out before. At Spoleto, however, the scene is laid in a platform of rocks, whose spurs extend to the distance, in which the Saviour, in an almond shaped glory, receives his mother as a youthful girl to his bosom. The skeleton outlines of this group[2] which was evidently painted over the distance, suggest some observations as to the technical methods which the artists of Fra Filippo's century, himself included, commonly employed in covering large wall surfaces. They merely applied on a large scale the system familiar to them in the execution of panels. Their mastery in both was due to their constant practice in mural and in panel painting. At a later period the use of oil and varnish mediums confined the activity of most painters to smaller spaces, imposed upon them new cares and minute rules, and accustomed them to leisure. It deprived them of experience in the handling of colours, moistened with fluids other than oil; and thus curtailed their chances of success when they were entrusted with wall spaces to adorn. Buon fresco, it is true, became more general, but its difficulties were greater than those of wall tempera. Still the Florentines were those who most excelled in the practise of buon fresco, because their previous experience had partly initiated them to its difficulties. The Venetians, who confined themselves more especially to oil,

[1] These are four in number. That which is most in front is one to which allusion has been made in foregoing remarks as to the portrait of Fra Filippo Lippi.

[2] The group is in fact obliterated, with the exception of the outlines.

were unable to develop their talent in a similar ratio, when they attempted fresco, and were *a fortiori* inferior to the Florentines.

At the sides of the picture of the Virgin's death in the choir of Spoleto, Fra Filippo depicted the annunciation and the nativity.[1] The first is in the spirit of Angelico's conception of the same subject, and his pictures are conjured up before the beholder's eyes, when he looks upon the angel presenting himself in the mouth of a portico in the form of those common to the Dominican and to Masolino at Castiglione di Olona,[2] — upon the Virgin's graceful surprise as she receives the message, — or upon the Eternal, whose rays fall upon her through a window that lights the gallery. A certain coquetry of surprise, however, brings one back to the reality and to Fra Filippo.[3]

The nativity recals to mind the composition of the Louvre altarpiece.[4] It has the same incidental accessories, but the style, being that of the friar, is different. The three angels, kneeling on the clouds, are in the spirit of the Dominican of Fiesole; and the shepherds are not realistic like those of Baldovinetti or of the Peselli.[5]

The semidome of the apsis is filled with a group of the Saviour crowning the Virgin on a throne, in a circular glory, and attendant groups of angels, sybils, and prophets. The sun which shines above the centre of the composition parts two large figures of angels who overlook the whole scene. Injured by damp, and impaired in value by the loss of entire groups and the repainting of the two

[1] The annunciation to the left, the nativity to the right.

[2] A small and pretty annunciation, in the style of Fra Filippo, is in the sacristy of the collegiate church of Castiglione di Olona.

[3] The distance is a garden whose trees are seen above the wall of the court. The wings of the announcing angel are gone as are likewise the blues of the Eternal's and Virgin's draperies.

[4] No. 233.

[5] The blues here also are all injured. The angels are finely preserved; but the green dress of the central one is repainted in the lights.

angels whose position has just been described, this fresco is overcharged with figures; yet the mode of placing the principal group, and of introducing the prophets and the sybils kneeling in the lowest course of the hierarchy, found imitation amongst the painters who soon after signalized their talents in Spoleto and its neighbourhood. Spagna repeated the coronation at S. Jacopo of Spoleto in 1521, and in company with Vincenzo da S. Gimignano, commonly called "Tamagni" copied the death of the Virgin in the frescos at S. Maria of Arone. Fra Filippo's stay at Spoleto may thus be said to have inaugurated an epoch in the Papal state, whilst, on the contrary, the later Umbrian school, which shows no trace of his influence, was impressed unmistakeably with the stamp of the inferior talent of Benozzo Gozzoli — a fact which can only be explained on the supposition that the inferior art of Benozzo was more within the reach of the Umbrians than the nobler style of the Carmelite.

After Spagna had moulded his manner in a measure upon that of Fra Filippo, Bernardino Campilius of Spoleto followed his example and displayed a mixture of the styles of Fra Filippo and Spagna. Later painters all followed the latter.

But, in conclusion, and before leaving the frescos of Lippi at Spoleto, one may say of the whole series that it was produced to a certain extent under unfavorable circumstances arising out of the inevitable curves of the spaces which form the apsis. Still, though the compositions might have been better, there are many groups in the coronation especially, which are well conceived, and many pretty incidents, amongst which those of angels handing flowers to each other may be numbered. Lippi's special charm of colour is not to be found in paintings whose state is more than usually bad. But some parts have been sufficiently preserved, to show that the execution was more hasty than usual. Fra Filippo, it must be remembered, did not finish these frescos; and Fra Diamante is known to have received two hundred ducats for his

share in completing them in 1470.[1] Means are not at hand for deciding the part taken by each of the artists individually, but it is evident on a consideration of the whole series that it is inferior to that of the Prato Duomo.

Fra Filippo died at Spoleto in 1469,[2] poisoned, according to Vasari, by the relatives of a lady who had already taken the place of Lucretia Buti in the affections of the amorous friar;[3] and (to celebrate his vices?) a monument was erected some years later by Filippino Lippi at the expense of Lorenzo de' Medici, in the cathedral of Spoleto. The epitaph of a monk supposed to have been guilty of infamous moral conduct was written by the witty Politian.

Before parting, however, with Fra Filippo a duty still remains to be performed. We must bring together a concise catalogue of such of his works as have not found a place in the narrative of his life. This catalogue may begin with notices of his pictures in Italian galleries:

Florence. Academy of Arts. Galerie des grands tableaux No. 40. Originally in S. Croce with a predella by Pesellino and therefore executed before 1457, the date of Pesellino's death. Subject, the Virgin and child, between S.S. Francis, Damian, Cosmo and Anthony of Padua. This work is not one of the best of the master.

No. 47 *and* 48. — *Salle des petits tableaux.* — Fragment representing the Virgin annunciate and S. Anthony, the angel and S. John the Baptist.[4]

Florence — Uffizi — First corridor. No. 18. Originally in the chapel of the Casa Medici. A very fine example. The Virgin, half life size, is seated on the left, and with joined hands, adores the infant Saviour, held up to her by two angels. This picture is composed on the pyramidal principle already described. The types are as choice as the

[1] Note 2 to Vas. Vol. IV. p. 128.

[2] The register of his death is in the books of the Carmine, where it seems to have been written after the erection of the tomb at Spoleto. See the original record in note to Vas. Vol. IV. p. 128.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 128—9.

[4] No. 44. Galerie des grands tableaux, in the same collection, representing a S. Jerom is not by Fra Filippo. It has the character of No. 38, a S. Jerom, No. 39, a S. John the Baptist, assigned to Andrea del Castagno (see antea). All three, however, are in the style of the decline of Filippino.

composition is fine, and there is much feeling in the expression of the Virgin. The colour is bright, soft, and clear.

An admirable drawing of this picture, by Fra Filippo himself, is in the Uffizi collection on coloured paper, with lights touched in white. The same composition, with the exception that the infant is presented to the Virgin by one angel, and that the Virgin is not in prayer, but in the act of taking the child is in the

Chiesa degli Innocenti (sacristy) at Florence.[1]

Florence. Casa Alessandri, Borgo degli Albizzi. Here is a round (originally a square) representing S. Lorenzo enthroned between S.S. Cosmo and Damian. In front to the left are two youths kneeling. In front to the right an aged person kneeling. The gold of this picture is new and the figures are more or less restored. Two full length saints, originally part of the picture in its old state are in the rooms of the same gallery, in a very bad state. The picture is that noted by Vasari[2] as painted by commission of Messer Alessandro degli Alessandri for his chapel at Vincigliati.

Florence. Gallery of Prince Strozzi. A picture by the master representing the annunciation, arranged in the style of Angelico, with the usual portico and a pretty landscape. A small but injured example.

Florence. S. Lorenzo. The Annunciation, noted by Vasari,[3] is one of the fine works of the master, but injured and necessarily restored. In the predella are three scenes from the life of the Virgin. This altarpiece, in the Cappella degli Operai, is mentioned by Albertini.[4] Another picture in the same church mentioned both by Vasari and Albertini is not now to be found.[5]

Rome. Doria gallery. Here is an annunciation with figures $^3/_4$ the life size, executed with some religious feeling,

[1] No. 1104, Première salle, at the Uffizi, representing S. Augustin in study, is certainly not by Fra Filippo but is either by Filippino or Botticelli. The subject is that of a picture mentioned by Vasari (Vol. IV. p. 126). Two other pictures at the Uffizi Gal. assigned to the school of Fra Filippo No. 15, — a Virgin and child and a bust picture of the same subject No. 1286, may be noticed later in Botticelli.

[2] Vol. IV. p. 126.

[3] Vol. IV. p. 120.

[4] Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 126.

[5] Ib. ib. Vasari notes an annunciation executed at Fiesole, which he praises highly (Vol. IV. p. 112), another executed for Jacopo Bellucci at S. Jacopo of Pistoia (Vol. IV. p. 125), and mentioned by Tolomei as in Casa Braciolini at Pistoia (Guida p. 17), and since sold. Another in the convent of the Murate (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 119) for which see text postea.

but somewhat slight in execution. The flesh tones are a little flat; and the work may have been executed in Fra Filippo's atelier with the aid of pupils.

Turin — Academy of Fine Arts. No. 103, two bishops. No. 104, a bishop, S. Anthony Abbot, all but life size, assigned to Giovenone (part of a picture). These pieces are much injured, but are by Lippi, some of whose defects are prominent enough.

Munich Gallery. No. 572. Cab. under the name of Masolino, a life size annunciation in the spirit of Angelico, much injured.

Munich Gallery. No. 553. *Salles.* The annunciation is here again represented in the same feeling as the foregoing. The angel kneels before the Virgin, the Eternal sends down the dove of the Holy Ghost, and to the left a figure appears about to enter. This much damaged piece may be an early creation of Fra Filippo. It answers Richa's description of an altarpiece in the convent of the Murate at Florence.[1]

Munich Gallery. Cab. No. 577. Half length Virgin and child almost life size, a genuine work of the master.

Berlin Museum. No. 58. A half length of the Virgin and child in an arched niche, a picture of Fra Filippo which corresponds with Vasari's description of one at Florence in the "Magistrato degli Otto."[2]

Berlin Museum. No. 95. A Virgin of mercy, with numerous figures under her cloak, whose sides are held up by two angels. A genuine work of the master.

Berlin Museum. No. 1131. A mutilated piece of a picture representing S. Francis handing a book to a kneeling nun, with four kneeling companions (nuns) on one side, and five more on the other. A picture of feeble execution.

Berlin Museum. No. 94. Meeting of the youthful Christ and S. John, feeble landscape picture, perhaps produced in the school.[3]

London. National Gallery. No. 589. The Virgin Mary is seated, and an angel presents the infant Christ to her. This fine picture, whose composition is akin to that of the Uffizi (No. 18.) and to that in the Chiesa degli Innocenti at Flor-

[1] Richa, Chiese, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 109.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 125—6.

[3] No. 72 of this Gallery, a coronation of the Virgin with the usual choirs of angels and saints, is not by Fra Filippo. It displays the style and manner, the colour and tempera of a follower of Botticelli and Filippino. It is of the class usually called Cosimo Rosselli in galleries.

ence, is drawn and coloured differently from those of Fra Filippo. Its style shows it to be by one who issued from the school of the Carmelite, and who wavers between the manner of Filippino and that of Botticelli.

London. National Gallery. No. 586. This altarpiece, lately in the Ugo Baldi Collection, was there, erroneously, asserted to be by Fra Filippo and once in S. Spirito of Florence (a fact asserted also by the annotators of Vasari[1]). It may have been originally in S. Spirito, but it is not by Fra Filippo and is therefore not the Barbadori altarpiece. It bears the stamp of the school of Fra Filippo with a mixture of characteristic features peculiar to the manner of Benozzo Gozzoli. We shall revert to this work when treating of certain subordinate painters who acted as assistants to divers masters.

London. Mr. Barker's Collection. Circular picture, representing the Adoration of the Kings. The Virgin, to the right, is seated in front of a pent-house on the top of which a peacock suns itself. One of the kings kisses the infant's foot and the procession extends into the distance, where various incidents are depicted.[2] The composition is exceedingly rich and varied, and reveals in the artist a great proficiency in rendering nude. The manner is quite that of Fra Filippo, whilst the searching manner in which flesh parts are studied, reminds one of the efforts of Pesellino when he made an approach to Fra Filippo's manner, supposing always to be true the statement, that Pesellino's works might at times be taken for the friar's. Further we find here a luxurious use of episodes which might inspire such a painter as Benozzo Gozzoli.

Lord Ward's Collection. Dudley House. Here is a Virgin adoring the child, probably by a pupil of Masolino. Indeed, the work is assigned at Dudley House to the latter.

Oxford Gallery. A pilgrimage of the Virgin to the temple of Veii is much in Fra Filippo's manner, but bears marks also of his school.

The following works in the hands of English collectors may be noticed because they are catalogued under Fra Filippo's name. They are, however, only Florentine of the period, akin more or less to the productions of the Carmelite, of Benozzo Gozzoli, and Botticelli.

Mr. Maitland. Originally in the Ottley Collection, and No. 43.

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 119. Note 4.

[2] This picture seems the same which Dr. Waagen (Treasures. Vol. III. p. 3) notices in the collection of Mr. Maitland, and omits in the collection of Mr. Barker.

at Manchester Exhib. S.S. Peter and John healing the lame.

Sir John Boileau. No. 44. *Manchester.* Story of Jupiter and Calisto.

Liverpool Institution. Manchester. No. 45—46. Predellas with scenes from the legend of S. Sebastian.

Mr. J. W. Brett. No. 47. *Manchester.* Virgin, child and angels.

Rosini engraves as a work of Fra Filippo a picture in the gallery of Pisa representing the Virgin and child between two angels and four saints (life size) with the bust of a female in foreground. This is a creation due to a painter of the close of the fifteenth and rise of the sixteenth century, of whom a few words may be said at a later time. Vasari says that pictures by Fra Filippo were preserved at Padua,[1] and the Anonimo confirms this, describing a fresco of the coronation of the Virgin, on the first pilaster to the left of the portal in S. Antonio of Padua, and frescos in the cappella del Podesta.[2] Were these statements of the Anonimo confirmed, it would appear that the Fra laboured in Padua. But the absence of the frescos in question, and indeed, of every trace of the friar's presence leaves the matter uncertain.

A number of productions in existence at Vasari's time or noticed by earlier and later writers, are lost to us. Of these a short list may be made as follows: Florence, Carmine; a S. John Baptist and a S. Martial.[3] Convent of the Murate, altarpiece representing scenes from the lives of S.S. Benedict and Bernard.[4] S. Apostolo, Virgin and Saints.[5] Casa Lodovico Capponi, Virgin and child.[6] Guardaroba del Duca Cosimo — S. Jerom in prayer.[7] Fiesole, S. M. Primerana, Annunciation.[8] S. M. Nuova, two altarpieces.[9] S. Trinita, an altarpiece.[10] S. M. de' Candeli, Annunciation.[11] S. Croce, Cappella de' Pazzi.[12] Perugia, S. Domenico Vecchio, Virgin between S.S. Peter, Paul, Louis and Anthony Abbot.[13] In S. Domenico now, are four figures of S.S. Peter, Paul, Peter Martyr and Catherine in two panels, further a panel representing the Virgin and

[1] Vol. IV. p.p. 120—1.
[2] Anonimo ed. Morelli, ub. sup. p.p. 5 and 28.
[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 116.
[4] Ibid. p. 119.
[5] Ibid. p. 120.
[6] Ibid. p. 126.
[7] Ibid. p. 126.
[8] Ibid. p. 119.
[9] Albertini, Mem. p. 13.
[10] Ibid. p. 14.
[11] Richa, Chiese. Vol. II. p. 294.
[12] Ibid. Vol. I. p. 109.
[13] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 126.

child and four injured angels playing. These works, in the feeling of Fra Filippo, are by Benedetto Buonfigli.[1] A picture assigned by Orsini to Fra Filippo,[2] is by Fra Giovanni.[3] Rome, two small pictures.[4]

Fra Diamante, one of Fra Filippo's assistants and cotemporaries survived the friar and took charge of Filippino Lippi. He had been a novice in the Carmine of Florence, and spent his life apparently in the same connection with Lippi as Mariotto Albertinelli with Fra Bartolommeo. We have seen that he finished the frescos of Spoleto. It is on record also that he worked at Prato, and Vasari declares that he took part in the adornment of the cathedral choir and left numerous works behind in the Carmine.[5] It is of interest to note that early in 1463 (old style), Fra Diamante was ordered to Florence and confined there by order of his superior. Such an incident in the life of Fra Filippo might not have caused surprise to the reader. Is it possible that the anecdotes which relate to Fra Diamante should be told of his brother friar? If Fra Diamante were then an assistant to Fra Filippo, his forced absence in 1463 may have been the true cause of the delay incurred by the latter in finishing the frescos of the choir. In January 1463 (old style) the "comune" of Prato petitioned the Patriarch of Florence to set Fra Diamante at liberty, but we cannot tell whether this petition was granted. The friar afterwards joined Fra Filippo at Spoleto, as we have seen, and returned after finishing his work there to Prato, where (1470, May 24.) he completed a portrait with the arms of the Podesta, Cesare Petrucci, in the portico of the Palazzo de' Signori.[6] It is not possible to distinguish this painter's hand in the frescos of the choir of Prato or in those of Spoleto, nor is the fresco of the Palazzo preserved. We may assume, however, that the assistant had worked him-

[1] See postea.
[2] See Guida di Perugia.
[3] See antea.
[4] Vas. p. 121.
[5] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 127.
[6] See the facts and records in Gior. Stor. degli Archivi Tosc. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 248.

self into a style not unlike that of his master; and one picture, which hung of old in the cappella Dragomanni of the Carmine at Prato, and is now in possession of Signor Grissato Berti may have been produced by him. This piece represents a full length S. Jerom beating his breast with a stone, whilst, at his sides, half concealed by the rocks of the middle distance, stand S. John the Baptist and another saint.[1] This is a piece, of spare, flat, and light, though dull, colour, reproducing Filippo's manner in an inferior degree, and exhibiting the development of defects of which the germ only can be found in Lippi. The forms and draperies are feeble and rudely drawn, the best figure being that of S. Jerom. If the picture be a genuine production of Fra Diamante it shows that he possessed little but subordinate capacity. We note, however, at this time the frequency with which artists entitled to lead as chiefs of schools, employed assistants who attached themselves to any painter who consented to employ them, and who adopted for the time the manner of the painter in whose employ they remained. Under the influence of their superiors these wanderers sometimes produced pieces superior to their usual creations. Such an artist is Zenobio Macchiavelli, long assistant to Benozzo Gozzoli, whose works prove him to have studied in the shop of Fra Filippo, and whose career may be noticed later. Of Jacopo del Sellaio, who was, according to Vasari, one of the Fra's aids, no works are known. Some incidents of his life may be gathered from the commentators of the last edition of Vasari.[2] As for Botticelli and Pesellino they are men whose career deserves special attention.

[1] The first to the left prays; the second, to the right, holds a palm and a heart. [2] Note to Vol. IV. p. 128.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PESELLI.

We have traced the progress of innovation in the Florentine art of the fifteenth century through some of its most important phases. The peculiarities of Uccelli, Castagno and Domenico Veniziano have been noted as far as the natural difficulties of the subject would allow. We have watched the development of Fra Filippo's career, and illustrated the variety of his style as affected by the tendencies of his age; and we have sufficiently described the technical processes of his art, to show, that, whilst he perfected the old system of panel painting, he kept aloof from those who strove to supersede the old system by a new one. The poorness of the materials for a life of Domenico Veniziano forbids the historian to venture on the task of explaining the substance of the efforts made in the fifteenth century to alter the old systems of panel painting. But this task is only adjourned, and claims performance when the natural lapse of time brings us to the consideration of the works of the Peselli, Baldovinetti and the Pollaiuoli.

We shall presently attempt to clear the lives of the first of these painters from some obscurities, dwelling on the peculiar obstacles which impede the critic in assigning a series of remarkable productions to the one or to the other of them. But before proceeding to the performance of this duty, the complex of the works of both may be embraced in a general view for the purpose of laying down certain broad and general facts which follow from a critical analysis of them.

In the first place we discern that the technical mode of proceeding which these artists employed, partook at once of the nature of the old one familiar to the painters of the fourteenth and earlier centuries, and a new one, remarkable for the introduction of oils or varnishes as vehicles for colour. It was a method which naturally enough sacrificed some of the advantages of the old system without possessing those which were but gradually won from the application of the new, so that the panel pictures of Fra Filippo and others, executed, as we shall see, by Pesellino in the system of the Fra, are more pleasing to the eye than those of Peselli, Baldovinetti or even, as improved, of the Pollaiuoli.

It will further appear from a careful study of examples that the use of the new vehicles was at first visible more particularly in draperies, accessories and landscape, the difficulties attending the extension of them to flesh parts, being at first almost insurmountable; because the imperfect nature of the method and of the substances used did not afford the same amount of time or of ease for stippling and fusing the parts as were to be found in tempera, and because the system of glazing with transparent or semitransparent colour which came into use subsequently was not as yet thought of. The first innovators were therefore obliged, on account of the imperfect means at their command, to prepare and to apply for flesh parts a tone of the exact tinge which they required, and which was to remain afterwards comparatively unaltered. This tone, impregnated with a medium, hard to manipulate because of its viscous texture, was laid on at one throw, and when dry, was covered in the necessary parts with darker ones of a liquid and transparent nature, after the manner practised in tempera; hence a raised surface, betraying the fatigue of manipulation. The same cause which created a high surface in flesh parts naturally worked with still greater force in draperies, in landscapes, and other accessorial parts, where the superposed tones, instead of being liquid, were laid on, especially in shadows, with impasto. We

shall thus find in the works that shall be noticed, flesh tints of a hard, horny, yet translucid substance evidently so tough that they could not be brought perfectly to cover the parts within the outlines, and therefore allowing the preparatory coloured sketch to be seen; and the general result will appear to be the production in flesh parts of an equal yellowish colour of a low key, frequently lacking light and transparence, and unrelieved by sufficient rounding because of the difficulty incurred in the attempt to model the parts.

The imperfection visible in the flesh was equally apparent in the hair, to produce which, the painter, anxious for the preservation of a necessary lightness in order that he might give the head rotundity and relief, used either the white or lightly tinted ground of the panel as a local tone over which he minutely drew a succession of lines strengthened in the darker parts by deeper and more marked ones engraved in the surface. Landscapes betrayed the imperfection of the system in a slighter degree, as they required less light. The sky was frequently painted in tempera, but when executed in the newer system, exhibited the same defects as the flesh. Draperies, always of lower tones than the flesh, were coloured in strong primaries, as much for the purpose of giving light by contrast to the nude parts as for any other reason; and they show the imperfection of the system less than others. They were painted at once of half body with high surface shadows and often with high surface lights.

The peculiar technical process of the Peselli being thus generally defined, we may now pass to the discussion of the facts connected with their lives, and to a more precise description of the works which they produced.

Amongst the painters whom the generous Cosmo de' Medici protected, Giuliano d'Arrigo di Giuocolo Giuochi, commonly known as Pesello,[1] is well worthy of arresting the attention of history.

[1] Giuliano's return to the income tax for 1427 published in Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani. 1862. p. 31, contains as an

Born at Florence,[1] in 1367, before Masolino or Fra Giovanni, before Brunelleschi, and earlier than any of the naturalists he was the cotemporary of Agnolo Gaddi, with whom he was adjoined in 1390 by the superintendents of S. M. del Fiore, for the purpose of designing a funeral monument to Pietro da Farnese.[2] He was a child of the fourteenth century. He might have witnessed the death of Taddeo Gaddi, have heard the praises of Giovanni da Milano or of Orcagna. He lived and laboured in the Giottesque period. On these grounds alone one might class him amongst the Giottesques. But the records in which his name has been preserved point to works of architecture and sculpture as well as to works of painting. He took the freedom of the grocer's company in 1385.[3] A marble figure of S. Jerom, carved in 1398 by Piero di Giovanni for the front of S. M. del Fiore, was valued by him, by the goldsmith Simone, and by the painter Neri d'Antonio.[4] The frieze of the tabernacle of the "arte di Calimala" in a pilaster of Orsanmichele was modelled by him in 1414—16.[5] He competed for the erection of the cupola of S. M. del Fiore in 1419, and presented a model of his scheme, which was not accepted,[6] but in 1420 the superintendents of the edifice recognized his talent as an architect by appointing him Brunelleschi's substitute in the office of "provveditore", in the event of that great artist's death, resignation or removal. He was thus retained for eventual service during several years; and made a model of the Catena of the cupola in 1424.[7] On the other hand he executed some commissions as a painter — furnishing the flags for the interior of S. Giovanni in 1414—16,[8]

item on the Dr. side, 14 flor. due to Cosimo de' Medici, being part of a sum advanced by that nobleman for the marriage of one of Giuliano's daugthers.

[1] Vide his own statement in income tax return of 1427. ub. sup.

[2] Baldinucci, Opere ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 198.

[3] June 27. See the record in Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 13.

[4] Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 14.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Cesare Guasti's Cupola di S. M. del Fiore illustrata. 8°. Flor. 1857. p.p. 25. 26—33.

[7] Ibid. p.p. 36. 72. See also Moreni. Vita di Brunellesco.

[8] Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 14.

and a standard for the arte di Calimala in 1424,[1] and finishing, in 1430, an annunciation which Giovanni Toscani had commenced on commission from Simone Buondelmonte.[2] His name, however, only appears on the register of the Florentine painter's guild in 1424. His return to the income tax for the year 1427 has been recently discovered; and this record is of importance as it rectifies much that Vasari relates respecting one whom he calls Francesco Peselli.[3] Giuliano lived in the Via di Borgo San Frediano, but his shop was in the Corso degli Adimari. His wife, Mona Bartolomea, had given him but two daughters, one of them having lost her husband, the painter Stefano previous to 1427, the other, Caterina, aged eleven at the time of the return. Giuliano's son-in-law left his widow in bad circumstances, and their son Francesco di Stefano, a child five years old in 1428,[4] remained in the family of his grandfather. When he grew up he became known as Pesellino, a painter of some fame. Vasari confounds the names, the relationship, the works of the two painters; and the confusion which he thus created is all but inextricable at the present day. The shop from which the pictures assigned to the Peselli were sent out into the world was that of Giuliano. The works known to have been executed by Giuliano are, however, not preserved, and history contains no source from which the student can derive any certainty as to the authorship of paintings executed either separately or jointly by him and his grandson. All that is certainly known amounts to this: that Francesco di Stefano remained in the family shop till the death of Giuliano in 1446[5] (new style), and that he carried on business in the same atelier till the 29th of June 1457, when he died at the early age of thirty five.[6] The kindly Giuliano who

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. p. 29.

[4] Thus Francesco di Stefano commonly called Pesellino was born in 1422, the year of Baldovinetti's birth.

[5] He was buried in the Carmine of Florence.

[6] He was buried in S. Felice in Piazza leaving behind his widow

thus brought up his grandson to his own profession can hardly have derived much benefit from Francesco's services till he reached the age of eighteen or twenty, so that Pesellino's active duties in the shop may date from the year 1442 or thereabouts. Giuliano, then celebrated his seventyfifth birth-day. It is therefore but fair to suppose that such works as were completed at that time were by the younger of the two artists under the direction of the older. This belief, suggested by the great age of Giuliano, might perhaps be confirmed, if it were possible to find the dates of the paintings assigned to the Peselli. These dates are not to be obtained; but it is remarkable of such works, as may now be noticed, that they bear the clear trace of innovations in art extensively carried out only about the middle of the fifteenth century under the auspices of Paolo Uccelli and Andrea del Castagno. They may be in a measure the creations of Giuliano. But in this case we note the uncommon phenomenon of an artist bred up when Giottesque maxims were in vogue, turning with apparent ease to the naturalism of later painters of an innovating class. Such a phenomenon may have appeared; but it would have been highly interesting to watch its development, and, in the absence of means to that end, we obviously remain deprived of a key for explaining Giuliano's career. We are in the dark as to his original teacher; and Vasari is wrong, when he gives that title to Andrea del Castagno.[1] But what is clearly untrue of Giuliano may be partially true of Francesco. As regards him in particular, Vasari is right when he says, he imitated Fra Filippo.[2] He is in the truth, if we accept as works of Francesco the predella of Lippi's altarpiece, now divided between the Florence Academy of Arts and the gallery of the Louvre. Vasari is confirmed in his judgment as to the

Monna Tarsia and children of tender age. For this and the previous note see register of deaths, in Giornale Stor. ub. sup. p. 15.

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 181. Born 1390, 23 years after Giuliano.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 180.

authorship of this piece by the older authority of Albertini,[1] whose memorial, addressed to the sculptor Baccio di Montelupo, neglects Giuliano altogether. In this, however, he is followed by Giovanni Santi, who mentions in the same line,

"Frate Filippo e Francesco Peselli,"[2]

Whatever may have been Giuliano's deserts in the advancement of painting, it is clear, from the expressions of cotemporary artist-writers that they were overshadowed by those of his grandson. The pictures which Vasari assigns to either, prove that he had justly criticized their style and execution; and his observation as to the truth and life apparent in the reproduction of animals may be echoed at the present day, as they were of old by Filarete,[3] who assigns to Giuliano a special mastery in representing quadrupeds. The first picture to which Vasari alludes, is an adoration of the Magi commissioned for the Palazzo de' Signori at Florence and long considered lost.[4] Lanzi's assertion[5] that it was preserved in the Uffizi, is correct, and the student may still see it in the first passage,[6] a long piece containing about thirty small figures of the Magi and their suite, knights on horseback in rich costumes of the time, servants, hawkers and dogs, in a landscape simulating a rich country. The right hand group of the Virgin and child, with the adoring king on his knees before her, and S. Joseph in front of the pent-house, displays some vulgarity, and is not improved by the dulness consequent on restoration.[7] The kings and their immediate retainers carrying presents, gesticulating or conversing, are followed on the extreme left by the knights and pages of the suite with all the cumbrous accompaniments of princes in the fifteenth century. We see in fact

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 182—3, and Albertini, Memoriale. ub. sup. p. 14.

[2] Vide Pungileoni's Elogio Stor. Gio. Santi, ub. sup. p. 73.

[3] MS. Trattato del Architettura, ub. sup.; but see also Vas. Vol. IV. note 3 to p. 183.

[4] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 181.

[5] Vol. I. Hist. ub. sup. p. 80.

[6] No. 27. First Corridor.

[7] This part is the most restored of all.

in this work of the Peselli the gradual alteration of a time-honoured composition from its typical, and, so to speak, sacred form into a modern scene, in which the scriptural nature of the subject merges into a sort of genre-picture where the country, the people, the manners and customs of the Florence of the period are represented. The landscape is remarkable also for its excessive study of details and for the minute drawing of trees whose leaves are defined and painted in with the relief colour peculiar to the first Florentine efforts for the introduction of oil vehicles in tempera pictures.

The general tone is darkened and altered by time and necessary restoring; and single heads in their primitive state are scarcely to be found; but the remains prove a most careful execution. The chief merit of the picture, however, is the portrait character of the figures, which are faithful imitations of nature, and exhibit the germ of the defects peculiar to the realists who, like Andrea del Castagno, substituted studied but unselect forms for the more dignified but less studied ones of older times. Hardly one of the figures in this adoration of the Magi but displays imperfect proportions, a heavy head, short waist, and long coarse legs. But this could scarcely be otherwise, unless a painter idealized; for to the usual imperfection of the human frame, the disadvantage of a peculiar dress was superadded. The animal world was better or more happily rendered by the Peselli, whose study of the horse or dog was clearly fortunate in its results.

We thus possess a picture corresponding to the idea of the Peselli which a reader might derive from the narrative of Vasari.[1] If it be by Giuliano d' Arrigo, we

[1] A picture in the late Bromley collection, assigned there to Cosimo Rosselli and exhibited at Manchester (No. 63), may be taken as an inferior work in the style of the foregoing, and considered as of the school. It represents the Virgin and child between S.S. John the Baptist and Andrew (life size) and is inscribed:

"MCCCCXXXIII die XXVIII novembris. S.S. Bartholommeo Zenobius."

The figures have the slender length of those of the Uffizi with still more vulgar types of face.

must assign it to the close of his career. He may then justly claim the honour of having been one of the best animal painters of his day, and of having given an impulse which was imparted to other Florentines. The education of Benozzo Gozzoli who mingled the simplicity of Angelico with the pomp of the naturalists may thus be explained.

A series of frescos, representing scenes from the lives of S.S. Benedict and Joseph, in the loggia of the Palazzo Rucellai at Florence,[1] has a natural connection with the foregoing picture. They are slight bold works of hasty execution and animated movement thrown on a ground of light verde which forms the semitones, shadowed with deeper verde, touched with white in the lights and darkly outlined. They produce an impression similar to that which might be created by a work on coloured paper. The subjects are composed with some ease and spirit, and the figures are grouped familiarly as if in converse, without a rigid regard for grandeur of distribution. Individually, the persons represented are realistically drawn with carefully studied, but coarse muscular limbs and extremities, short waists and long legs. The curly locks and caps of the time, involved zigzag draperies inferior to similar ones in Castagno and Uccelli, may be noticed, together with some types of head reminiscent, as regards character, of those in Fra Filippo's pictures. The painted architecture in some of the scenes is not without perspective; and some panelled ceilings chequered in black and yellow remind one of the manner of Uccelli, and reveal the progress of the science in the fifteenth century. Whether by Giuliano or not, this is at least interesting as a wall painting of his school.

The altarpiece of the annunciation mentioned by Vasari[2] is still in the sisterhood of S. Giorgio (now Chiesa dello Spirito Santo) at Florence. The meeting takes place

The colour is sombre and the execution common. The date alone shows the name of Cosimo Rosselli to be false. He was only born in 1439.

[1] Via di Vigna Nuova.

[2] Vol. IV. p. 182.

under a double arch, screened off, by a wall of coloured marble, from a garden whose orange trees and cypresses overtop the entablature. A bed of roses ornaments the base of the screen, in front of which the Virgin appears before the spectator and turns from a stand-desk before her to greet the angel Gabriel, who with his arms crossed on his bosom, strides in with a long step.[1] The composition and the figures seem the conscientious work of a youthful artist; and the angel's darting movement, fine profile and crisp curling locks remind one of Raphael's in the predella at the Vatican. The juvenile Virgin is less pleasing, and a certain triviality prevails in expression as in features.[2] The drawing of the figure, the meandering curls and transparent veil are peculiarities to be found in the works of Alesso Baldovinetti. A characteristic feature in the picture is however its technical execution. The high surface colour, of a translucid substance, has a tough texture and is bounded by outlines which define every part, however minute, down to the leaves and fruit of the trees. Pure colours give a decisive key of tone. The hair is minutely lined on a very light undertone. The flesh, requiring a greater fusion of different tints is least successfully carried out and appears of a yellowish coffee tone. The treatment and vehicles differ from those in previous use and seem to preclude the practise of stippling; and it is only on very close inspection that one sees the lines of a minute brush in the flesh tints. A viscous medium is obviously used. The picture discloses in fact something of the effort which Vasari ascribes to the Peselli and Baldovinetti in view of altering the old practise of panel painting.[3] It proves that Italian artists were already seeking to discover the course pursued with unwavering certainty and success by the Van Eycks.[4]

[1] The Virgin holds up her blue mantle with her left hand; a transparent veil is on her head. The angel wears a red tunic and yellow buskins. The figures are about a third less than life-size.

[2] The hands too are cramped and uneasy.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 74.

[4] The drawing of every part in the picture of S. Giorgio is firm, fine, and precise.

A more developed art, but a style and system similar to those of the S. Giorgio altarpiece, are displayed in a beautiful predella, representing three scenes from the legend of S. Nicolas, in the Buonarotti collection at Florence. Vasari noticed it in its original resting place, the cappella Cavalcanti in S. Croce. And its interest is great as showing not only the advance made by the Peselli, but the different mode in which subjects often treated by the Giottesques were conceived by the painters of the fifteenth century. The father and two of his daughters sleep on seats or on the ground in various parts of a large inclosed space, whilst the third daughter, standing behind her parent in surprise, witnesses the miracle performed by the youthful S. Nicolas who throws the pieces from outside. The form and action of the saint, his fine head decked with curly locks, are admirable. Considerable movement marks the figures in the reprieve of the three youths in which are some fine forms of soldiers in armour on horseback, and a breeze is seen playing in the folds of the flags. The third scene illustrates a phase of the same reprieve, S. Nicolas, followed by his suite, and spectators, being visible on the left,[1] receiving the thanks of the youths, who have not taken time to resume their dresses. There may be a want of balance in the arrangement of this compartment, but the nudes exhibit a more advanced study of anatomy than that of previous examples, although the unselect character of the nature reproduced is as apparent as ever.[2]

[1] The bishop is in benediction. The figures holding up his cope, are a fine group. The forms are precise as if chiselled in bronze.

[2] The feet are coarse, the outlines of muscles minutely defined. The proportions are imperfect, but the execution is more than ever careful, and the study of models is perfectly clear. The translucid and viscous colour shows the persistance of the efforts for reforming the system of panel painting. The predella is in perfect preservation. A series of grey paper sheets are exhibited in the Uffizi at Florence, in which numerous studies from nature in pen and point may be observed. These are assigned to Maso Finiguerra. Something in the character and design of aged heads might point to the hand of Fra Filippo; but the drawing, and the forms which it renders, are in the manner of the foregoing pictures,

Another predella originally in S. Piero Maggiore and now in Casa Alessandri at Florence, representing four scenes from the legends of S. Benedict and other saints, has been too much injured and repainted to justify a decided opinion. The remains would suggest, however, a hand and method different from the foregoing and more akin to those of Benozzo Gozzoli.[1]

The progress of a style which we now justifiably call that of the Peselli may be further traced in a "Trinity", fortunately secured for the National gallery, and last in the collection of the late Mr. Bromley. Originally, as is believed, in a church at Pistoia, and shorn of the side panels,[2] it displays an advance on the character of the annunciation in the church of the Spirito Santo and of the Buonarotti predella; but its interest is further increased by the exhibition of an art in the same path as that which characterizes the predella, executed, as Vasari says,[3] by Pesellino in the style of Fra Filippo. As usual in such pieces, the Eternal, in a purple tunic and yellow mantle and wearing a conical mitre, floats on the clouds in a prismatic almond-shaped glory attended by cherubs and seraphs, and holding up to adoration a cross, to which the Redeemer is nailed. The searching nature of the drawing in the head of the Eternal, reminiscent of the works of Sandro Botticelli, draperies less in the in-

suggesting the names of the Peselli or of Alesso Baldovinetti.

[1] This picture is in Casa Alessandri in Borgo degli Albizzi, and is mentioned by Vasari in his lives of the Peselli (Vol. IV. p. 182). The subjects are: 1°. Totila's interview with Benedict. 2°. The fall of Simon Magus. 3°. The conversion of S. Paul. 4°. The widow's son restored by S. Zenobius.

[2] Vasari describes a Trinity between S.S. Zeno and James in the church of S. Jacopo, (? Duomo) of Pistoia (Vol. IV. p. 182). Tolomei (Guida, ub. sup. p. 97), describing the church della Congregazione dei Preti at Pistoia, as now reduced to a private house, adds in a note, "Here was a picture by Pesello of whom Vasari and Baldinucci speak and which they erroneously describe as in the Duomo." It was sold at the suppression of the church. The Trinity, without S.S. Zeno and Jacopo, is said to be the centre of the picture noticed by Vasari. It was in the Ottley collection before coming into the hands of M^r. Bromley.

[3] Vol. IV. p.p. 182—3.

volved style of Andrea del Castagno than near the finer and simpler style of Fra Filippo, the gentle character of the heads of cherubs and seraphs, are remarkable. The figure of the Redeemer is still imperfect in proportions and in the *ensemble* of the parts. The short arms are slender, and the hands small; the body is broad, the legs and feet coarse, but the form is not unnoble in its realism, and proves the artist's assiduity in the study of nature's models. The brown toned landscape is adorned with dark trees laid in with viscous colour on a lighter ground, and strikes the spectator as an approach to those of the Pollaiuoli. The colours are like those of previous examples, high in surface, equal in the flesh, minutely lined in the hair, and confined by positive contours throughout.

A less perfect, but still similar technical system is apparent in the Nativity of the Louvre,[1] assigned to Fra Filippo and previously the subject of remark in these pages.

Assigned to Fra Filippo also, a Virgin and child between S.S. John the Baptist, a bishop, Anthony the abbot and Francis, in the ex-Campana gallery,[2] reveals a style now sufficiently illustrated, and, at, least the school of the Peselli. Though injured in some parts by retouching,[3] this piece shows considerable boldness and practical skill of handling; and affords a contrast of careful execution and study of nude with common types.

Amongst the Florentine customs of the fifteenth century, that of adorning family chests with paintings of a superior class, is curious and interesting. Vasari's statement that the Peselli were often employed to paint such articles of furniture with battle pieces,[4] seems con-

[1] No. 223 Louvre. See antea. This picture is, however, inferior to that of the Bromley collection.

[2] Now at the Louvre.

[3] The Virgin's head especially is injured. The type of the Virgin and child, common, with something less of vulgarity in the former than in the latter. The white ground appears through the flesh tone.

[4] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 181—2.

firmed by the existence, in the present day, of two "cassoni" in the Palazzo Torrigiani at Florence, in which the encounter of David with Goliath and the triumph of David are depicted. The figures in both pieces are about a foot high and are formed, in the triumph, into a well ordered composition of natural groups in motion and converse. The noble gravity of a company of females, on the left side, is not impaired by the luxury of the costumes. It is a picture of a cheerful kind. The encounter with the Philistines, more episodic and less ably arranged, illustrates in a greater measure the passion for representing Bible scenes with the pomp of circumstance and of dress familiar to the upper classes of the time, — of introducing familiar incidents, and the details of rich and varied landscapes peopled with all kinds of animals, of African as well as of European races. These are panels whose perfect preservation enables one to mark the deep study of nature in human, animal and still life, described as peculiar to the Peselli. The fine, firm style of the drawing, the searching manner in which the details of nude parts are defined, the fair distribution of the various planes in pleasant landscapes, a fine colour of strong impasto, approximating to the improved methods now coming into practise, all point to the Peselli, whilst, in some types, an approach is made to the models of Fra Filippo Lippi. At a first glance, it is true, certain creations of Benozzo Gozzoli, in the Campo Santo of Pisa and in the Riccardi Palace at Florence rise in the memory of the beholder. But the manner and technical method of colouring dispel this first impression; whilst further consideration creates the conviction that Benozzo's works of this class are of a lower order. The natural conclusion is that these "cassoni" are by one of the Peselli and most probably by Francesco di Stefano commonly called Pesellino.

Vasari and Albertini[1] assign without any hesitation to

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 182. Albertini, Memoriale. ub. sup. p. 14.

this painter, the grandson of Pesello, a predella originally forming part of Fra Filippo's Santa Croce altarpiece, and of which three parts are in the Academy of Arts at Florence, and two in the Louvre.[1] The most interesting of these fine compositions is that of the miracle of S. Anthony of Padua at Florence. The saint preaches from a low wooden pulpit attended by a friar, on the right. The body of an usurer in a coffin is on a tressel in the middle of the picture, and the bearers gaze on his side to ascertain the absence of the heart. Between this group and the spectator, three females sit looking on; and inside a room, on the left, a man finds the heart in the money chest. A gentle and natural animation pervades all the figures. The females on the foreground are in good proportions and the whole is drawn and executed with neatness, precision, and freshness, and without vulgarity. A certain realism and less dignity of mien mark the S. Francis at the Louvre, which is, like its companion, well preserved. The panel preserved at Florence has lost much of its original brightness of colour and harmony of tone and a consequent loss of unity in the tints by abrasion. Some heads, indeed, are bared to the preparation. The soft melting nature of the impasto, however, is that which is characteristic in the works of Fra Filippo.

In the same class as the foregoing we may note two predella scenes in the Doria gallery at Rome representing incidents from the legend of S. Sylvester,[2] composed in a lively style and carried out with feeling, the scenes being distributed and drawn like those of the S. Croce predella and coloured in clear fused and pastose tones akin to those of Fra Filippo. The action of the figures

[1] Florence Acad. of Arts, No. 48. Galerie des grands tableaux. The nativity, the martyrdom of S.S. Cosmo and Damian. Anthony of Padua's miracle of the usurer's heart. Louvre No. 290. S. Francis receiving the Stigmata and S.S. Cosmo and Damian visiting a sick man.

[2] Nos. 29 and 30 of Doria Gallery Catalogue. No. 29. Sylvester before Constantine on one side, and in a second division of the same panel, Sylvester in confinement. No. 30. Sylvester restoring the 2 Magi to life and closing the mouth of the monster.

is natural and their proportion good, with much freshness and power in the rendering of some of them. Many of the heads have a clear individuality, and some of the types are in the mould of Fra Filippo. These are creations in which we may trace the progress of the artistic hand which carried out the panels of the previous predella.

With these works as guides one may assign to Peselino a somewhat injured Virgin and child attended by two angels in possession of Signor Gaetano Zir at Naples. Some immobility and rigidity in the Saviour, erect on his mother's lap, reveal the germ of similar defects in Benozzo Gozzoli. A certain tenderness and softness in the Virgin, and in the angels in prayer behind her, the curly locks which adorn their heads and necks, the simply lined draperies, a translucid colour, a little hard perhaps in this example, may justify the nomenclature of the picture.

Having thus classed, as far as is now possible, the works of the Peselli, and concluded with those which may, with most certainty, be assigned to Pesellino, one feels inclined to ask, is it possible that he should have produced so little? No doubt, creations that are due to him lie concealed under other names; and some which suggest themselves might at once be mentioned, but in the uncertainty under which the critic labours, it is perhaps best to pause, and note such works under the names of those to whom they are assigned.

In summing up the results of the examination to which the works attributed to the Peselli have been subjected,[1]

[1] We find that these pictures are all in the new method more or less, except the predella added by Pesellino to Fra Filippo's altarpiece, the predella in the Doria Palace at Rome, the predella in Casa Alessandri, Borgo degli Albizzi, insofar as its injured state warrants a judgment, and, in part, the adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi. The rest, besides being in the innovating manner, are marked by minute study of landscape episodes and details, and represent exactly that species of works which Vasari describes in the life of Antonello da Messina when treating incidentally of the Peselli and Baldovinetti, and in the life of Baldovinetti himself.

one sees that, from the annunciation of S. Giorgio which bears the character of a youthful production, back to the first, given to Giuliano d'Arrigo, a development in one clear path of art is obvious. From these to the last, assigned to Pesellino, a further development in the same road may be observed. A natural conclusion might be to affirm that the first series was executed by Pesellino in his grand-father's atelier, and that the last were produced after the death of Giuliano.

A few final lines may now be devoted to certain Virgins classed under the name of Pesello and Pesellino in divers galleries.

Berlin Museum. A fine Virgin and child, No. 108, assigned to Pesello.

Frankfort (Stædel Gallery). A Virgin and child, No. 40, assigned to Pesello.

London. Collection of Mr. Barker. A Virgin and child, inferior to the foregoing, assigned to Pesello.

These three pieces are such as to suggest at least the name which they bear. Amongst persons capable of critical judgment in matters of art, a general impression prevails that the name of the Pollaiuoli would be more appropriate. Another name, however, that of Verrocchio, presents itself, and may be discussed hereafter.

We must erase distinctly from the list of Pesellino's works, a Virgin and child in Lord Ward's Gallery, Dudley house, which bears the clear impress of the hand of Sebastian Mainardi, the best of the pupils of Domenico Ghirlandaio.

In conclusion, another class of Madonnas of inferior merit, but characterized by a gentle, slender, and somewhat feeble nature, and marked by a partiality in the artist for roses and other flowers as accessory ornament, may be noticed, and may be given, in the absence of any real claim to the name of Pesellino which they bear, to Graffione, a pupil of Alesso Baldovinetti, not forgotten by Vasari.[1] A fresco by this painter remains, in part

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 106.

damaged, above the door of the Chiesa degli Innocenti at Florence, and represents the Eternal amongst angels.

An "Exhibition of a relic" in the Liverpool Gallery, assigned to Pesellino, is a work which, if the memory of it be not treacherous, betrays the character of a Siennese painter, either Francesco di Giorgio or Nerroccio.

A nativity in the Dresden Gallery (No. 10.) is assigned to Pesellino, but has no peculiarly marked character. It is, however, a feeble production neither by Pesellino nor by Paolo Uccelli.[1]

[1] A short list may be made of works assigned to the Peselli of which no trace is at present discoverable. This list includes: "Cassoni" in Casa Medici at Florence (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 181), a Virgin and child between two saints in S. M. Maggiore (ibid. p. 182), a crucifixion in S. Giorgio Maggiore (ibid.).

CHAPTER XV.

ALESSO BALDOVINETTI.

Among the artists, whom Vasari specially distinguishes as the authors of tentative efforts for the improvement of vehicles, Alesso Baldovinetti occupies a prominent place. Born in 1422,[1] he lived to the very close of the century, gaining a name for the minuteness with which he studied still life in nature, the boldness, more than the success, with which he introduced the old tempera varnish amongst the mediums employed in wall painting, and the cleverness with which he executed or repaired mosaics. The number of his works preserved at this time is in marked contrast to the uncommon length of his career, and it is difficult to name more than two or three productions entitled to be called his. That his father, who was in trade, should have yielded reluctantly to Alesso's inclination for artistic studies, proves the painter's early enthusiasm and perseverance. Whether he followed the precepts or frequented the workshop of more than one painter is not ascertained. The master to whom he owed his early education is not even known; and Baldinucci only conjectured that that master was Paolo Uccelli.[2] Some foundation may be admitted for this belief; because Baldovinetti displays

[1] Gaye (Carteggio, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 224) publishes in full Alesso's income tax return for 1470, in which he declares his age to be 40. The same author quotes, however, another income tax paper returned by Alesso's father Baldovinetti d'Alessandro Baldovinetti, in 1427, in which he states that his son Alesso is 5 years of age. We may assume, therefore, that Alesso had forgotten his birth day, and accept in preference the statement of his progenitor.

[2] Baldinucci, Opere. ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 318.

affinity to him, to Andrea del Castagno, the Peselli, and even Domenico Veniziano. He may, indeed, being registered in the Florentine guild of S. Luke in 1448,[1] have taken a part in the adornment of the S. Egidio chapel in S. Maria Nuova, whose walls were painted at intervals during ten consecutive years (1441—51) by Andrea and Domenico. The name of Baldovinetti, it is true, has not been discovered in the accounts of the hospital,[2] but Vasari's assertion that he worked there,[3] is confirmed by the earlier authority of Albertini, who says: "The chapel is half by Andreino, half by Domenico, although some figures in front (dinanzi) are by Alesso Bal."[4] The few records which have reference to Alesso's career, all prove that he was looked up to as a master of some station in Florence. It is well known that, during the greater part of the fifteenth century, the Florentines were accustomed to visit churches not merely to hear mass, but to listen to lectures on the poetry of Dante. In S. M. Del Fiore these lectures were frequently delivered by an exponent paid out of the coffers of the state. It was natural that such churches as were selected for this purpose should have a likeness of the poet in a prominent place. In S. M. del Fiore, the Franciscan Antonio, public lecturer on Dante in the early part of the fifteenth century, had placed such a likeness. To this, which may have become damaged, the superintendents of the edifice added another in 1465. The design for the likeness was given by Alesso Baldovinetti and executed by Domenico Michelino; and it is characteristic of the confidence which was reposed in the former by his employers, that he was appointed to value the work which Michelino had carried out from his model.[5] We find Alesso again valuing an altarpiece painted by

[1] Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. VI. p. 177.

[2] Giornale Stor. degli Archivi Toscani. 1860. p. 9. 1862. p.p. 4—5.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 102 and 144.

[4] Albertini, Memoriale. ub. sup. p. 13.

[5] See the original commission dated January 30, 1465 in Gaye (Carteggio, Vol. II. p. 5), and the valuation dated June 19 of the same year. Ib. The price paid to Michelino was 155 lire.

Neri di Bicci for S. Romolo in 1466.[1] His income tax returns are dated 1470 and 1480, and from these it appears that he was married and lived in Florence in the "popolo di S. Lorenzo" outside the Faenza gate.[2]

The works which may be safely assigned to Baldovinetti are few. The best known are a fresco in the cloister of the Annunziata at Florence described by Vasari,[3] an altarpiece originally in the Villa of Caffaggiolo, now at the Uffizi, and a Trinity with saints executed for the chapel of the Gianfigliazzi in S. Trinita at Florence. Not one of these interesting productions but is injured by scaling or by the abrasion of the colours.

Baldovinetti's fresco in the S.S. Annunziata is on the wall to the left as one enters the church from the cloister. The Virgin kneels in prayer on the left before the infant, who lies naked on the rough ground of the pent-house. S. Joseph, in thought, sits to the right with his hands clasped over his right knee. Two shepherds advance towards the group from the right. Behind the Saviour, the ox and the ass are near the manger; and close to the stone wall of the ruin, a pomegranate and other trees are growing. A serpent, crawling up the stones behind the first shepherd, seems to symbolize the sins of our first parents and of the world. The apparition of the angel is represented in a landscape to the left, where one of two shepherds who lie on the ground looks up inquiringly towards heaven. The perspective of the distance is improved by the retreating lines of a road and a bridged stream. In the air above the scene, four angels are in part preserved, one of them displaying some foreshortening, the whole composition being framed in a painted border interrupted by medallions, in some of which half bust portraits still exist.

The condition of this work is such that a most minute examination of it is necessary; and even then the character of the master is to be traced only by a comparison of the remains with the injured picture at the Uffizi.[4] It affords no

[1] Baldinucci Opere, ub. sup. Vol. 5. p.p. 185 and 317.

[2] Gaye, Carteggio. ub. sup. Vol. I. p.p. 224—5. His wife was called Mona Daria, whose dowry is recorded to have been paid to Alesso in 1479, after he had been many years married and had a daughter of 13.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 104.

[4] Injured, because it is not free from restoring.

clue to Baldovinetti's talent as a colourist, the tones being in part scaled off, in part abraded, so that the eye wanders over a dull surface of dead preparation. But one may still perceive that the work was not executed in the usual method of Florentine wall-painting, and one may assume that the same means which Baldovinetti employed in the frescos of S. Trinita in the last years of his career were used at the S.S. Annunziata. The painting is described by Vasari as: "sketched in (abbozzato) in fresco," and retouched "a secco" the colours being tempered with a mixture of yolk of egg and heated *vernice liquida.*[1] "Baldovinetti thought, adds Vasari, that this tempera would guard the painting against wet, but it was in such a measure strong that, where too heavily laid on, it scaled off; and whereas he thought he had discovered a rare and most useful secret, he found himself deceived." Apart from its durability, however, the vehicle seems to have had some charms for Baldovinetti, for it enabled him to give such minutiae that, as Vasari further states,[2] he painted the pent-house so that one could number the stems and joints of the straws, the roughened surface of stones worn by rain and ice, and the roots of an ivy bush whose leaves were coloured of different tints at each side as in nature.[3] Alesso was in fact not only one of those who tried innovations in technical preparations requisite for artists, but a student of still life, of detail, "depicting from nature, rivers, bridges, stones, herbs, fruits, roads, fields, towns, castles, squares, and other similar things." His labour in this work of detail at the Annunziata was lost, however, be-

[1] It is evident that the method described by Vasari was faulty; because colours so treated had not the necessary hold on the wall; and being besides of a fat substance and mixed with dryers, must fall when exposed, as we see they did in the S.S. Annunziata and in S. Miniato al Monte. For the materials with which vernice liquida was made, consult Sir C. Eastlake's work "Materials" ub. sup. A reference to Cennini's treatise will also show that heated vernice liquida was only used for varnishing tempera pictures, when the operation was performed in doors and out of the sun. Vide "Libro dell' Arte", by Cennino Cennini, ed. G. and C. Milanesi, ub. sup. p.p. 108—9.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 102.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 104—5.

cause the medium he employed caused parts to scale away and parts to become darkened and blistered. Yet one may still discern in his landscape some power in the imitation of natural objects, a power which Piero della Francesca possessed in a still higher degree, and which strengthens the impression that Baldovinetti was of the same class of realists which already numbered Paolo Uccelli, Andrea del Castagno and the Peselli. Nor would this impression be weakened by the analysis of figures, in which "the charm of reproducing nature," as Rumohr has it, led Baldovinetti to copy, not any ideal of form or proportion, but the humble and coarse reality of peasant nature.[1] This tendency with which we are familiar in the Flemish or German schools, is more marked in Baldovinetti than in any of his cotemporaries, although one may freely grant, at the same time, that in composition he showed no lack of the balance proper to the great schools. His mode of rendering action, however, was hard, his draperies angular and broken, and we thus have enough to justify the classification of his talent by the side of that peculiar to the men whose names have been enumerated. Great precision in outlines and in the rendering of minute forms, an involved system of curling locks in the heads, a Virgin not without beauty in contour and action, remind one of similar peculiarities in Domenico Veniziano or the Peselli. His Nativity at the S.S. Annunziata is, on the whole, an approach to that of the Louvre,[2] in which we have traced, less the manner of Fra Filippo to whom it is assigned, than that of the family which might boast of Francesco Pesellino as its latest illustration, and point to him as a cotemporary of Baldovinetti.

The picture at the Uffizi[3] explains still more of Bal-

[1] The feet and hands of his figures are large and coarse.

[2] This is true not only of the general form of the composition, but of the execution. The angels at the S.S. Annunziata, too, are hard and unnoble, as in the so-called Fra Filippo of the Louvre.

[3] No. 24. First corridor.

dovinetti's artistic character, as it reveals that he was familiar to a certain extent with the mixed style of colouring panels now customary.

The Virgin, seated in a Roman chair, occupies the middle of a space at the sides of which six standing saints gravely adore the infant Saviour,[1] extended horizontally on his mother's knee, whilst, nearer the spectator kneel S.S. Francis and Dominick. The sky and trees peep over a screen of tapestry at the back of the group. A carpet under the Virgin's feet decks a meadow sprinkled with flowers, on whose petals the feet of the saints seem to make no impression. Though injured by restoring,[2] the flesh tint still betrays the imperfection of the medium substituted as in the Peselli to the old one of tempera. Viscous and difficult to manage, it is of an even yellow tone, stippled with most minute lines, even in the lights. The result is a general flatness, and little contrast of light and shade; and with this, one marks the now usual high surface colour, through which the eye plunges to a certain depth.[3]

The careful minuteness with which an altarpiece of all but life size figures is thus carried out, seems to have lamed the spirit of the artist whose figures are feeble, thin and of sharp bony forms, and clothed in spare draperies. A polished cleanliness in the outlines, in the modelling of the forms, and in the tones of the draperies reminds one of the tendency common to the age of taking chiselled objects for imitation, — of the lustrous character given to his work by Verrochio's pupil Lorenzo di Credi. The curling and puffed out locks are those noticed in the creations of the Peselli, and still characteristic later in Verrocchio, Botticelli and Filippino Lippi. The head of the Virgin is, in character, like that of the S.S. Annunziata, and her figure the best in the picture.

Baldovinetti varied his labours at the easel by working in other branches.[4] He is known to have repaired, in

[1] These saints are (left) S.S. Cosmo, Damian, and John the Baptist, (right) Anthony the Abbot, Lawrence and a monk.

[2] The left half of the Virgin's face is restored.

[3] This is true of the draperies also whose tones are of a lucid hardness, and flat from want of relief by light and shade.

[4] Baldovinetti, it might seem, took much pains to discover means

1481, the mosaic over the portal at S. Miniato al Monte.[1] But his chief efforts in that direction were expended on the Baptistery at Florence, the piece above the portal facing S. M. del Fiore having been repaired in 1482, and the tribune in 1482, 83.[2] It was not till 1496 that he completed the Gianfigliazzi chapel or choir in S. Trinita, in which he depicted numerous scenes from the old testament, introducing into his subjects, according to an old and timehonoured custom, the portraits of many men of note in his time.[3] The manner in which these wall paintings were executed has been described. They had already lost much of their beauty in Vasari's time, — still existed in 1755,[4] and were destroyed in 1760.[5] They must have been originally a fine ornament to the edifice in which they were executed; and our interest in them is increased by the knowledge that they were valued on the 19th of January 1497/1496 by four artists of acknowledged fame, Benozzo Gozzoli, Pietro Perugino, Filippino Lippi and Cosimo Rosselli.[6]

The altarpiece painted by Baldovinetti for the same chapel, representing the Trinity between the kneeling S.S. Giovanni Gualberto and Benedict, and long supposed to have perished, is obviously the injured picture of that

for the proper execution or restoring of mosaics. The tendency in him seems to have been to make experiments; and perhaps, in searching to solve chemical problems, it happened to him, as occurred to Uccelli when he gave himself up to perspective. He perhaps spent the greater part of his time in this pursuit. The works of Baldovinetti indeed show us less an artist than a chemist; and we may find in this a true cause for the paucity of works produced by him. But he may, on the other hand, have done good service to art by studying the technical parts of it, particularly in mosaics, in which he claims the merit of having taught Ghirlandaio.

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. note to p. 107.

[2] Vide Richa, Chiese. Vol. V. p. XXXVI.

[3] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 102—3 gives a catalogue of the persons portrayed.

[4] Richa, Chiese. Vol. III. p. 177.

[5] Vas. Vol. IV. note 4 to p. 102.

[6] The price they valued the frescos at was 1000 florins in gold. The original valuation in the Arch. Centr. is printed in "Alcuni documenti artistici non mai stampati, per le Nozze Bianca — Gentile — Farinola — Luigi Vai." 8°. Florence 1855. p. 18.

subject in the Florence Academy of Arts.[1] Its colour has been, however, so abraded that the ground of the panel is in some parts bare. The rest is darkened and hard, but still displays characteristic features of Alesso's style. Of certain paintings in S. Miniato al Monte, assigned by Vasari to the Pollaiuoli, we shall have occasion to speak in the lives of those painters. It may be sufficient here to note that they exhibit a character and method similar to that of Baldovinetti; and this view may be maintained with some force, because Albertini who mentions both the wall paintings and the altarpiece of S. Miniato attributes the first to Alesso the second to Piero Pollaiuolo.[2]

Another work not marked by Vasari, but classed amongst the youthful creations of Domenico Ghirlandaio, is a lunette fresco in the sacristy of S. Niccolo at Florence, representing S. Thomas receiving the girdle from the Virgin attended by two angels and surrounded by an almond-shaped glory held up by cherubim. The saint kneels before a richly ornamented sarcophagus simulating bronze, and bearing the repainted date "M.CCCC.L."[3] A landscape, angels, in movement and type like those of Baldovinetti, draperies of a hard, dry, angular kind, recal to mind the fresco of the S.S. Annunziata. But the work is painted in the old method of fresco, not in the new one noticeable in the only authentic wall painting of Alesso or in the paintings of S. Miniato.[4]

[1] No. 2. Galerie des anciens tableaux, classed as "Inconnu". Vasari omits the S. Benedict, but the full subject was noted by Francesco di Giovanni Baldovinetti in a "Memoriale" MS. known to Baldinucci and to the annot. of the latest edition of Vasari. A garland of cherubs surrounds the Trinity, two angels holding back the curtains.

[2] Albertini, Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 17. The altarpiece is now in the Uffizi. See postea.

[3] The date is new. It may have been falsely copied on an old one, or added by a restorer.

[4] Three of the cherubs supporting the lower part of the Virgin's glory are in better preservation than the rest which is retouched in most parts with oil colour. They are reminiscent of the style which characterizes the picture at the Uffizi, and reveal an approximation to the manner of Ghirlandaio. If the work should be proved to have been executed by Domenico in his youth, we should have evidence of Vasari's state-

A pleasant picture in a style which wavers between that of Baldovinetti and Domenico Veniziano, is one in the collection of Mr. Duchatel in Paris, in which a half length Virgin adores the infant resting on a parapet before her, in a landscape of trees and hills. The style of the latter is that which we find in works of Piero della Francesca, to whom the picture is therefore not unaptly assigned. But the type and character of the figures is not that of Piero, whose manner was ever consistently the same, and rather exhibits in the features and accessories of drapery the development of the style of Alesso.[1]

Baldovinetti may have met both Domenico Veniziano and Piero della Francesca, if he laboured in S. Maria Nuova at Florence, where they were both employed, one as master, the other as pupil. It is certain that his pictures embody something of their manner.

We may conclude this notice of the works of Alesso by mentioning a fine annunciation in the Dresden Gallery,[2] assigned at one time to him, now attributed with a ? to Pollaiuolo, but really by a painter of the Ferrarese school;[3] a Virgin adoring the infant, with S. Joseph and three angels, in the Munich Gallery,[4] by a poor artist of the fifteenth century, and a Virgin with the infant, adored by angels, originally in Cataio, now in the Modena Gallery,[5] which is not by the master.

ment that he was taught by Baldovinetti.

[1] This picture has been restored and has lost some of the firmness and precision which mark the works of the masters named in the text.

[2] No. 18 of Catal.

[3] No. 19 in the same collection, representing the Nativity and inscribed "Antonius (?) Florentinus MCCCXXXIII", is a picture of the 15th century, of rude execution. The inscription seems forged, or altered. No. 20 in the same Museum, children gathering Manna, is a copy of a fine picture of the Ferrarese school in the collection of Lord Ward at Dudley House in London.

Whilst thus analyzing pictures classed like the above under the head of works of the Florentine school, we may remark in the Dresden Gallery, No. 15, Archangel Michael, No. 16 Archangel Raphael and Tobit, both assigned to Gherardo di Jacopo Starnina. They are poor productions of the close of the 15th century.

[4] Cab. No. 568.

[5] No. 30.

Francesco Baldovinetti records the fact, that Alesso left a likeness of himself in his own wall paintings at S. Maria Nuova, and in the choir of S. Trinita,[1] but the portrait which Vasari engraved, is taken from Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco of the Expulsion of Joachim in the choir of S. Maria Novella (1490).[2]

Alesso died on the 29th of August 1499, and was buried in S. Lorenzo of Florence.[3]

His pupil Graffione has been sufficiently noticed in a few lines at the close of the lives of the Peselli.

The following is a list of works attributed to Baldovinetti, which may be classed as lost, obliterated or falsely assigned:

S. Benedetto fuor di Firenze. Frescos. (Francesco Baldovinetti in MS. extr. Baldinucci. Op. Vol. 5. Note to p. 320.)

S. Croce Cloister. Flagellation, (ib.) assigned by Vas. (Vol. IV. p. 143.) to Andrea del Castagno.

S. Piero in Caligarza. Altarpiece. (ib.)

Canto de' Carnesecchi. Virgin and child, (ib.) not by Baldovinetti, but by Domenico Veniziano.

Palazzo de' Signori, Florence. Two nativities.

[1] Memoriale. MS. excerpt in Baldinucci, ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 319.

[2] The third from the right side of the fresco shaven, and wearing a red hooded cap. Manni, however, cites an MS. by Lucca Landucci (Vita di Domenico del Ghirlandaio), in which the portrait in question is said to be that of Domenico's own father.

[3] Libro de' Morti, in Baldinucci, Op. ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 318. Vasari states that he died in the Hospital of S. Paolo. (Vol. IV. p. 106.) In the crypt of S. Lorenzo is the family grave, inscribed: "S. Baldovinetti alexii de Baldovinettis et Suor. Descend. 1480." Schorn's Vasari. Vol. II 1. p. 379.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POLLAIUOLI.

We have reason to believe that the lives of Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo have been, to some extent, falsely interwoven; and that, whilst history assigns the largest share of fame to Antonio as a goldsmith and painter, the claims of Piero to attention have been somewhat neglected.

Antonio and Piero were the first and last born of four children. Their father Jacopo d'Antonio was a goldsmith at Florence, the same perhaps whose name is recorded among the assistants of Bartoluccio and Ghiberti in the first gate of the Baptistery at Florence.[1] They were born severally in 1433 and 1443,[2] Antonio being articled to his father, and closing his apprenticeship in 1459,[3] Piero entering at tender years, if at all, the atelier of Andrea del Castagno, and joining his brother a little later.[4]

[1] It is not certain that Jacopo d'Antonio who worked under Ghiberti, and whose name in records bears the addition of "da Bologna" (vide commentary Vas. Vol. III. p. 128), is the same as Jacopo d'Antonio, the father of the Pollaiuoli, but the identity of name and of profession suggest that they are one person. We might presume, if this were once admitted, that what Vasari relates as to the connection of Antonio Pollaiuolo with Bartoluccio and Ghiberti applies to his father, Jacopo. At all events, Antonio could not have taken part in the work of the Baptistery gates; as he was but 14 years of age when the last of them was completed. (Vas. Vol. V. p. 91.)

[2] These dates are given by Jacopo d'Antonio in his return to the Catasto in 1457, and may naturally be preferred to those given by Antonio in his own return of 1480. (Vide Gaye, Carteggio, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 265.)

[3] This fact is stated by Antonio himself in the return of 1480. (Ibid.)

[4] Besides Antonio and Piero,

Antonio, after his emancipation from articles in 1459, opened a shop as a goldsmith, situate (at least as late as 1480) in the via di Vachereccia, popolo S. Cecilia at Florence.[1] Cotemporary journals, such as the family accounts of Cino di Filippo, record purchases from him, of a silver girdle in open work and niello (July 7. 1461), *"tremolanti"* and gilt silver chains (Ap. 6. 1462).[2]

The natural connection of painting with sculpture has been described in these pages, where antique art is shown animating the first Christian painters, the sculptors of the Pisan revival and Giotto. We have seen the models of the Greeks and Romans studied by Donatello, and we have marked the position of that sculptor at the head of a class which, not only impregnated Christian themes with the pagan style, but which even imitated the subjects of Mythology. The tendency of the century to revive classic study in arts and letters produced a number of painters whose anxiety to realize the details of nature caused them to forget or ignore the necessity of selection. But even these, and others in whom realism was more select, were not unwilling to display the influence which they owed to emulation in rivalling as painters the works of sculptors or carvers in bas-relief.

The Pollaiuoli illustrate a kindred phase in the development of Florentine art, at a time when fashion had spread to articles of chiselled bronze and silver, representing figures and ornament, imitating still nature either really or after conventional designs. The spread of this fashion naturally gave an unusual importance to the

Jacopo had two other sons, Giovanni, who was born in 1439 and who carried on the paternal business in Florence as early as 1480, and Salvestro born in 1435 and afterwards settled in Pisa. Vide Gaye. Vol. I. p. 265, and Antonio's will in Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. V. pp. 39 and following.

We must remember that Andrea del Castagno died in 1457. See antea.

[1] See Baldinucci. Op. ub. sup. Vol. 5. p. 417, and Gaye. Vol. I. p. 265.

[2] These accounts are published in full in Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. IV. pp. 140—141.

goldsmith, whose business invaded that of the sculptor. As, of old, the atelier of the latter was usually combined with that of the painter, it was now comprised in the workshop of the goldsmith, who thus carried on the most various branches of the same profession. The result of this combination was a subordination of sculpture to the necessities of the goldsmith and relief-caster. The composition and the action of figures, their form and the lie of drapery, the arrangement of accessorial and ornamental detail in embroideries, jewels and head dresses, all became subservient to that necessity. It presupposed straight or but slightly bent lines, and simple breadth in the masses, though it did not preclude any amount of minuteness in detail or ornament, and was necessarily allied to great neatness and precision in lines and extraordinary cleanliness and polish of surfaces. Painting, being carried on in the goldsmith's shop, was subjected to so much of these rules as might be properly applied; and pictures came to resemble in colour and other features, imitations of silver and bronze works. The Pollaiuoli, Verrocchio, Botticelli and even Domenico Ghirlandaio were the exponents of this new fashion. It was carried so far, however, by the former that their works are altogether devoid of feeling or elegant form; and they seem to have had no other aim than to make pictures a pretext for illustrating the laws and mechanism of bronze. They were not unacquainted at the same time with the changes which had already been inaugurated by the Peselli, and favoured by Baldovinetti. In so far as they had been wrought, these changes have been described. We perceive in the pictures of the Pollaiuoli some further improvements to the system. To them we owe the introduction of glazes in draperies, which being prepared at first in a sort of dead colour approximating to the tone intended to be used, were afterwards passed over with a general transparent tint as may be seen in certain reds, and strengthened in the shadows with a still deeper colour. When they proposed

to use the ground of the panel for lights, they glazed the whole extent of the drapery, so that the underground appeared, — laid in the half tints and shadows with colour of greater body, — and finally completed the latter with another layer, which thus remained high in surface. This mode of proceeding they varied with yet another. Glazing the ground of the panel to the colour of the semitones, they painted over the lights as well as shadows with more body, and thus left the half shades alone transparent. They sought to break the monotony of colour by introducing changing tones in the lights and shadows of dresses. They represented coloured marble and bronze articles, and copied the nature of their own goldsmith's work in order to define and give distinctness to the objects which they depicted. Their preference for this mode of reproducing light and shade may be said indeed to mar the flesh parts of some of their pictures, whose keys of tone and method of relief are too marked to be pleasing. Following the reverse of their practise in drapery, and seeking to give light as in nature, they painted the flesh and the hair with colour of full impasto, thus giving to the parts a high surface, — to locks, the aspect of cords, and to their work generally the appearance of marquetry. There are exceptions to this, however, and some pictures, displaying much light and fusion united to vigour of colour, present a manifest improvement. The difficulties which the Pollaiuoli encountered in the use of the vehicles introduced at their time, were generally not less great than those which had been felt by their cotemporaries. Their colour was of a general dull reddish tinge, rough in substance from the use of a viscous medium, too hard of manipulation to allow of easy handling and, for the same reason, horny and high in surface. Raw contrasts were of frequent occurrence, and may be assigned to the same cause; and the comparative ease with which bituminous colour might be spread, caused them to adopt it in most parts of their pictures, but especially in landscapes. One may still trace, indeed,

the presence of a general bituminous tone under some of their flesh tints.

It is clear that, although the Pollaiuoli added something to the practise of painters using the altered methods, they are no better entitled than other Florentines to claim the merit of having overcome the difficulties of oil, or of having perfected a subordinate part of painting to which much of the artistic development of the sixteenth century is due.

As regards drawing, we may listen to Benvenuto Cellini who says, "Antonio was so great in it that all goldsmiths and many sculptors and painters used his designs"; but these remarks apply perhaps specially to models of arrangement or distribution fitted for the wants of a class.

Whilst we admit in Giotto and the painters of the fourteenth century a certain neglect in the details of the outlines of forms, we find in the artists of the fifteenth century a reaction in the opposite sense, the details being thought of and the dignity or proportion of the whole to some extent forgotten. The Pollaiuoli were of their age. The outlines of all their figures give angular external blocks. Their drawing, though searching and rudely bold, is defective. It presents humanity without much grace of movement, without selection in the hands or feet, and often affected either in action or in dress. Yet one can see a great effort at realizing muscular nature in the definition, often the cramped definition, of flesh parts which cling to and follow the forms of the bones, — or of veins which run like cords beneath the skin. The Pollaiuoli were indeed most in their element when they reproduced scenes in which muscular force was required, as in Hercules and Hydra or the death of Antaeus, scenes which enabled them to display their qualities as students of muscular anatomy, and easier to copy from bronze than from nature.

The unanimous testimony of cotemporaries assigns to Antonio Pollaiuolo the highest place amongst the gold-

smiths of the time.[1] There is not a branch of his art, indeed, in which he does not seem to have shown his proficiency. Church ornaments, basins, helmets, chains, and crucifixes of most subtle workmanship, were either executed by him, or carried out from his designs. When Volterra rebelled in 1472 and was sacked by the Florentines under Federigo di Montefeltro, Lorenzo de' Medici, the prime mover of the war, was entrusted with the collection of presents to gratify the triumph of the successful general; and one of the presents was a silver helmet carved by Antonio.[2] The "Signori" required a large silver basin for their use in 1473; and they took it from Antonio. In 1480 he valued a relic-casket made by Jacopo of Pisa for the finger of S. Gimignano in the Collegiata of the city of that name.[3] The "consoli", in 1456, ordered a silver crucifix for the Baptistery from Betto di Francesco, who finished the upper half of it and left the lower half to be completed by Milano di Domenico Dei and Antonio Pollaiuolo.[4] In the production of a Pax he is said to have rivalled the niello works of Maso Finiguerra.[5] Many of the reliefs in the silver dossale or altar table of S. Giovanni were furnished by him as early as 1477.[6] His constant relation and consultations with Lorenzo de' Medici on his peculiar art are testified by a letter of 1489, in which the latter, foreseeing the approaching departure of Antonio to Rome, informs his agent Giovanni Lanfredini that the artist will bespeak certain things with him.[7] The various commissions which he received at Rome from the cardinal

[1] "Essendo stato dicto Antonio nostro cittadino, et huomo unico nella arte sua." Letter of the Florentine Signoria to their envoy Domenico Bonzi at Rome. Feb. 13 $^{1498}/_{1497}$, in Gaye. Vol. I. p. 340.

[2] Gaye. Vol. I. pp. 570—71.

[3] Pecori (ub. sup. p. 637) gives the original record which is dated Feb. VII. 1480.

[4] Richa, Chiese. Vol. V. p. XXXI.

[5] A Pax by him is preserved in the Uffizi.

[6] Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 9. Vas. Vol. V. pp. 92—3, and Richa, Chiese. Vol. V. p. XXXI. Yet Gori. ap. Rumohr (Forsch. II. p. 301.) says, the works of Pollaiuolo must have been for some other monument in S. Giovanni than the "dossale".

[7] Gaye. Vol. I. p. 341.

di Benevento and Monsignor Ascanio,[1] the funeral monuments of bronze which he cast and carved for Popes Sixtus the Fourth (1493) and Innocent the Eighth,[2] show that his time was principally spent in the production of works of the chisel. The assertion of Vasari that he cut medals of good workmanship,[3] and that, after his death, models were found for an equestrian statue to Lodovico Sforza, prove that he was ready to execute the largest as well as the most minute undertakings.[4] Without entering into the analysis of the various works of this kind which remain, one may select for criticism the monument of Sixtus the Fourth in the cappella del Sacramento at S. Peter, in Rome.

The pontiff lies at full length on the lid of a sarcophagus, on the corners of which are figures of Virtues and ornaments in relief. The piece is remarkable for its successful distribution and the beauty of its ornamentation; but the rigid and exaggerated action, the searching study of the muscular developments of flesh, the realistic coarseness of the joints and extremities, the defective draperies, accuse an absence of the idea of severe sculptural simplicity, or prove that the hardness and angularity incidental to the casting of bronze were not to be overcome, when the artist attempted to realize too many of the details of movement in the limbs and extremities, or in the tendons and muscles.[5]

A crucifixion in low relief, forming part of the collection of bronzes in the Uffizi[6] and assigned to Antonio Pollaiuolo, would illustrate other features of his talent as

[1] Vide letter of the Signori from Florence, $^{1498}/_{1497}$, to Domenico Bonsi, in Gaye. Vol. I. p. 341.

[2] This monument is in the Cappella della Concezione in S. Peter's at Rome. It represents Innocent at the top seated in benediction, with a dart in his left hand, lower recumbent on a tomb, on which are the Virtues.

[3] Vasari describes a medal by Antonio Pollaiuolo struck in commemoration of the Pazzi conspiracy. It is engraved in Litta, Fam. cel. d' It. Medici Fasc. VII. tom I.

[4] Vas. Vol. V. p. 100.

[5] This monument is inscribed: "Opus. Antonii. Polaioli. Florentini. arg. auro. pict. ære. clari. an. dom. MCCCCLXXXXIII."

[6] No. 398.

a sculptor. Christ is crucified between the thieves; — the unrepentant, writhing and foreshortened, as the executioner strikes at his limbs. The foreground is animated by the usual groups, the distance carried out according to the laws of pictorial perspective usual in Ghiberti; whilst the character and forms of the figures, their drawing and modelling disclose a clear study of the antique and a vigour akin to that of Donatello. It is clear indeed that the artist had studied the great sculptors of his time and bowed to the superior style of at least one of them.[1] The most surprising feature, however, in this piece is the low nature of the relief; and the eye is lost in wonder at the cleverness with which the unrepentant thief is foreshortened on a surface of such slight projection.

In their pictorial efforts the two Pollaiuoli must be taken together, as men whose style was affected by their continuous labours in plastic art, and mainly in works of bronze and silver. Their model as painters is Andrea del Castagno. One naturally inquires what is the share of Antonio and of Piero in such wallpieces and pictures as are extant; and a natural presumption arises that works which display most sculptural elements and study of the antique owe most to the hand of Antonio, whilst those, in which the pictorial element more certainly prevails, are by Piero.

In the first class the small panels of the Uffizi,[2] representing the encounter of Hercules with Antaeus and with the Hydra, are the most conspicuous. In the exertion of pressure on the waist of Antaeus, — in the act of striking at the monster, the life of the frames, their exuberance of projecting muscle, their prodigiously marked development and action, exhibit a great power in the reproduction of physical exertion in the human body; whilst the composition of the figures proves a study of the antique. The spirited drawing and the precision with which

[1] The figures are however less square than those of Donatello, of a slenderer build too.

[2] No. 1108.

the parts are rendered, combined with other qualities, make this a masterpiece well worthy of attention; and we can well conceive it to be true, as Vasari says, that the Pollaiuoli had studied anatomy by dissection.[1]

Had this been the only example of its kind, it might have sufficed to characterize the style of the artist. Others almost equally remarkable in sculptural features illustrate his genius; and these are the Virtues originally painted in the tribunal of the Mercatanzia at Florence, one of which, that of Prudence, exhibited at the Uffizi,[2] is not without grandeur. The whole series is that of a man accustomed to deal with models suited to the exigencies of bronze. The figures are all life size, each of them seated on a throne within a niche supported by feigned pillars, and adorned with feigned architectural ornament, the semidome of the niche itself being filled with a perspective of panelling and centre rosettes; and the bases being cut out into open work. The style of architecture, ornament, costume and drapery, as well as the selection of colours in the figure of Prudence exemplify the tendency to plastic imitation in the Pollaiuoli. We see a female whose hair falls in tresses, clad in a variegated and complicated costume, and decked in a blue mantle adorned with borders of precious stones, holding a staff capped with a medal in her left hand, grasping a serpent in her right.[3] Her throne is of white, red and

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 97. describes these subjects as being executed for Lorenzo de' Medici and in Casa Medici. The size which he gives at five "braccia" will not apply to the pictures of the Uffizi which represent the same subjects in small proportions. The colour of the piece at the Uffizi is now a little embrowned. The landscape of hills and plain is minute and real.

[2] No. 1287. The rest of the series, insofar as it was executed by the Pollaiuoli, is stowed away in the private magazines of the Gallery. No. 1. Faith is repainted in the flesh tints and much injured in the remaining parts. No. 2. Justice, No. 3. Charity, No. 4. Hope are so damaged that only parts of drawing and painting remain. No. 5. Temperance is likewise much injured. The 7th Virtue, Fortitude, also at the Uffizi is by Botticelli, see postea.

[3] Her sleeves are red, ornamented with gold. Her dress violet, with white lights, supposing the existence of a white net — fall over it. The blue mantle is lined with green.

green marble. A carpet decks the demi-hexagon of parti-coloured stone on which her bare feet rest. The fine head reminds one of some executed by Piero della Francesca; the nude though fair in style, is still marked with the stamp of coarseness which necessarily results from large and common extremities. The draperies are amongst the best executed by the Pollaiuoli and cleverly define the forms. The drawing is bold and strongly marked, the flesh tint bright and clear.[1] The whole is evidently coloured with tones moistened with an oil medium in the manner already observed in the Peselli and in Baldovinetti, and modified according to the custom described as peculiar to the Pollaiuoli.

The same phase of art is represented in a large S. Sebastian at the Pitti,[2] in the usual coarse forms, disproportioned in the parts, but still displaying a reminiscence of a study of the antique, and coloured with the same bright, well fused tones impregnated with much vehicle, which mark the "Prudence" at the Uffizi.

Less of the plastic element, a more pictorial style will be observed in the altarpiece of S. James between S. S. Eustace and Vincent, originally painted for the Cardinal di Portogallo in S. Miniato al Monte, and now at the Uffizi.[3] The three figures stand almost life size on a marble pediment in front of a balustrade, supported by pillars of bronze, through and behind which may be seen a landscape and sky, recalling those produced with such mastery and minuteness of detail by Piero della Francesca and the Van Eycks, Antonello and the Venetians.[4]

[1] And perhaps less rough in substance now than of old, in consequence of restoring.

[2] No. 384. The figure is characterized by a small head, a square thorax, long legs and large feet.

[3] No. 26. First corridor. S. James in the centre leaning on a pole, wears a blue vest with yellow tracery, and is enveloped in a rich red mantle of strong tone glazed with lake. A green cap is at his feet.

[4] S. Eustace wears a greenish tunic, painted of a high surface — red stocking hose, glazed with a full body of lake — sleeves, yellow with flowers touched white in the lights (high-surface). The mantle is lined with white fur. S. Vincent is in a red dress adorned with borders stuffed with pearls.

The costumes are richly variegated in strong colours, glazed and painted in the manner described as characteristic of the Pollaiuoli, and ornamented with the minuteness and overflowing luxury peculiar to the "orafi". The bright, clear, and lucid flesh tints are fused with much viscous vehicle. The picture is a fine one, but is still marked by the broken outlines and coarse extremities usual in all the works hitherto noticed.

The frescos of the Evangelists, doctors and prophets, — a panel of the annunciation in the chapel of S. Miniato, for which the S. James was executed, have been assigned to the Pollaiuoli.[1] The damaged remnants of the former exhibit to the spectator fragments, chiefly of drapery, in a careful style, reminiscent, as to drawing and technical methods of colour, of Baldovinetti's fresco in the S.S. Annunziata. They are, indeed, classed by Albertini[2] amongst the works of Alesso, and being, according to Vasari, "in oil", may possibly have been painted in the new and unsuccessful vehicle which proved so perishable in his "Nativity".[3]

The annunciation, a rude and blistered tempera on panel, appears to have been produced by means different from those peculiar to the Pollaiuoli or Baldovinetti. It seems to be the patiently elaborated piece of a young beginner, who could afford to lavish time and finish upon details of borders, pearls, jewels, locks and feathers.[4] It stands clearly lower in the scale of art than the injured frescos of the walls.

The masterpiece of our artists, according to Vasari, is the martyrdom of S. Sebastian, an altar table completed in 1475 for Antonio Pucci in the family chapel at the S.S.

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 95.

[2] Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 17.

[3] The chapel was consecrated, according to an inscription on the arch, on the 11th of Oct. 1456." Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 269.

[4] Each lock of hair hangs in a twist by the side of the other, and the hairs are minutely lined. The feathers of the angel's wings are worked out with similar detail. The same may be said of the ornaments. The best part of the picture is the profile of the angel.



THE MARTYRDOM OF S. SEBASTIAN, a picture in the National Gallery, by Pollaiuolo

Annunziata, and intended to immortalize Gino di Lodovico Capponi under the features of the saint.[1] Those who have daily occasion to see this picture in the National Gallery[2] may admit that it displays an activity and variety of life in the muscular action of the archers, in the sportive caracoles of horses, which remind one of Donatello's bas-relief for the pediment of the S. George at Orsanmichele. The figure of the martyred saint is a fine study of a fairly proportioned nude; but the imitation of a common nature in the coarse extremities and swollen veins or muscles, is quite as apparent as the vulgarity of type and forms in the saint and his tormentors. It is a piece highly characteristic of the manner of the Pollaiuoli, but one in which the pictorial element is impressed with more force than upon foregoing examples. It is characteristic, not merely because of the life and action and the coarse realism which prevails in most parts of it, but because of the recurrence of the usual varied landscape with its abundant episodes and its classic Greek arch adorned with medallions, because of the rough surface, the reddish tones of the flesh, the glare and changing hues of the primaries, the absence of style in the draperies, and the obvious difficulty encountered in the use of the viscous medium. It is a fine work, but praised to exaggeration by Vasari.

A less perfect specimen of manner and execution, but an equally interesting example of the Pollaiuoli's peculiar methods of painting, is the Archangel and Tobit of Orsanmichele now in the Turin Gallery.[3] We need not pause to note the curious fancy which clothes the archangel in the antique costume, and dresses Tobit in cap, mantle, buskins and hose, or mark the recurrence of broken outlines, defective articulations, coarse extremities and angular draperies. We shall take this picture as an

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 96, and Richa, Chiese. Vol. VIII. p. 54. Antonio paid 300 scudi for the piece.

[2] No. 292. It was purchased of the Marchese Pucci at Florence in 1857.

[3] Vas. Vol. V. p. 95. The picture is not as yet publicly exhibited.

illustration of the technical method employed by the artists in painting one of their characteristic landscapes. A stream meanders from distant hills towards the foreground. A city, a castle and isolated trees dot the serpentine banks. There is a ferry near a castle, a couple of naked men contemplating a bath.[1] The whole distance is painted on a general brownish undertone of a liquid texture. Into this the blue hills are vaguely touched in a deeper bituminous brown of stiff and lustrous surface, defining, though with evident labour in the working of it, the trees, the castle and the men on the banks, projecting like islets of colour on the panel. The water too is high in surface, of a whitish tone mingling with the under colour and with reflections dabbed on in blue. All this, at one sitting, *alla prima,* in that bold effective scenic way which will not bear close inspection, but indicates all that is required for effect, — a brownish and somewhat parched landscape, with a mysterious twilight about it such as Verrocchio gave to his unfinished Baptism of Christ, the clear forerunner of that melancholy, but soft landscape with its ideal labyrinths of hills and valleys and wandering streamlets, which charm in Leonardo's Mona Lisa.[2] Thus we find in the Pollaiuoli the spring from which the students of pure light and shade, as distinguished from the colourists, arose, and we trace a direct descent from them to the perfection of Leonardo da Vinci.

Next in order of merit, inferior to the Turin altarpiece, and exaggerating the defects of the Pollaiuoli, is the coronation of the Virgin in the choir of the Pieve of S. Gimignano inscribed:

"Piero dell Pollaiuolo florētino 1483."[3]

[1] A shaggy dog trots before the archangel. The sky is decked here and there with fleecy clouds of high surface and lustrous vehicle.

[2] This applies equally to the Virgin of the Rocks at the Louvre, and, as regards methods of preparation, to the sketched adoration of the Magi by Leonardo at the Uffizi.

[3] Pecori (ub. sup. p. 522) says, that this altarpiece was ordered of Piero by Domenico Strambi for

It is a picture in which the manipulation seems more toilsome, the types and flesh are more common, the outlines more broken, and the draperies more unsatisfactory than those of any other production of the masters.

Descending still lower in the same scale, we notice the annunciation in the Berlin Museum, whose general aspect is that of a piece of tarsia, and which is but a poor representative of the talent of the Pollaiuoli.[1]

Before concluding with a general list of the Pollaiuoli's works, we may sum up the experience of the foregoing pages in a few words.

The general impression created by their productions of chisel or of brush is that they are all consistently stamped with an uniform character. Antonio Pollaiuolo is the true carver and chiseller, and the most talented of the two brothers. But he is also a painter of no mean power, in whose pictures of Herculean combats one may trace the art of a sculptor accustomed to the models of antiquity, and tempering his study of them with a due knowledge of natural forms in their most varied expression. He is a man of excessive boldness in conception and in execution.

The pictorial element in contradistinction to that of the carver and statuary is more or less visible in the series which commences with the altarpiece of S. James, at the Uffizi, and ends with that of the Berlin Museum. We may conclude therefore that the Hercules and Hydra, and the Hercules crushing Antaeus, are by An-

his monastery of S. Agostino. But he gives no proofs in support. Ten angels dance or chaunt about the principal group, in front of which, at each side, kneel, (right) S.S. Gimignano, Jerom and Niccola da Tolentino, (left) Fina, Nicholas and Augustin. Some doubts arise as to the genuineness of the inscription.

[1] No. 73, assigned to Antonio. The figures are nearly life size, the Virgin seated and the angel kneeling before her in a hall whose perspective leaves much to be desired. Outside is a view of the city of Florence. The difficulty of manipulation is very evident in the high surface colour of this work, whose yellow and raw flesh tone is vitrous and shadowed coldly and darkly. The broken outlines of the forms, the angular character of the draperies, the exuberance of ornament show us the bad side of the invasion made on painting by the art of the goldsmiths. The picture was originally in the collection of M^{r} Solly.

tonio and the other works by Piero. Vasari attributes the best creations to the elder, the worst to the younger brother; but an older authority gives to Piero the Virtues now at the Uffizi,[1] the altarpiece of S. Miniato (S. James[2]) and the martyrdom of S. Sebastian, now in the National Gallery;[3] and the judgment of this author is confirmed by the general tenor of Vasari's remarks as regards Piero, whom he describes as a pupil of Andrea del Castagno, and who would appear to us as a mere second or third rate painter, or assistant, if he had nothing more to recommend him than the lowest productions of the series which has been reviewed.

One picture of much value requires some further remark. It is the S. Sebastian of the Berlin Museum.[4] This is a life size figure of the martyr tied with his hands behind his back to a branching tree and looking up. A searching study characterizes the nude. There is some elegance in the attitude. But the character of the figure is different from that of the Pollaiuoli, and suggests the name of Sandro Botticelli. We shall have occasion to note a resemblance between this painter and the Pollaiuoli, for instance in a figure of justice forming part of the series executed for the Mercatanzia. It is therefore not improbable that he may be the author of the S. Sebastian at Berlin, which is a figure not painted in the innovating method of the time and less in the style of the Pollaiuoli than the Fortitude by Botticelli, of which we shall have occasion to speak.

The following list may complete the series of works assigned or assigneable to the Pollaiuoli:

Florence. Academy of Arts. Salle des Petits Tableaux. No. 54, assigned to Pollaiuoli (without christian name), S. Augustin, No. 59. S. Monica, do. These are figures painted in the innovating method and in the style of the Pollaiuoli, with some study of nature and of a sculptural character in the draperies. There is much realism in the bony grieving face

[1] Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 16.
[2] Ibid. p. 17.
[3] Ibid. p. 13.
[4] No. 1128.

of S. Monica. The flesh tone is horny, the shadows roughly stippled over and high in surface, and the general colour dull.[1]

Florence. Galleria Torrigiani. A bust-portrait, three quarters, of a beardless aged man with a bold glance, and full of life. His right hand, of coarse build, grasps the side of his red mantle. This is a rare work of the Pollaiuoli, of firm and impetuous design and astonishing realistic truth, the forms being well rendered, in the style of the foregoing figures of S.S. Augustin and Monica, but with more power. The colour is low and dull, the verde shadows being stippled over the local tone. The shadows of the dress are high in surface like those of the flesh.

Florence. Collection of the Duca Strozzi. A bust portrait in profile of a member of the Strozzi family, varying somewhat in character, style and execution from the foregoing. The face is beardless; the nose aquiline, dress, a red vest and yellow sleeves. This is a tempera piece of a yellowish tone, carefully drawn. It suggests the name of Botticelli.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 30. "unknown". In the character of the foregoing, a profile bust portrait of a man in a green cap and wearing a golden collar, life size.

Florence. Corsini Gallery. Portrait of a youth with a growing beard. This portrait assigned to Pollaiuolo may be mentioned later, in the life of Antonello da Messina.

Munich Gallery. No. 565, *Cab.* Marriage of Poverty to S. Francis, a small unimportant work, of poor execution and a mixture of the styles, noticeable in works of the school of Botticelli and Domenico Ghirlandaio. No. 570. Cab. S.S. Sebastian and George. No. 575. Cab. A Virgin and child with a bust of the donor in front. Same style as foregoing. All three in tempera.

Modena Gallery. No. 57. S. Sebastian, a very common picture in the above class.

[1] A Holy nun giving the rules of her order to twelve females with two angels kneeling between them and the spectator. This is the subject of a panel of a lower class, but still in the style of the Pollaiuoli in the Cappella Capponi at S. Spirito in Florence. Another picture apparently from the atelier of the Pollaiuoli is No 25. Salle des petits tableaux in the Flor. Acad. of Arts, representing S.S. Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and Tobit in a landscape. It is a piece of a rude and dull colour.

Vasari states that Piero Pollaiuolo died at Rome in 1498.[1] But we possess the will of Antonio, written in 1496 in which he affectionately alludes to the death of his brother in the following terms. "Item, the testator declares that when his late brother Petrus then still of this world, but infirm and at the hour of death, did freely and of his own accord leave to him, the said testator, certain lands in the territory of Pistoia, commending at the same time to his, the said testator's, care dona Lisa, natural daughter of the said Peter &c."[2]

The death of Antonio in 1498 is proved by a letter of February in that year from the government of Florence to their agent in Rome, alluding to the recent demise of the sculptor and recommending the widow's claims for the recovery of certain sums due from the Cardinals of Benevento and Ascanio.[3] The prosperous career of a goldsmith of that age may be inferred from the fact that Antonio's will leaves 5000 ducats of gold to each of his two daughters. His portrait in Filippino's fresco of S. Paul before the Proconsul in the Brancacci chapel may be recognized from Vasari's engraving, and presents to the spectator the appearance of a square browed, aquiline featured, resolute person.

A list of works which are no longer to be traced includes:

S. Miniato fra le Torri, Florence, a S. Christopher of colossal size.[4] For the "Capitani di Parte", Florence, a half round of the Virgin and child with a garland of angels, in oil.[5] For the office "del Proconsolo", at the time situate at the corner of the Via del Proconsolo and Via de' Pandolfini at Florence (note to Vas. Vol. IV. p. 217), a series of portraits,[6] S. Marco, Florence, a crucified Saviour and

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 99.

[2] Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. V. pp. 39 and following.

[3] Gaye, ub. sup. p. 340.

[4] Vas. Vol. V. p. 96. Richa, Chiese. Vol. IV. p. 71. Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 14. The last named author assigns the figure to Piero.

[5] Vas. Vol. V. p. 95.

[6] Ibid. p. 96.

S. Antonino.[1] Palazzo pubblico, Florence, wall paintings (Nov. 1482) executed by Piero in "faciam putei" of that edifice.[2] Arezzo, Compagnia di S. Angelo, a processional flag with a crucifixion.[3] It is proved (Doc. Sen. Vol. II. p. 87.) that Antonio did not take part in the Baptismal font of the Duomo of Sienna.

[1] Ibid. p. 97. and Albertini, ub. sup. Mem. p. 12.

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 97. Gaye, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 578.

[3] Vas. Vol. V. p. 98.

CHAPTER XVII.

ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO.

We have marked the Pollaiuoli as the exponents of a new fashion in the art of Florence in the fifteenth century. We have noted Andrea del Verrocchio amongst those who form part of the talented group which comprises Antonio, Piero, Botticelli and even Domenico Ghirlandaio. The natural order of the narrative leads us to describe the share which Verrocchio took in the development of the artistic period which he illustrates.

He was born in 1432, of Domenico di Michele de' Cioni.[1] He kept a goldsmith's shop like that of his comrade Antonio Pollaiuolo; and history preserves the following distinct marks of his artistic activity:

1471 (new style). He founds the plate for the ball above the cupola of S. M. del Fiore at Florence.

1472 (n. s.). He completes the funeral monument of Giovanni and Piero de' Medici in S. Lorenzo of Florence.

1473 (n. s.). He values the pulpit of Mino da Fiesole and Antonio Rossellino at Prato.

1474 (n. s.). He gives the model for a monument to Cardinal Forteguerri at Pistoia, and founds the bronze bell adorned with bas-reliefs of the Abbey of Montescalari.

1476 (n. s.). Executes the bronze of the youthful David now at the Uffizi.

1477 (n. s. circa). Carves two of the compartments of the dossale or altar table of the Florence baptistery in company with Antonio Pollaiuolo.

1478—79. 80. He produces a candelabra with reliefs and

[1] His birth is only inferred. Vasari says he died aged 56 and his death occurred in 1488. His father's name was copied from the inscription on the tomb in S. Ambruogio at Florence.

ornaments for the audience-hall of the Palazzo pubblico at Florence.

1471—84 (n. s.). He completes certain apostles for the chapel of Sixtus the Fourth in the Vatican.

1483. He finishes the bronze of S. Thomas searching the wound of Christ, in a niche at Orsanmichele of Florence.

1488. He dies at Venice after having furnished the model of the monument voted to Bartolommeo Colleoni.[1]

Vasari seems desirous of insinuating that Verrocchio was self taught. Baldinucci refers his readers to a rare manuscript of the time to prove that Verrochio was a pupil of Donatello.[2] It is obvious that his talent as a sculptor may have been stamped in a certain measure in the mould of the great artist in whose company he is said to have worked at S. Lorenzo of Florence;[3] and that he may have issued from the same school as Antonio Pollaiuolo, in friendly rivalry with whom he chiselled two of the reliefs of the altar-table of S. Giovanni at Florence. The solitary example of his pictorial style which we possess proves an acquaintance with the technical innovations and the types of the Pollaiuoli, but reveals a variety of feeling which may be searched out later with advantage. Verrocchio, indeed, combines the peculiarities of two or three painters, of Fra Filippo in a slight measure, of Andrea del Castagno and Domenico Veniziano. Of a more noble artistic fibre than the second, he partakes more surely of the nature of the third, whose works are however so scarce that one cannot affirm anything with too great certainty. "He was a goldsmith, a master of perspective, a sculptor and carver, a painter

[1] These facts and dates are all well known, and may be proved on reference to Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 367 and fol. 569, 70, 75, and Vas. Vol. V. p. 139 and following, with the notes of the commentators.

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 139. Baldinucci, Opere. Vol. 5. p. 422. Del Migliore's statement, for which he does not give sufficient authority, is that Verrocchio was apprentice to Giuliano Varrocchi a Florentine goldsmith. Vide excerpt in Vas. Vol. V. p. 139.

[3] "In Fiorenza, nella sagrestia di S. Lorenzo, un lavamani di marmo, nel quale lavorò parimente Andrea Verrocchio." (Vas. Vol. III. p. 259.)

and a musician." These words of Vasari[1] seem appropriate to characterize the mastery of Leonardo who grasped so many varieties of talent, and who issues from the atelier of Verrocchio. Yet if we test the man by his work, we find that Verrocchio was indeed not merely a goldsmith, but a sculptor and carver, a draughtsman and a painter. It is true that his sculpture is mostly bronze, but he is almost unrivalled in that metal; and the Colleoni monument testifies to this, whilst it proves his power as a designer, his knowledge of perspective, of form, motion and anatomy. These last acquirements are essentially prominent in the Pollaiuoli and were therefore common to them and to their cotemporary and rival; but Verrocchio rises above the art of the goldsmith, stands at a higher level than Antonio and Piero, and fitly represents that combination of science and art which was continued and perfected by Leonardo. In judging his remains it is necessary to examine and to keep in mind not only the creations of a cotemporary or bygone time, but those of a subsequent period; and the productions of Leonardo as well as those of Lorenzo di Credi teach us to appreciate at their just value the attainments of their master, whose complex of works is confined to a few remarkable examples. It is characteristic and illustrative of this fact, that the drawings of Verrocchio, of Leonardo, and even in some cases of Lorenzo di Credi suggest doubts as to which of the three may be the real author; and the difference which appears on analysis seems only to arise from the stamp on some of them of a vaster genius and superior skill. Their style, which is original in Verrocchio, is the same. They all define form with extraordinary precision and finish, whilst their lights, shadows and reflections possess the silvery clearness and polish natural to a carver in metal. A splendid profile of a horse in the collection of drawings of the Louvre, sketched with point on prepared paper and shadowed

[1] Vol. V. p. 139.

with light bister on the edge of the outline, may afford an appropriate illustration. It rests three legs on pillars, recals the bronzes on the *facade* of S. Mark at Venice, and is properly assigned to Verrocchio, as it seems a study for the Colleoni monument. But the style and the technical skill fitly represent the genius of Leonardo; and the drawing might be assigned to him without diminishing his fame. The drawings of this and other collections, but chiefly the most complete series brought together by Mr. Reiset and now in the hands of H. R. H. the Duke d'Aumale offer the same peculiarity, and leave the student in doubt whether he is looking at works of Verrocchio, Leonardo, or Lorenzo di Credi. The forms of infants, for instance, are remarkably characteristic. Their prototype is in the beautiful bronze, originally cast and chiselled for a fountain in the gardens of the Medici's villa at Careggi, and transferred later to the court of the old Palazzo at Florence. A boy holds a struggling dolphin under his arm, and the pressure seems to produce the fall of water from the fish's nostrils. "Nothing, says Rumohr truly, in his happiest vein of description, can be gayer or more lively than the expression and action of this infant, and no modern bronze can be named that combines such beautiful treatment with such perfect style. It is a picture of a half flying, half running motion, whose varied action is still true to the centre of gravity. With a happy feeling, the artist has given to the child a pleasing fulness of rounding, and to the wings a certain angular sharpness."[1]

The drawings of children to which attention is now directed produce the same impression as this bronze and offer to the eye the perfection of the same type. This, indeed, is natural, because the principles on which both

[1] Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 304. He adds and the remark is still true: "This model piece was lately deprived by cleaners of its beautiful 'patina', the effect of time; and the result has been the creation of hardnesses which the spectator must not attribute to the artist, but to the barbarism of our day."

are produced are the same. The pleasing fulness which Rumohr notes is carried to an exaggerated measure in the children of Lorenzo di Credi. He is not content with plumpness, but introduces pinguidity, the fat protrusions of parts being awkwardly apparent at the joints, which they reduce to lines compressing the flesh and forcing it as it were to bulge. The study of nature's realism at the same time affects the choice of forms; and short-necked, thin-chested, large-limbed infants assume an action proper to an over fat condition.[1] But this was Lorenzo di Credi's favorite system of line; and he draws in successions of curves not only the flesh of the limbs and body, but the component parts of eyes and mouths, checking or stopping them with marked points at the necessary places.

These peculiar characteristics of Lorenzo di Credi may be noticed in a minor degree in some of the bronzes of Verrocchio, but are least visible in the David of the Uffizi.[1]

Verrocchio's idea of the shepherd champion is that of a young man whose forms have not attained the full development of manhood, elastic and nimble in motion, and built on a promising scantling, but still lean and bony as may be seen in the narrow thorax and the long slender extremities. The attitude is free, the left leg at ease, the left hand on the haunch. The right wields the sword which has just dispatched the head that lies at David's feet. A hip cloth and greaves, the only articles of dress, scantily cover forms worked out with great knowledge of nature and anatomy. The bare head with its copious locks is a little aged, in type like those which Leonardo prized and transmitted to the Lombard school of the Luini. The figure in its totality combines the adolescent character of Michael Angelo's David, with an attitude conceived according to the laws of modern art em-

[1] The elbows, for instance, are necessarily thrown out.

[2] Uffizi. Salle des Bronzes modernes No. 397. $^3/_4$ life size. Vide Vas. p. 142. Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 572.

bodied in Leonardo's treatises. Less grand than that of Donatello which is reminiscent of the old Greek, it is a truer imitation of nature and livelier in action.

The Incredulity of S. Thomas at Orsanmichele gives occasion for a fuller development of flesh parts. S. Thomas, in motion and probing the wound, is youthful and plump, but the fulness exaggerated by Lorenzo di Credi is already marked. The figure, however, is surprising for the advance in art which it proclaims, and the motion which it renders. The Redeemer raises his right arm and uncovers his side. The figure has some of the rigidity of bronze. The type is somewhat aged and pinched in the features, the flesh sparingly covering the skeleton of bone in the frame; but this is a peculiarity of Verrocchio in painting as in bronze, apparent in the Baptism of the Academy of Arts at Florence, and in Leonardo. Some coarseness and puffiness in the extremities are also to be noticed, but the group in its totality is a fine and beautifully polished bronze. The most remarkable point in the work is the involved nature of the drapery. It is no longer broken like that of the Pollaiuoli; but betrays the effort to obtain round and sweeping lines, combined with a method of closing the puff of the cloth above the eye of the fold. Searching detail sacrifices the planes of the flesh.[1] The stuffs have the appearance of being lined, or double like those of Lorenzo di Credi; and the drapery gains a material form similar to that which characterizes the Umbrians, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Perugino and even Pinturicchio. The reader must pardon this minuteness of criticism. It helps us to test the value of Vasari's assertion that Verrocchio was one of the masters of Pietro Perugino, and enables us to admit that he may in this point be correct.[2] Had

[1] The embroideries in the mantles are chiselled with all the finish peculiar to bronze.

[2] This is clear, since we find a point of contact between Verrocchio, Perugino and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Perugino is proved to have been in Florence in 1482, at which time Lorenzo di Credi was 23—4 years of age. The

we not material proof that Lorenzo di Credi was Verrocchio's pupil, we should guess the fact from the analysis of the bronze of Orsanmichele; and it is possible that Lorenzo who was twenty four years of age when the work was completed, may have been assistant to the master at that time.

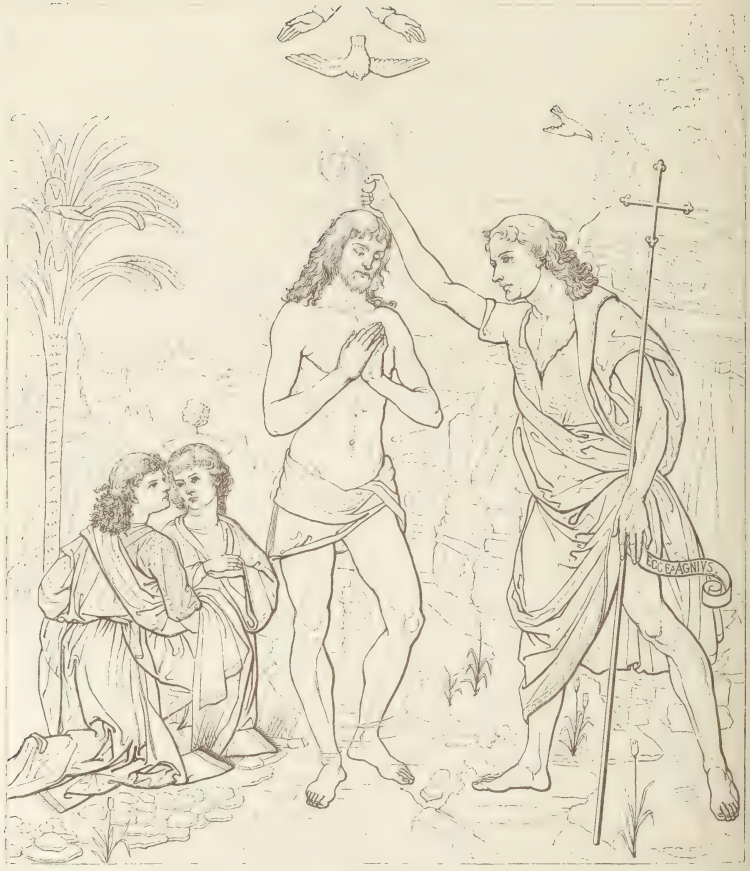
Leonardo da Vinci was influenced by better models such as the David, and started from ground of greater vantage than Lorenzo di Credi. He followed a progressive path in which Lorenzo remained stationary; and so the two pupils of Verrocchio parted on the road of art.

The last plastic creation of Verrocchio is the equestrian statue of Colleoni at Venice, which remained incomplete at the sculptor's death and which Lorenzo di Credi would have finished, had the dying wish of his master been attended to. It is the masterpiece of its time and affords us full compensation for the loss of those of Leonardo, whose talent for reproducing form, action, anatomy and the life of the horse it explains.

The creations of the master and of the pupils indeed combine to elucidate their several careers; and Leonardo's pictures help the critic to judge of Verrocchio's talent as a painter, in the absence of more than one certain example by the latter. It is obvious that Verrocchio's atelier could not sensibly differ from that of other men of his class and period. He devoted his time perhaps more exclusively to the duties of the sculptor and carver than to those of the painter; but his shop was like that of the Pollaiuoli, and we cannot conceive a man of his genius and varied accomplishments to have been less talented or less practised in one branch than in the other. The solitary picture which he has left behind,[1] is not of interest only as showing what methods

school of Verrocchio and that of Perugino may have had a connection together through Lorenzo, the latter and Perugino having a common tenderness and calm in their artistic nature.

[1] He painted in S. Domenico of Florence a picture which has since disappeared. It is difficult to say whether it was the same which is engraved under his name in the Ettruria Pittrice, for that



THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

A picture in the Florence Academy of Arts, by Andrea del Verrocchio

were in use in his *bottega*, what the tendency of his school might be, it is of value in many other ways. It introduces the student to the youth of Leonardo da Vinci who is declared with all probability to have laboured there.[1] It not only characterizes the style of Verrocchio, but it foreshadows and embodies the principles which are developed in the Virgin of the Rocks and which find their perfection in the Mona Lisa. It reveals finally that Verrocchio had the same character, and employed the same technical processes in painting, as the Pollaiuoli, in so far as the variety of their respective natures allowed him. The contrast between men who enjoyed a well earned reputation as cotemporaries was neither curious nor unfrequent. A rough but powerful fibre, a vigour and energy which class the Pollaiuoli amongst the prototypes of Michael Angelo and Signorelli, were tempered in Verrocchio by the gifts of a higher nature. If Verrocchio's design strikes us as still realistic and searching, it is cleaner and more exquisitely perfected. If in bronze statuary he does not lose rigidity, his mind conceives and creates something animated by the greater and more universal laws inherent in sculpture. If his landscape varies little in style from that of the Pollaiuoli, if his technical mode of painting resembles theirs, the impression in the first place is greater, because he strove for more lightness and vapour; in the second, because, in spite of difficulty in manipulating the high surface colour, the result is less hard and less incomplete. Verrocchio's is a higher nature enriched by a more educated and general taste than that of the Pollaiuoli. His Baptism of Christ,[2] unfinished and injured though it be, offers to us a picture of calm and composure, of reverent and tender worship, which carries with it a special charm. The resigned consciousness of the Saviour receiving the

also is not now to be traced. But see Vas. Vol. V. p. 146.

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 146.

[2] Executed for the brethren of Vallombrosa at S. Salvi. Vas. Vol. V. p. 146, now in Academy of Arts at Florence No. 43. galerie des gr. tableaux.

water which S. John pours on his head, — the questioning tender air of the two beautiful angels who wait on the bank of the brook to minister to the Redeemer's wants, — the brook itself running in its bed of pebbles round a projection of rock crowned with trees from a distance of lake and hills, the palm-tree with the bird flying into it, — the mixture of the mysteries of solitude and worship are all calculated to affect the senses of the beholder.

Descending to a more critical analysis we find the type of the Saviour not absolutely select, somewhat imperfect in proportion and form, but bony and drawn or modelled with a searching study of anatomical reality. The Baptist is unfinished.[1] He presents to us the stiff action and some of the vulgarity of a model. The curly headed angel presenting his front face to the spectator is beautiful. His chiselled features, shadowed in light greenish gray over the bright local tone, are fair to look upon;[2] but he is surpassed in beauty and feeling by his fellow-angel whose back is towards the beholder, whilst his head, gently bent and looking up to the Saviour, presents the rotatory lines of brow, cheek, and mouth, which illustrate the application of a law in rendering movement familiar to the great painters of the sixteenth century.[3] So fresh and innocent, so tender and loving is this angel, it strikes one as the finest ever produced in the manner of Verrocchio. The soft gaiety and grace in the play of the exquisite features, the pure silvery outlines and modelling of the parts, of the hair and lashes, the chaste ornaments which deck the collar of the bright green tunic damasked in brown at the sleeves, the edges of the lucid blue mantle[4] and the dress which is held ready for the Saviour: this all combines to form a total revealing

[1] The flesh, particularly of the arms, is only prepared, the veins and muscles being already defined. The head is nearer completion than the rest. The red drapery is prepared with lake and shadowed with the same, the high lights being the ground of the table.

[2] He wears a blue tunic. His hands are bony and thin.

[3] This law is illustrated by Leonardo.

[4] The blue mantle is lined with yellow.

the finish, the study, conspicuous in Leonardo. In type and in the expression of tender feeling the face and forms of this figure are equal to those of the Virgin of the Rocks, whilst the draperies by their broken nature, the colour by its impasto, recal the same example to mind. The force of chiaroscuro alone is not so great; but every thing confirms the statement of Vasari that Leonardo helped Verrocchio to paint the picture.

Da Vinci must undoubtedly have produced some fine and interesting pieces previous to the creation of the great ones which brought him fame. The angel in the Baptism combines the principles of Verrocchio's style with the laws of the art of the sixteenth century, the freshness of a youthful effort with its natural minuteness and carefulness of finish. It is the work of a budding genius comparable to Raphael at the school of Perugino, an outpouring from which we may trace the origin of Da Vinci's manner and the success of the pictures which he afterwards produced. Leonardo declares that the choice of form and the mode of rendering it should be such as to please less at first sight than on lengthened examination. The proof that he assimilated the painter's work to that of the bronze carver is in this angel of the Baptism, which reveals the germ of Leonardo's greatness as a searcher of the laws by which rotundity is produced with the aid of light and shade, and betrays his want of feeling for colour.

Technically considered with reference to methods of painting the Baptism illustrates the general remarks made at the outset of this chapter. The colour, laid on with the impasto and high surface of that of the Pollaiuoli, is softer. Its manipulation is still difficult, because the medium has not yet been improved to complete absence of viscosity. Reflections are carefully introduced between the shadow and its outline. The reddish lights are sharp and dry. The lips have high contours and are touched with streaks at the highest parts, and the same

principle is carried out in the articulations of the flesh parts generally.

Having now defined in a certain measure the various styles of Verrocchio, Leonardo and Lorenzo di Credi, we may pass to the examination of certain pictures assigned to the master whose life is the more special object of this study.

A round of the Virgin holding on her knee the infant Saviour, who caresses the infant S. John, in the museum of Berlin,[1] exhibits less the manner and drawing of Verrocchio than the features of Lorenzo, chiefly in the system of colour and its finish, in the exaggerated forms of the child and in the style of draperies. The picture is indeed one which recals Verrocchio's pupil after he had left the master's atelier, though in colour and execution inferior even to his creations.

A Virgin and child with the infant S. John, in the Dresden gallery, is assigned to Leonardo and bears the same character as the foregoing.[2]

A picture of Tobit and the three Archangels, in the Munich gallery,[3] assigned to Verrocchio, may be classed amongst the works of some feeble pupil of Filippino Lippi or Botticelli. A Virgin and child, in the same collection,[4] reminds one of a poor copy from Lorenzo di Credi.

There are other pictures which claim attention at this place, pictures usually classed under the name of Pesello or Pesellino, and giving occasion to conflicting judgments. Some critics, as we have said in the lives of the Peselli, are inclined to suggest the Pollaiuoli as the probable authors. It is of interest to study these works, bearing in mind what has been said of the manner of those painters and of the variety which it presents when compared with that of Verrocchio.

[1] No. 104. Berlin Catalogue.
[2] Dresden Gallery. No. 30.
[3] Saal. No. 542. of Catalogue.
[4] Cabs. No. 571.

A Virgin, holding before her the naked infant, erect and flying a bird with a string, belongs to the collection of Mr. Barker in London, and is fairly assigned by him to the Pollaiuoli.[1] The Virgin exhibits the thin long shape, the broad forehead, and the pointed and scooped chin, the curvilinear system of rendering flesh, peculiar to the school of Verrocchio. The nude of the child is in the bulging forms already described in this chapter, and is rudely executed. The colour is softer than that of the Pollaiuoli and seems a medium between theirs and Verrocchio's.

The Virgin, holding the naked infant erect on a balustrade, is a better picture under the name of Pesello in the Berlin Museum.[2] The type and character of the figures are similar to those of Mr. Barker's picture, but the colour has more impasto, is more lucid and fused, and the piece has much of the finish noticeable in the Pollaiuoli and Verrochio.

Another picture of the same general character is the Virgin, holding the infant erect on a balustrade, with his feet on a cushion in the Staedel Gallery at Frankfort, where it is attributed to Pesello. The type of the child reminds one of that expressed in the designs of Verrocchio and his school and even of the bronze of the boy struggling with the dolphin. That of the Virgin displays the same principles. The outline is very precise and the colour spare so as to show the underground through it.[3]

Superior to the foregoing and one of the fine productions of the Florentine school of this time is the Virgin adoring the infant which lies naked on her lap, between

[1] A curtain at each side is fastened back as it were to open out the scene, and the distance is a landscape.

[2] No. 108. of Catalogue. The Virgin has but little shoulders. Her green mantle is angular in fold, with a collar about the neck. Her tunic is red, the hand small and thin. The distance is a landscape.

[3] No. 40. Staedel Gallery Catalogue. The infant holds a veil about his middle with his left hand. His right gives the blessing. The Virgin's mantle is blue with angular folds like those of Verrocchio and Leonardo; a broach fastens his dress. Her tunic is red with gold borders. Background: an interior and a landscape seen through a window.

two angels, a picture, the ornament of our National Gallery.[1] The artist's manner is akin to that which may be traced in the Baptism of Verrocchio. The stature and contours of the Virgin, the outlines of the head and hands are more like those of Verrocchio than those of the Pollaiuoli. If one should be required to describe an infant by Lorenzo di Credi, he could not do so more appropriately than by sketching out this of the National gallery, an infant whose excessive plumpness of flesh, absence of neck and ponderosity of head, whose curves of outline are essentially an exaggeration of those in the sketches of Verrocchio and Leonardo. The angel to the right reminds one of that of Verrocchio. The angel to the left, with his upturned and sentimentally bent head, is foreshortened as Lorenzo di Credi might have done. The hand, though bony and slender, is designed with much finesse. The drawing of the forms generally is so precise and definite that it could not have been carried out with more care or minuteness. The ornamentation exhibits the richness of that of the goldsmiths. The draperies of the angels especially are like those of Lorenzo, whilst the cleanness and pureness of the gay colours and their polish indicate again the manner of Credi. The style in fact is such an one as starting from that of the bronze of S. Thomas at Orsanmichele, becomes developed in the pictures of Verrocchio's pupil.

Though a common art may be noticed in Verrocchio and the Pollaiuoli, a variety is clearly noticeable in their mode of thought and feeling. The Virgin of the National gallery is less redolent of the nature and feeling of the Pollaiuoli than of that of Verrocchio and Lorenzo di Credi. The student may test this by comparing in the National gallery itself a masterpiece by the first and two pictures by the last with the Virgin and child under notice. He

[1] No. 296. National Gallery Catalogue. Assigned to Domenico Ghirlandaio, and considered by some to have been painted by Piero della Francesca. A note to the Catalogue suggests that it may be a tempera by Antonio Pollaiuolo.

will surely admit a greater approach to the works of Lorenzo than to the creations of the Pollaiuoli. He will see that Lorenzo's style, execution, form, colour, drawing and draperies are derived from the school represented by the picture under review; and more like it than even the Baptism of Verrocchio. It is not impossible therefore that the panel of the National Gallery should be executed by Credi in the atelier of Verrocchio. This and the other works of the same class previously noticed are, it is true painted in tempera, a system in which the extant productions of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio are not executed. Still they embody the features of Verrochio's school, and this to a greater extent than those peculiar to the school of the Pollaiuoli.[1]

We may conclude this notice by a glance at two more works. A round of the holy family in the collection of the Marquis of Westminster exihibited at Manchester,[2] is in the manner of Lorenzo di Credi.

A profile portrait (bust) of a lady in a gold headdress successively in the galleries of Miss Rogers and Mr. Bromley, assigned at one time to Verrocchio, and later to Pollaiuolo, is stamped with the character of Filippino Lippi's style, and is, we believe, a fine work of the youth of Raffaellino del Garbo.[3]

[1] The Catalogue of the National Gallery (Ed. of 1863) admits that the Madonna (296) may be by another master than Dom. Ghirlandaio to whom it is assigned, and suggests Antonio Pollaiuolo as the probable author.

[2] No. 69. of Manchester Catalogue.

[3] The long hair is adorned with a veil and pearls. On one side is a scutcheon. The picture was knocked down at Mr. Bromley's sale to Mr. Martin for 230 guineas.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SANDRO BOTTICELLI.

Amongst the spectators of the martyrdom of S. Peter painted by Filippino Lippi in the Brancacci chapel, one on the right is a sullen and sensual looking man in profile, whose head is remarkable for the salience of the nose, the deep set of the eye under the pent-house of the brow, the heaviness of the underjaw and the size of a large and fleshy mouth. A purple cap covers copious long flowing locks, a red mantle envelops the form; and the legs are encased in green hose. This, according to Vasari, is the portrait of Sandro Botticelli, the cotemporary of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Benozzo, Verrocchio and Pietro Perugino, an artist who developed at various periods of his career the semi-religious, semi-fanciful feeling of Fra Filippo and the more realistic character of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio, and a vehement and passionate manner of his own at last, in which he combined power with fantastic exuberance of thought.

Born in 1447, he was the youngest son of Mariano Filipepi of Florence,[1] who apprenticed him to a goldsmith.[2] But his inclination favoured the study of painting, and Fra Filippo Lippi seems to have been the first artist upon whom he chose to model his style. No painter of the fifteenth century illustrates better than Botticelli the various changes which the art of the time had successfully undergone. Coming into the world when Angelico tottered on the brink of the grave, he saw Fra Filippo modify the

[1] Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p.p. 343—4. [2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 110.

purely religious feeling peculiar to the convent, and exhaust the practise of filling large wall-spaces in the old tempera manner. He was in a position to profit by the varying success or failure of men whose efforts were directed towards innovation in the use of mediums and vehicles. He enjoyed the fruits gathered with labour by conscientious students of perspective; and felt the influence of those who combined the experience of plastic and pictorial science. He personified the condition of the art of his time, and being of an impetuous character, embodied most of its defects with some of its qualities. We can understand the consideration in which he was held, when we hear Vasari say,[1] that he was the best master in Florence, at the death of Fra Filippo. We can conceive that such an opinion might be held in the earlier period of Botticelli's career, when Domenico Ghirlandaio had not as yet enjoyed the full expanse of his power; though, even then, it would have been difficult to assign the palm to one more than to the other. In 1480, Botticelli painted a S. Augustin in fresco at Ognissanti, and spent upon it the vigour of conception and boldness of hand which were characteristic of his style. But his skill is marred by coarseness akin to that of Andrea del Castagno. Domenico Ghirlandaio competed with him in a figure of S. Jerom, which seems cold and somewhat motionless in contrast, but which is impregnated with more nobleness and decorum. Vasari who could appreciate technical skill might for that reason prefer the work of Botticelli to that of his rival, but we look in vain for the deep expression of thought and subtlety which the biographer discovers and praises.[2]

Botticelli was just past the age of twenty two when Fra Filippo died.[3] We may assign to the immediately succeeding time some circular pictures bearing the impress of the friar's influence, in conception and spirit, in character and action. Still fresh, as it were, from reminis-

[1] Vol. IV. p. 129.

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 112. Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 14.

[3] He died as has been seen in 1469.

cences of the Carmelite's manner, himself in an age in which feeling, if it exists at all, finds its way to the outer surfaces, he conceived Madonnas full of a naive tenderness. He supplied the lack of religious feeling and the absence of select types by affectionate maternity and silent melancholy in the face of the mother of Christ, an eager service in childlike saints and angels attending for the performance of the simplest offices. Thus in a round at the Uffizi,[1] in which he imitated the style of arrangement, the mode of drapery carried out before by Fra Filippo, and already reminiscent in him of reliefs by Donatello or Desiderio da Settignano, he placed the Virgin on a seat, with the infant on her knee, but intent on some holy thought about to be consigned to a book held up before her by angels. She dips a pen in the ink-bottle. A diadem is held up above her head; and through the centre of the group the eye wanders out to a distance of hill and vale. In a round at the Louvre,[2] reproducing the same subject with a slight variation, he interests the spectator alike, and causes a fibre to vibrate, which often remains unmoved before the colder creations of the great Ghirlandaio. This phase of Botticelli's talent clearly received a wide support amongst the patrons of Florentine art; but the number of pictures embodying the same or kindred subjects produced by the master or by the apprentices in his shop must have created a surfeit at last, because they soon ceased to possess the freshness, or exhibit the care in technical execution, which were conspicuous in the earliest and best of them. Botticelli's position as a painter in Florence, ten years after Fra Filippo's death, may be appreciated by a fact which has but recently become known. The student of Florentine history remembers the tragic incidents of the conspiracy of the Pazzi (1478) the murder of Julian de' Medici, the marvellous escape of Lorenzo from a similar

[1] No. 33. [2] No. 195. One angel holds the crown above the Virgin's head.



MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ANGELS, by S. Botticelli in the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence.

fate, and the complete revenge taken upon all who had shared in the treason. The custom of painting the effigies of conspirators on the front of the Public Palace had not yet been abandoned at Florence, and the traitor Pazzi were depicted by Botticelli on the walls of the Palazzo Pubblico, at the request of the "Signori Otto."[1]

Sandro had perhaps already modified his early manner at this time, and caught the impulse given to Florentine art by the goldsmith painters, the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio. This impulse, without depriving him of the characteristic features derived from the teaching of Fra Filippo, varied them in a certain measure, taught him to control the vehemence of his hand and the vagaries of his fancy, to devote more thought, and therefore attain more success, in the distribution of his subject or the grouping and action of his figures, and to simplify and improve his drawing. It enabled him to chasten some exaggerations of costume and ornament, and to improve his technical execution by the use of tones more bright and transparent, by colours more harmonious generally, better fused and more pastose in texture. We may consider him to have completed under this favorable influence the figure of Fortitude in the series of virtues, of which the greater part had already been furnished to the Mercatanzia by the Pollaiuoli. Botticelli's figure, which has followed the rest of the Virtues to the Uffizi, combines his style with the technical methods, — the architectural and ornamental accessories of theirs; and it shares their energy of movement, vulgarity of type and coarseness of extremities or articulations.[2] If in a single figure some doubt

[1] July 21. 1478. "Item servatis &c. deliberaverunt et stantiaverunt Sandro Botticelli pro ejus labore in pingendo proditores flor. quadraginta largos." Arch. Cent. di Stato di Firenze in Gior. Stor. degli Arch. Toscani, anno VI. 1862. note to p. 3.

[2] No. 1285. Uffizi Catalogue. The figure is that of a female enthroned under a niche. She wears a winged helmet adorned with pearls, and wields a club. The embroideries, the particoloured marbles are the same as in the virtues of the Pollaiuoli, and it would seem as if Botticelli tried to keep to the model of the figures already executed before his. This piece is noticed

as to the authorship remains, in consequence of the assimilation to some of the peculiarities of the Pollaiuoli, uncertainty is not permitted when we consider the allegory of Spring in the Academy of Arts at Florence,[1] in which Botticelli gives full play to his fancy, and embodies at once an exaggeration of the slenderness and *desinvolture* of Fra Filippo Lippi with the realism and partiality to ornament of the Pollaiuoli and the modelled types of Verrocchio, all this with a precision and finish of drawing in every part, whether principal or subordinate, which alone would declare the influence of the "orafi" on their cotemporary. The scene is a landscape of wood, orchard and flowery meadow. A man with a winged helmet like a Mercury scantily draped about the hips, with a sword at his side and striking down the fruit from a tree, offers to the spectator a youthful form in fair movement and proportion. Three females near him (? the Graces) dance on the green sward in the light folds of transparent veils; a fourth (? Venus) stands in rich attire in the centre of the ground, whilst, above them, the blind Cupid flies down with his lighted torch. On the right a flying genius, whose dress flutters in the wind, wafts a stream of air towards a female in whose hand is a bow, and from whose mouth sprigs of roses fall into the garment of a nymph at her side. In the latter figure the beholder may trace one of those narrow waisted, thin-ankled, long-toed forms, reminiscent of Fra Filippo, but recalling also the David of Verrocchio in the shape of the head, and the aged cast of features which the school of Leonardo perpetuated in Lombardy. The realism of the goldsmiths is united to their luxurious richness of ornament and

by Vasari Vol. V. p. 111, and Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 16. Two pictures in the Uffizi, No. 15, a Virgin and child, No. 1286, the same subject in half lengths, have been mentioned in the life of Fra Filippo and are again noticed here as they bear on the face of them a mixture of the styles of the friar and of Botticelli in the figure of Fortitude.

[1] No. 24. Galerie des anciens tableaux. Vide Vas. Vol. V. p. 113. The picture was one of those originally in Cosmo's villa of Castello.

superabundance of jewellery and pearls; whilst the method in which the piece is painted is that of the Pollaiuoli, improved by the use of perhaps less viscous and consequently lower surface colours. It is a picture whose freshness has not been thoroughly maintained, but of great interest as an illustration of the gradual growth of Botticelli's manner, and his characteristic treatment of half heathen incidents in vogue at the time of Lorenzo de' Medici.

The measure of his talent in the production of sacred subjects at this period may be taken from the adoration of the Magi, executed for the Medici in S. M. Novella,[1] and intended specially to honour the deceased Cosmo who kneels before the Virgin and receives the blessing of the infant, whose foot he kisses. Behind him, persons of various ages, and in divers action, are well arranged in the space, a youth standing very nobly out in front. A kneeling group balancing this one, is lined with a rear rank of standing spectators;[2] and S. Joseph, just above and behind the Virgin, is relieved on the background, in which the pent-house rears its posts and beams. A tree and peacock enrich the subject; and the usual horizon graces the furthest planes. This altarpiece is a tempera, in which a certain animation pervades the well arranged groups; great truth and individuality mark the portraits. The heads are well modelled and in fair relief; and some figures are grandly draped. The drawing is pure and the colour transparent, and the picture in its complete aspect is truly, though enthusiastically, described by Vasari as one of the best of the period. About the time when Botticelli was called to Rome by Sixtus the Fourth,[3] to paint in the Sixtine chapel, in competition with Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Cosimo Rosselli, and Luca Signorelli

[1] Now No. 1189. Scuola Toscana, at the Uffizi. Vas. Vol. V. p. 116. Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 14.

[2] The two other Magi are described by Vasari as portraits of Giuliano and Giovanni de' Medici. (Vol. V. p.p. 115—116.

[3] Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 116—117.

(? 1481—84), he had just executed the S. Augustin of Ognissanti, in which the slumbering fire, hitherto kept under and restrained by various checks, now burst out. He combined in that figure, to which allusion has already been made, some of the vulgarity and grimace of Andrea del Castagno with an impetuosity and freedom of hand essentially his own. It was a period of great activity in Botticelli, that in which he illustrated with designs an edition of Dante (1481), noted for the fancy and spirit with which some of the drawings are conceived.[1] It was a period when he gave such scope to his vehemence, imagination, and power, that the result often surprises the beholder into admitting that, in spite of coarseness in certain parts, and of want of perfectly decorous bearing in some figures, he produced something akin to the grandiose. His mastery of action in springing and dancing attitudes, his ability in rendering drapery in motion, and his comparative elegance and grace in female delineation are aptly illustrated in the great coronation of the Virgin at the Florence Academy,[2] where he ably contrasts the humble and shrinking nature of a Virgin crowned by a severe Eternal in mitre and long flowing locks, with a choir of cherubs, a covey of angels passing flowers to each other or casting them on the floor of the heavens, — a dance of celestial children encircling the group, and four dignified saints looking up or pensive on a meadow below.

Botticelli succeeds in realizing at least the idea of infinity and space. The joy of the spirits of paradise is not mystically conceived as it was by Angelico. It is expressed by elastic and mirthful motion and by a cer-

[1] According to Vasari he also commented Dante. One of his illustrations, he adds, was an Inferno (Vol. V. p. 117). The edition of Dante is described in Passavant's "Peintre Graveur" (8°. Leipzig 1860. Vol. I. p.p. 130. 237—238), as published in 1482 with engravings, partly from drawings of Sandro cut by Baccio Baldini, partly by Sandro himself.

[2] No. 47. Salle des grands tableaux. The picture was originally painted for S. Marco. The front figures are much injured and the surface is scaling. The predella in the same collection represents the annunciation between



THE HISTORY OF MOSES; a fresco by Sandro Botticelli, in the Sistine Chapel

tain grace which retrieves the want of nobleness in type. A balmy breeze waves through the locks and distends the draperies; and the eager angels who pass the flowers or cast them at the Virgin's feet, foreshadow the similar productions of Raphael and proclaim Botticelli as the creator of models perfected by modern art. The influence of Fra Filippo may still be traced, however, in the slenderness of the Virgin, in the dresses and lithesome action of the angels, whilst the realism and partiality to ornament of another school are revealed in the finely proportioned S. Augustin who meditates, in the heavily bearded S. John Evangelist who looks up and holds an arm aloft; in the contemplative S. Eloisius who gives the blessing, and in the shaven Jerom in his cardinal's robes.

In the Sixtine chapel, where Botticelli, previous to 1484, painted scenes from the old and new testament,[1] the features of his later style are all distinctly visible; but his compositions betray the absence of command over the essential laws of distribution, and illustrate in this respect a lower level of art than that of Fra Filippo. He instinctively supplied this deficiency by throwing into the arrangement of his groups, and into the action of the figures which overcrowd them, an extraordinary amount of life, activity and motion; into the draperies, the flutter of a strong breeze, and into the ornament, excessive richness. The "Destruction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram"[2] is a pregnant example of these remarkable features in the master's style, which are repeated in a certain measure in the fresco of Moses smiting the Egyptians at the well.[3] Setting composition altogether aside, the third wall piece, devoted to the temptation and victory of

four scenes from the lives of S.S. John Evangelist, Augustin, Jerom and Eloisius. It is numbered 49. Consult Vas. Vol. V. p. 112, and Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 12.

[1] "And figures of Popes", adds Vasari (Vol. V. p. 117). He was called to Rome by Sixtus IVth, according to the biographer; and we know that Sixtus died in 1484.

[2] The second to the left as one enters the Sixtine chapel.

[3] This fresco is also on the wall to the left of the entrance.

Satan by Christ,[1] contains groups which entitle the picture to claim a place amongst the best that Botticelli ever executed. Of these, one to the spectator's left combines the beauty and character of that which adorns the adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi, and would alone suffice to prove that the author of that piece, so long falsely assigned to Ghirlandaio, was by his cotemporary and competitor. We have had occasion to compare the two men in their works at Ognissanti. The comparison may be renewed in the Sixtine chapel, where we find Sandro inferior to Domenico and to Perugino, and only preserving superiority over Cosimo Rosselli, whilst the fire and vehemence of his action makes a near approach to that which the spectator enjoys in the creations of Signorelli.

The Calumny of Apelles,[2] which seems to have been of this time, and whose subject is known by prints, adds another feature to the character of Botticelli. It shows him a student of classic statuary and of ancient architecture; whilst the figures in their gipsy wildness, although they are here and there admirably draped, remind us that vehemence of action may be carried too far.

During his later career, Botticelli no doubt produced many more fine works. He certainly received great commissions. That entrusted to him and to Ghirlandaio to paint in the Sala dell' Udienza of the Public Palace at Florence in 1482, is on record,[2] though it is not ascertained that he carried out the work intended for him. It *is* ascertained with sufficient certainty that he executed four panels illustrating Boccaccio's fable of Nastagio degli Onesti for the wedding of Pierfrancesco di Giovanni Bini with Lucrezia Pucci in 1487; and these pieces are described by the annotators of Vasari as a happy

[1] This fresco is on the wall to the right of the entrance.

[2] Uffizi. Scuola Toscana. No. 1192. The picture belonged to Fabio Segni. The verses quoted by Vasari are no longer on the basement. Vide Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 122—3.

[3] Gaye. Vol. I. p. 578.



Small Allegorical Painting (from the description of a picture by Apelles) relating to CALUMNY, in the Uffizj at Florence: by S. Botticelli.

mixture of difficult conceits, beautiful colour and natural elegance in the figures.[1] An honourable commission in every respect to Botticelli was that entrusted to him in 1491 by the influence of Lorenzo de' Medici, in company with Domenico and David Ghirlandaio, to execute the mosaics of the cappella S. Zanobi in S. M. del Fiore; and it is sincerely to be regretted that the obliteration of that work, which was interrupted at Lorenzo's death, should preclude our judging Sandro's ability in a branch of art which he had hitherto not been known to practise.[2] His continued presence in Florence is, after this time, proved by casual circumstances, — by a letter addressed through him to Lorenzo de' Medici by Michael Angelo in 1496,[3] — his income tax paper of 1498, in which he describes himself as residing with his brother Simone in the popolo S. Lucia of Ognissanti,[4] and his opinion given in 1503 as to the place best fitted for Michael Angelo's David.[5] But from that time till 1515, when he died in comparative proverty,[6] and a pensioner on the bounty of the Medici, he no doubt sank in general esteem, because he varied his better works with others in which he lazily reproduced the same models, and filled the peninsula with productions originally feeble and now rendered more so by time and restoring.

The catalogue of his works is naturally large and may be taken in the following order.[7]

Florence. Uffizi. First corridor. No. 31. Allegory of the birth of Venus. The goddess issues from a shell which is driven to the shore by two flying allegories of the winds. Life size. The figures are a little out of balance. The picture originally belonged to the Medici and was painted for Cosimo's villa of Castello."[8]

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 113—14. The panels were at his time in Casa Pucci.

[2] The record dated 1491 is in the series of Documenti, appended to Vol. VI. of Vasari's lives. p.p. 339—40.

[3] Gualandi. Ser. 3. p. 112.

[4] Gaye. Vol. I. p. 343.

[5] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 458.

[6] Vas. Vol. V. p. 118.

[7] This list omits the pictures already noticed in the text.

[8] Vas. Vol. V. p. 113.

Same gallery. First corridor. No. 32. Round: representing the Virgin and child and six angels; not so fine as that cited in previous pages, but good and worthy of the master.

Same gallery. Ecole Toscane. No. 1183. A small subject. Holophernes found dead in his tent.

Same gallery. Ecole Toscane. No. 1184. Judith cutting off the head of Holophernes. A small and much repainted piece.

Florence Academy of arts. Galerie des grands tableaux. No. 52. Originally in S. Barnaba of Florence.[1] Two angels raising curtains at each side disclose the Virgin attended by two seraphs holding the symbols of the Passion, between S.S. Barnabas, Michael, John Evangelist, Ambrose and Catherine of Alexandria. The upper part of the picture is a modern addition by Veracini. It is a fine piece, not free from retouching.

Same gallery. Salle des anciens tableaux. No. 48. Raphael and Tobit, a picture of the school.

Same gallery. Salle des petits tableaux. No. 25. Three archangels and Tobit, already noticed in the works of the Pollaiuoli.

Same gallery. Salle des petits tableaux. No. 39. 42. 69. Two scenes from the life of S. Augustin in the manner of Botticelli or his school. Herodias with S. John's head in a basin. A scene from the life of S. Andrew. Small pieces of little importance.

Galleria Pitti. Stanza di Prometeo. No. 348. Round, with half lengths of the Holy family and angels, not a fine production of the master.

Same gallery, same room. No. 357. The Virgin erect holding the infant who turns to embrace the youthful S. John, a genuine work.

Same gallery, same room. No. 353. A bust portrait said to be that of "La bella Simonetta" for whom the attachment of Julian de' Medici is known. Profile with a cap and in simple attire, of slender form, long neck and dull grey tone. This picture is a genuine one, but seems to represent a person of a lower rank than La Simonetta.

Florence. S. Jacopo di Ripoli. Altar to the right of entrance. Subject: The coronation of the Virgin who kneels in a glory of graceful playing angels. Eighteen saints stand below, all but life size. This picture, long assigned

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 112, and Richa. Vol. 7. p. 65.

to Domenico Ghirlandaio, is a careful production of Botticelli's fine time and stands in some relation, as regards beauty, to the adoration of the Magi in which the kings are portraits of the Medici.

Florence. Casa Alessandri. Borgo degli Albizzi. Round of the Virgin, child and angels, in arrangement similar, in execution inferior, to the same subject No. 33 in the Uffizi.

Florence. Galleria Corsini. No. 13. Round, two angels open a curtain and hold a crown above the Virgin's head. Four others attend with the symbols of the Passion. A picture damaged by scaling.

Same gallery. Not numbered. Five small allegorical figures on one panel, assigned by mistake to Angelico.

Florence. Lombardi Collection. The child lies on the ground stretching its arms towards the Virgin whose hands are crossed on her bosom. Angels attend: half lengths, fairly preserved.

Florence. Oratory of S. Ansano. Four allegories on separate panels, representing the triumphs, of love, of Chastity, of time, of divinity, in the manner of Botticelli and his school, but injured.

Volterra. Badia. Sacristy. A coronation of the Virgin almost similar to that of S. Jacopo di Ripoli with only four saints and a kneeling monk at the foot. This piece is in Botticelli's manner but in a wretched condition.[1]

Prato. Signor Nistri. Round. The infant Saviour, seated on a cushion, with a book in its hand, looking up at the Virgin adoring him with joined hands. Right, a table with a vase of roses. Left, the youthful Baptist. This is a fine and well preserved picture of the master, with all but life size figures, painted in a light and somewhat raw tempera, akin to that found in works of Filippino.

Empoli. Pieve. At each side of a statue by Rossellino two angels with folded arms, much ornamented. Above these, figures of a man and woman kneeling. Below, five scenes of a ruder execution.[2] The angels, though graceful, seem the creation of a young apprentice in Botticelli's atelier. The portraits are good.

Rome. Galleria Borghese. A fine round of the Virgin, child and youthful Baptist in an interior between six

[1] Vasari mentions works undertaken by Botticelli for Lorenzo de' Medici in the Spedaletto now a private house belonging to the Princes Corsini near Volterra (Vol. V. p. 118).

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 121.

angels, singing behind a parapet. The figures are almost life size.

Modena. Gallery. No. 28. Round of the Virgin, child and youthful Baptist, a dull and middling picture of the school.

Milan. Ambrosiana. Small round of the Virgin kneeling and pressing the stream of milk from her breast into the mouth of the child erect before her; two angels raise a curtain at the sides. This piece is pretty and carefully carried out, executed with much feeling in a style taken up by Filippino Lippi and exaggerated by Raffaelino del Garbo.

Turin gallery. No. 587. An allegory, in the fashionable style treated by Piero della Francesca, of a female in a car drawn by two unicorns. Amongst other figures is one in front carrying a flag. The distance is a landscape. A small and minutely finished piece, but injured in part by abrasion.

Same gallery. No. 591. Three archangels and Tobit, weak, but in the manner of Botticelli's school, between Filippino and Botticelli in style, and of light but feeble colour, possibly by Raffaellino del Garbo or some other pupil in the shop of Filippino.

Same gallery. No. 521. A subject called the destruction of Jerusalem, in reality a battle piece, not by Botticelli, though of the Florentine school, and of the class usually known by the names of Peselli, Dello, Uccelli.

Same gallery. No. 586. Virgin and child not by Botticelli, but in the manner of Lorenzo di Credi.

Berlin Museum. No. 102. Round of the Virgin, child and seven graceful angels, with a rose hedge and sky for background, injured by restoring, especially in the Virgin and child.

Same gallery. No. 106. A fine picture by the master, of the Virgin and child between the Baptist and Evangelist.[1]

Same gallery. No. 1117. An annunciation, genuine, but of little comparative interest or value.

Same gallery. No. 1124. Venus erect, imitating the pose of the Medicean, not one of the best productions of Botticelli.

Same gallery. No. 81. A profile portrait, as alleged, of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, dressed much in the modest garb of

[1] This is the picture, it is said, mentioned by Vasari (Vol. V. p. 111) as originally in S. Spirito at Florence. It was purchased for Berlin by Baron von Rumohr.

the so-called Simonetta at the Pitti, carefully but feebly executed, of a dull tone.

Berlin. Raczynski gallery. A fine round of the life size Virgin holding the infant who looks at the spectator and strives to open his mother's dress, a group not without feeling. An angel on the right points out a passage in a book to three others. Four angels on the right. The movements are good and varied, the four last leaning on each other's shoulders in pretty companionship. The nude is well rendered, developed in the articulations and extremities in the somewhat heavy style common to the Pollaiuoli and the figure of Fortitude by Botticelli. The picture has been restored, but the colour does not want light.

Munich gallery. Saal. No. 554. The Saviour's body on the knees of the Virgin, between eight saints, all but life size. This is a fine picture answering the description given by Richa (vol. 3 pp. 278—80) of a Pieta in the sacristy of S. M. Maggiore and executed for the Pianciatichi of Florence.

Dresden gallery. No. 12. 13. Ecce Homo, and John Baptist (bust), the first, of the school, the second still less good.

Same gallery. No. 25. S. John Evangelist. No. 26. S. John the Baptist. No. 27. Round of the Virgin, child, and angels, are by rude executants of Botticelli's shop.

Frankfort. Staedel Institute. Not catalogued. A colossal profile of a female like a study of the antique, of regular form and cold grey tone.

Paris. Louvre. No. 196. The Virgin, infant and youthful Baptist, with a landscape distance, in the style of the school of Fra Filippo, with something of the manner of Botticelli in colour.

Same collection. A Venus lying in a meadow, with cupids, forms part of the Ex-Campana collection.

London. Mr. Barker's collection. Life size Virgin, child and youthful Baptist, the latter standing on one side, whilst a vase of flowers is on the other.

Same collection. The life size Virgin embracing the infant and the youthful Baptist in prayer. Both these pictures are fine and well preserved.

Same collection. Less attractive than the foregoing, a Venus lying in a meadow, with cupids.

Gallery of the late Mr. Bromley. Two life size figures of Venus, not of the best style of Botticelli. One recalling that of Berlin and injured (purchased by Lord Ashburton

for 100 guineas), the other originally in the Palazzo Feroni at Florence, better than the first and marked by a garland of flowers (purchased by Mr. Bathhouse for 150 guineas).

Same collection. A round with half lengths of the infant Saviour on the ground, adored by the Virgin, kneeling in prayer, with five angels in attendance. In the distance is a rosebush and landscape. This picture (purchased by Mr. Bathhouse for 750 guineas) is in the raw system of tone peculiar to some of the master's works.

Mr. Fuller Maitland's collection. No. 51 at Manchester. Nativity. In the centre, the pent-house, in front of which the infant lies and is adored by the Virgin. Some of the shepherds are led towards the Saviour by angels, others in the foreground express their joy by embracing the pastors. A choir sings on the roof of the pent-house, others dance in a circle in the heavens. At each side of the foreground, devils. This is one of the pictures in which Sandro allowed his usual spirit to burst out into extraordinary effervescence. A Greek inscription at foot states that the picture was executed in 1500.[1] Exquisite taste is shown in the ornament and great care in the execution, but the picture is not in perfect condition.

Same collection. No. 52, at Manchester. The Virgin adoring the child, and S. John. This piece has the character of Botticelli's school.

Gallery of the late Lord Northwick. A much injured Nativity on canvass (Virgin adores the Saviour).

Lord Ward's collection, Dudley House. A round of the nativity executed poorly by some of the master's pupils.

National gallery. No. 226. Virgin and child, youthful Baptist and angels, a dull toned picture.

Same collection. Same subject No. 275. Not a fine example.

France. Collection of Mr. Reiset. Vasari notices two portraits in the "guardaroba" of Cosmo de' Medici (Vas. Vol. V. p. 121). One represented "La Simonetta", and it is said the other was Lucrezia Tornabuoni. The Pitti gallery claims the first, the Berlin Museum the second. Both, however, seem to be likenesses of persons of a burgess class. Nor are they fine productions of the master. Mr. Reiset possesses a magnificent profile of a female (bust, all but naked to the waist) with hair in tresses and twisted with pearls and hanging ornaments representing hearts with a

[1] This has also been read 1511, and Schorn's Vasari makes it 1460. See notes to Vol. II. p.p. 243—4. The picture was in the Ottley collection.

jewel on the top of it. A jewelled serpent is twined round her neck. A scarf with variegated stripes is about her form, and the head is detached on clouds topping a landscape of water and hills. This all but life size portrait bears the inscription:

"Simonetta Januensis Vespuccia."

The figure and neck are long and slender, the drawing is exquisitely precise and finished, and the portrait generally is far superior in every respect to those before alluded to. It almost equals indeed in richness and beauty the creations of the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio, which Botticelli came near in some of his pieces; and must be by one of these masters or Botticelli. It is at all events probably that mentioned by Vasari, and if by Botticelli (one cannot affirm that it is), in the unusual style in which he approached the "orafi."

Same collection. Mr. Reiset also possesses an injured allegorical figure, of colossal size, representing perhaps one of the seasons, with three attendant children and cornucopias. At Rome, where this piece once was, it was named Mantegna,[1] but it is no doubt by Botticelli.

Amongst the pictures not seen by the authors of this work is the altarpiece executed for Matteo Palmieri, in the Cappella dell' Assunta of S. Pier' Maggiore at Florence. It is now in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton.[2]

The following list comprises such pictures, as Vasari and others mention, and which have either perished or escape research.

Florence. Convent of the Convertite, table.[3] Casa Medici, a Pallas and a S. Sebastian.[4] Casa Pucci, round of the Epiphany,[5] Cestello, S. M. de' Pazzi, annunciation.[6] There is a picture representing this subject, now in the church named; but it is not by Botticelli. Florence. S. Francesco fuori Porta a S. Miniato, round of the Virgin and angels.[7]

[1] It is noted as a Mantegna in Com. to Vasari, by Selvatico. Vol. V. p. 193.

[2] Vide Richa. Vol. I. p. 54, and Waagen, Treasures. Vol. III. p. 296. Not seen likewise is a round of the Virgin and child between S.S. M. Magdalen and Catherine in Casa Pucci at Florence. Vas. Vol. V. note to p. 114.

[3] Vas. Vol. V. p. 112, and Borghini. Vol. II. p. 134.

[4] Ibid. Ibid.

[5] Ibid. p. 114.

[6] Ibid. Ibid. and Richa. Vol. I. p. 232.

[7] Vas. Vol. V. p. 118.

Guardaroba of Cosmo de' Medici, a Bacchus.[1] Pisa. Duomo, Cappella dell' Impagliata, unfinished ascension.[2] Montevarchi. S. Francesco. Picture of high altar.[3] Florence Orsanmichele, Baldacchino.[4] Monastery of the Angeli, round.[5] Cappella de' Canneri, annunciation.[6] The annotators of Vasari, Schorn's translation (II. 2. 244), notice a miracle of S. Zenobius in possession of Herr von Quandt at Dresden.

[1] Ibid. p. 121.
[2] Ibid. Ibid.
[3] Ibid. Ibid.
[4] Ibid. Ibid.
[5] Ibid. Ibid.
[6] Richa. Vol. I. p. 322.

CHAPTER XIX.

FILIPPINO LIPPI AND THE RAPHAELS.

From the numerous and interesting works of Botticelli we naturally turn to those which illustrate the career of Filippino. But before we venture upon the analysis of his great and important creations, we pause to inquire when he was born and who are his parents. History responds in the page of Vasari: that Filippino is the natural son of Fra Filippo, a Carmelite friar, and Lucrezia Buti, a novice. We shall be slow to accept this version of a story which reposes on no secure foundation, and we may ask whether the doubts suggested in the life of Fra Filippo Lippi are not capable of receiving additional force from other considerations.

The strongest argument upon which Vasari's assertion rests is the name of Filippino. He calls himself in a letter and in a public record, Filippo di Filippo Lippi;[1] in a picture at Bologna, Philippinus; in the Strozzi frescos at S. Maria Novella in Florence, Philippinus de Lippis, and in the adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi, Philipus de Lipis. In the public accounts of the city of Florence (1485) he is called Filippo Filippi, and Filippo alterius Filippi.[2] The history of Italian art affords numerous examples of painters taking the names of adoptive fathers or of teachers. Mantegna is called "fiuolo de M. Francesco

[1] In a letter from Rome to Filippo Strozzi dated May 2. 1489 (Vide "Alcuni documenti" &c. printed for the Nozze Gentile. Farinola Vat. ub. sup. p.p. 15–16), and in a record (Ibid. p. 18).

[2] Gaye, ub. sup. I. p.p. 579. 581—2.

Squarcion" in the register of Paduan painters.[1] Marco Zoppo calls himself in one of his pictures, "Zoppo di Squarcione."[2] Gregorio Schiave signs a picture now at Berlin,[3] "Opus Sclavoni Dalmatici Squarcioni." Palmezzano is, in altarpieces, Marchus de Melotius. There is nothing in Filippino's own signature to letters and records justifying more than that he is a pupil and perhaps a relation of Fra Filippo.[4] Vasari says, that Fra Filippo had relatives at Prato.[5] We know that Filippino was educated in that town, for which he had a natural attachment on that account.[6] We may therefore surmise that he is of the Carmelite's family, perhaps his adopted son, certainly reared, either as a pupil in his atelier, or a student of his works under the guardianship of Fra Diamante. A letter written by Giovanni de' Medici to his agent at Naples in 1458 referring to a ludicrous mistake of Fra Filippo, has been construed into an allusion to the seduction of Lucrezia,[7] and the date of that fictitious event being thus settled, we possess a slender and insecure basis on which to found the belief that Filippino was born in 1460. The date of Filippino's registry in the guild of Florentine painters is unfortunately illegible[8] and deprives the student perhaps of a valuable clue as to the real time of his birth; but enough has been said to justify serious doubts as to the accuracy of the date usually assumed;[9] and it is possible that Filippino may have been born earlier. His masterpieces prove to us a close

[1] Selvatico in note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 159.

[2] A Virgin child and angels in the late Manfrini Gallery.

[3] Berlin Museum No. 1162.

[4] Cosimo Rosselli might be supposed from his name to be a son of Rosselli. Yet he is proved by his will and other records to be the son of Lorenzo of the Rosselli. See Gaye, Cart. II. note to p. 457. Pier di Cosimo, again is only so called because he was Rosselli's pupil.

[5] "In Prato, dove aveva alcuni parenti." Vas. Vol. IV. p. 121.

[6] Minute of meeting of Prato town council in proofs to Guasti's Catalogue of the Prato Gallery 8°. Prato. 1858. p. 43.

[7] See antea Fra Filippo and Gaye. Vol. I. p. 180.

[8] Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. VI. p. 182.

[9] It is but right to add that Vasari says Filippino died in 1505 aged 45. But the biographer is oftener wrong than right in such statements as these.

adherence to many of the salient principles in the art of Fra Filippo; yet Vasari says that his real master was Botticelli.[1] He also dwells, however, on the close connection between Botticelli and Fra Filippo. We must therefore compare the works of Sandro and Filippino in order to ascertain the truth. A glance at the wall-paintings of the Brancacci chapel, especially at those which seem the earliest, such as the liberation of S. Peter, and Paul's interview with him in prison, show the clear derivation of Filippino's style from that of Fra Filippo as contra-distinguished from Sandro's manner in 1480—4 at Ognissanti, and in the Sixtine chapel. Some points of resemblance which can be traced in a few pictures of Filippino and Botticelli may be due to their common study of the works of Fra Filippo and to a later connection with each other. But should it become certain that our artist was left an orphan of tender years in 1469, we may still suppose that Fra Diamante, who had, no doubt, imbibed the style of the Carmelite, carried on the child's education in the only path with which he was acquainted, and that Filippino thus remained indelibly impressed with the stamp of Fra Filippo's manner.[2] This opinion can be sustained by reference to pictures, but becomes almost a certainty with the help of cotemporary records. A precious minute of proceedings at a meeting of the town-council of Prato in Jan. 1501 contains a speech made by Antonio Vannocci de Rochis, in which he recommends Filippino as a fit person to paint a picture for the audience hall of the public palace. In the course of his remarks he says: that as Filippino of Florence is a first rate artist educated in the territory of Prato and filled with affection for the town and its inhabitants, "he is the fit person for carrying out the commission".[3]

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 242.

[2] Vasari relates, that Fra Filippo left Fra Diamante guardian of Filippino. When Filippo died, Fra Diamante retired to Florence with the child then 10 years old, and with 300 ducats saved from the property of the deceased. Of these moneys very little was shared with Filippino. Vas. Vol. IV. p. 129.

[3] Minute of proceedings of Jan.

Filippino displays very high powers in a picture painted as early as 1480.[1] Ordered by Francesco del Pugliese for a chapel at "la Campora", it still hangs on an altar to the left of the entrance to the Badia in Florence, and represents the vision of S. Bernard, with a bust portrait of the donor on the foreground to the right. Bold design is carried out in lines broken and resumed to suit the necessities of a style affecting to seek out every possible curve in nature. A graceful animation and playful eagerness, a demonstrative mode of expressing the feelings, are equally characteristic; whilst the execution is all that can be desired for precision. The saint, standing pen in hand at a desk, seems entranced, and looks with extatic veneration at a Virgin of noble presence who, moving forward with attendant seraphs, turns the leaves of his book. It is a vision recalling that afterwards conceived by Fra Bartolommeo. The two angels at the Virgin's side evince a childish and simple curiosity, and remind one, as indeed the Virgin also does, essentially of Fra Filippo's manner, not only in the definition of the lines, and the slender proportions, but in the spirit of the conception and the fine movement of the draperies. Brethren of the order, wondering as they look towards heaven, or communicate the miracle to each other, — two chained and vanquished devils behind S. Bernard, assist the development of the story. The picture undoubtedly claims for Filippino the position of a painter in his prime, whilst the feeling and character which it discloses seem affected by a tendency to realism, effaced to some extent in the great wall paintings of the Brancacci, where one may suppose the artist to have felt the necessity of striving for a higher mark, in order worthily to rival the greatness of Masaccio. The mannered turn of some of

26. 1501, printed in Giornale Storico degli Arch. Tosc. Vol. II. p. 248, and in Gaetano Guasti's Catalogue of the Gallery of Prato. 8°. 1858. p. 43.

[1] If this date be correctly given by Puccinelli in "Cronica della Badia Fiorentina". Milan 1664, Ap. note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 244.

the lines, whilst it recals the style of Fra Filippo, is also reminiscent of that of Botticelli, and foreshadows the exaggeration observable later in Raffaellino del Garbo. In the use of his colours Filippino is abundant, and carefully fuses a somewhat raw flesh tone into lucid silver-grey shadows, without glazing. His method is tempera, carried out almost like oil painting in a manner remarkable in some pictures of Botticelli, — bright and clear, but gay to a fault in the changing hues of the draperies. No truer or more real portrait can be conceived than that of Francesco del Pugliese.[1]

The same youthful freshness, the same grace of forms and types, undisturbed by the exaggerated development of extremities peculiar to Filippino's later manner, — great minuteness and taste in ornament, mark an altarpiece, apparently of this time, in S. Michele of Lucca, representing S.S. Roch, Sebastian, Jerom, and Helena, in a meadow richly decked with flowers.[2]

Whilst the earliest examples of Filippino thus demonstrate, that the models upon which he based his style are those of his so-called father, modified with some less marked peculiarities of Botticelli's manner, the wall paintings of the Brancacci chapel prove with still greater clearness the direction of his education. Lower in the scale of art than Masaccio, to whom he succeeds, Filippino still worthily fulfils the arduous task imposed on him. If he fails to conceive or to dispose his subjects and groups with the massive grandeur of his precursor, if the distribution of his general lines produces a less

[1] Another picture of this period executed for the Ferranti family, and representing S. Jerom, was of old in the Badia, but is not now known to exist. Vide Vas. Vol. V. p. 252.

[2] To the left S. Roch youthful, turns towards S. Sebastian on his right, who holds an arrow. Next him is S. Jerom, in thought, recalling the type of S. Peter in the liberation at the Brancacci, and with a lion at his side. By his side S. Helena, with a long cross; — distance, a landscape. This picture is noticed in Vasari (comm. to life of S. Botticelli. Vol. V. p. 127) as a creation of the latter. It hangs on the second altar to the right of the high portal.

harmonious result, and proves that he had not the consummate art of placing the dramatis personæ in their perfect relative proportions on their various planes; if he has less power in the rendering of light and shade and atmosphere; if, in fine, he sacrifices the mass in some measure to detail, and prefers a mannered imitation of natural and unselect parts to the simplicity afforded by the choice of noble and select form, he is nevertheless, not at so great a distance behind Masaccio as to be eclipsed by him, and it shall not be denied that he possesses a bold vigour of hand and remarkable skill in reproducing action, a striking resolution in the build and expression of his figures, and a great individuality in their features, compensating for want of idealism or incomparable dignity of mien. Filippino in fact creates with realistic truth, and exhibits that tendency to flatness of planes in flesh and in drapery which precludes perfect rotundity and massive light and shade; and these are features which he derives from the teaching of Fra Filippo. He is at a disadvantage, too, as compared with Masaccio in realizing colour; for, though he uses more impasto, his tones are not so clear or light and their higher surface gives less the quality of rotundity.

Such, as premised, being the qualities of Filippino's wallpaintings at the Brancacci, it is perhaps needless to say that there seems no ground for entering upon a barren discussion as to whether Fra Filippo may not be entitled to the honour of having painted them.[1] The

[1] This theory has been developed by Cesare Bernasconi in "Studi" 8°. Verona, 1859, p.p. 11 and following. But the works of Filippino have also been assigned frequently to Masaccio (see Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 250), especially that portion of the fresco facing the resurrection of the boy, in which S. Peter and Paul appear before the Proconsul. Albertini, whose Memoriale appeared five years after the death of Filippino, assigns the crucifixion to him, and forgets the other episode in the same compartment. (Vide Mem. p. 16.) There is a long lapse of time between the period when Masaccio ceased to work and Filippino began his labours. The features marked in the painting of the two men are different. The part not by Filippino has all the character of a series executed in rapid succession. Between it and that of Filippino we note the



ST. PAUL ADDRESSING ST. PETER IN PRISON

From a fresco by Filippino Lippi, in the Carmine at Florence

style of Fra Filippo is distinct and clear enough to an artistic eye; and is not to be found at the Brancacci. We have already stated the conviction that the visit of Paul to Peter and the liberation in the pilasters of the chapel are the earliest by Filippino. We may add that the figures in these compositions are his best, and less marked by the unfavorable features of his manner than any of the rest. S. Paul, in the first of these frescos is splendid, coloured with more than usual brilliancy and thrown off with a grandeur almost equal to that of Masaccio's creations.[1] The angel in the second has a fine slender shape which reminds the beholder of those of Fra Filippo, whilst the type of his face discloses the mere germ of subsequent defects in a certain squareness and tendency to vulgarity. The sleeping sentry, outside, is also fine. Colour, however, is already of the dull tinge which naturally suggests comparison with similar tones in Botticelli.[2]

The composition of S.S. Peter and Paul before the Proconsul is that which proves Filippino to have been less master of the laws of distribution than Masaccio. There it is that the dramatis personæ are so arranged as to present disproportion and a certain lack of harmony in the lines; but the breadth of hand apparent in the execution, the comparative dignity of types and forms, which, though realistic, are still noble, the boldness of action, and the knowledge displayed by the man in varied movement and expression, are great, and do not accuse the neglect which, at a later period, caused great talents to merge into a riot of tasteless fancies.[3]

lapse of time and a newer art. Why then should we refuse the conclusion which the paintings distinctly give us?

[1] The dress of S. Peter is discoloured and shows the ashen preparation. The fresco is marked 3 in the plan (see in Masaccio, Vol. I.). It is assigned properly by Vasari in his first edition to Filippino. Vide Com. to Vasari, ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 169.

[2] This fresco is No. 4. in plan. Vol. I. Masaccio. It is not noticed by Vasari.

[3] This and the crucifixion (No. 5. of plan) is assigned properly to Filippino in Vas. first edition. See Com. in Vasari, ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 169.

The crucifixion of Peter, better composed than the corresponding group of the apostles before the Proconsul, does not balance it as one by Masaccio might have done, but appears isolated without a link to bind it with the total of the scene depicted. Here it is that Filippino sacrifices the grandeur of the whole to the working out of subordinate and independent groups, and shows himself devoid of the great principle conspicuous in Masaccio. Here it is that one sees the detail overwhelming the mass, a flatter system of relief, an absence of the joint qualities of plastic form and chiaroscuro which were combined in Ghirlandaio, and which, with the assistance of Fra Bartolommeo, were carried to perfection by Raphael.[1] The figures are undeniably true as portraying nature in resolute and bold action, but giving to demonstrative gesture and expression little more than mobility and freedom, not the impression of sublime dignity or decorum. The principle is the same even in the smallest detail, and one notes a want of selection in the muscular frames, articulations, and extremities, as much as in the motives and their external realization; whilst the superabundant draperies have less of the original simplicity than is required to produce true satisfaction.[2] The colour, as before stated, is of high surface, unglazed, and thus of another texture, and of more sharply contrasted keys, than that of Masaccio.

The landscape, more minutely defined has likewise less depth and atmosphere.

That portion of the resurrection of the boy which Masaccio left incomplete is finished in the same style as the parts but now alluded to,[3] and exhibits the newer, the more advanced, but less noble, art of Filippino. If

[1] The crucified Peter is, however, a well studied natural nude. Great nature is also in the figures about the cross, in those to the right especially, amongst which, one with his back to the spectator is repeated with little variation in Andrea del Sarto's fresco at the S.S. Annunziata in Florence.

[2] They have at the same time little relief by light and shade.

[3] This part, and four portraits at the left side of the fresco are marked 1. and 2. in No. IX. of plan. See Vol. I. Masaccio. Vasari distinctly assigns these parts to Filippino. Vol. V. p.p. 243—4.



MARTYRDOM OF ST. PETER, a fresco by Filippino Lippi, in the Church of S. M. del Carmine at Florence

it be true that many of the personages depicted in these frescos are portraits, and that we are to consider those which tradition so describes as likenesses taken at the time of Filippino's actual labour, we may conclude that he finished the Brancacci chapel between 1482 and 90.

The son of the king, restored to life by S. Peter, is the portrait of Granacci,[1] who was born in 1469, and looks as if he had reached his sixteenth or seventeenth year. Messer Soderini whose head is the first from the left side of the same fresco is known to have died in 1485.[2] The poet Luigi Pulci, to the right of Soderini and recognizeable by the likeness to a portrait of him in the Uffizi, died in 1486, and if the two at each side of the monk's head, already shown to be by Masaccio, be Piero del Pugliese and Piero Guicciardini, these were alive at the foregoing dates.[3] The portrait of Antonio Pollaiuolo is on the right hand of the proconsul, that of Botticelli, as already stated, in the group of S. Peter's crucifixion. The wood cut which Vasari gives of Filippino is taken from the figure on the extreme right of the fresco of the apostles before the proconsul, whose age may be given as between twenty five and thirty; and if Vasari's statement as to his age in 1505 be correct, the foregoing dates are again confirmed. It may be noted at the same time that a portrait assigned to Masaccio in the Uffizi,[4] and painted in the style of Filippino, is like that supposed to represent the latter at the Carmine, younger perhaps, but technically handled in the manner of the frescos, ex. gr. like the sleeping soldier in the Liberation. Another portrait in the Torrigiani Gallery and assigned there to Masaccio,[5] is also in Filippino's manner, but bears no resemblance as regards features to that of the Uffizi.

No better proof can be adduced in favour of the belief that Filippino might have been entrusted with important works, such as those of the Carmine at this period, than a fact recorded in the archives of Florence. Pietro Perugino, amongst others, had been chosen, in October 1482, to take a part in the adornment of the hall of the Palazzo Pubblico. He was absent in Rome at that time

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 243.
[2] Vas. Vol. III. p. 183.
[3] Ibid. ibid.
[4] No. 186. and see antea I. p. 547.
[5] See antea I. p. 547.

and unable to accept the commission. The person chosen to replace him was Filippino Lippi, then also absent from Florence, but who was to receive the offer of a salary and conditions equal to those which had been considered suitable to the name and talents of Pietro.[1] Whether he performed the duty assigned to him, or whether he declined it like Perugino, is uncertain; but in 1485 he brought out the great altarpiece of the Madonna and saints now in the Uffizi, originally the ornament of the Sala degli Otto in the Public Palace, and authenticated as to time by an inscription and by records.[2] A Virgin of slender and graceful shape affectionately holds the infant who grasps a book, and looks towards a fine S. Victor. Three other saints, and two angels, supporting a festoon of flowers above the group, form a picture unimpaired by the later defects of the master, without excess of mannerism in design, drawn with precision, and coloured with freshness, and equal in every sense to the vision of S. Bernard in the Badia. Equally striking for the qualities which mark the painter's prime is the altarpiece of the cappella Nerli in S. Spirito at Florence,[3] in which one observes a grandeur and severe dignity never surpassed by Filippino, and a charming variety of episode. Nothing can be more pretty in conception or Raffaelesque in feeling than the Virgin enthroned in an interior with the infant on her knee, taking a cross presented to him by the youthful Baptist; and were it not for some want of selection in the types, the charm of the group would be excessive. The Virgin's glance is turned towards S. Catherine who tenderly recommends the kneeling wife of

[1] The record is in Gaye. Vol. I. p. 579. The proof that Perugino was in Rome at the time is in "Alcuni documenti artistici &c. per le Nozze Farinola Vai." ub. sup. p. 17 in the shape of a letter from Julian Bishop of Ostia to the Priore of Orvieto.

[2] The picture, No. 1219. of Uffizi Catalogue, is inscribed "anno salutis MCCCCLXXXV die XX februari", but see Gaye. Vol. I. p.p. 579 and following. At the Virgin's sides are S.S. Victor, John the Baptist, Bernard and Zanobius. Above are the arms of Florence. The figures are life size, see also Vas. Vol. V. p. 251.

[3] Vas. Vol. V. p. 244.

Tanai de' Nerli.[1] He also kneels on the opposite side introduced by S. Martin in episcopals; and the distance, seen through an arcade, shows the city of Florence in the direction of the S. Frediano gate. No portraits of this time are more admirably realized than those of the Nerli. Filippino never approached nearer than here to the ideal of simple and grand drapery. His precision in defining form is admirable, — his ability in depicting populous life in distance astonishing for its realistic truth; his colour is a little raw, but pleasant still, and modelled with great breadth and success. Such talents as Filippino exhibited, such mastery of hand as he now made proof of, would naturally lead to his constant employment. Amidst the numerous commissions which may be conceived as overwhelming him with labour, we have authentic record of one which was to make the Strozzi chapel at S. Maria Novella in 1487, worthy of the wealth and taste of Filippo, the chief of that house.[2] Filippino admits in a letter written from Rome on the second of May 1489, the debt of kindness and of gratitude which he owed to this nobleman, excusing himself for neglecting his commission by saying that he was busy in the service of Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa, as good a patron as any man could desire, and describing the richness of the decorations with which he was adorning his chapel.[3] This letter is of great interest as proving the exact time when Filippino painted the wall pictures at S. Maria sopra Minerva, and fixes the period when, passing through Spoleto, he erected a monument at the expense of Lorenzo de' Medici to the pictorial virtues of Fra Filippo.[4]

In the scenes from the legend of S. Thomas Aquinas of which a part is still in a double course on the walls of the Cappella Caraffa,[5] Filippino represented the

[1] She kneels on the right. Tanai on the left.

[2] The adornment of the Strozzi chapel was entrusted to Filippino on the 21th of April 1487. See note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 249.

[3] This letter is in "Alcuni documenti, Nozze Farinola Vai." ub. sup. p.p. 15—16.

[4] Vas. Vol. V. p. 247.

[5] Ibid. p. 247—8.

miracle of the crucifix so as to prove that he might, if he had not been occasionally careless, have permanently mastered the unalterable laws of great composition. He depicted the saint's triumph over the heretic disputers with less successful distribution, and, with a breadth of hand and freedom of execution verging upon the looser manner of a later time.

In the first of these subjects, S. Thomas kneels in extasy before the crucifix, having just heard the words spoken by the martyred Saviour: "Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma." Two angels attend the saint; and the stupor caused by the miracle is well expressed by the action and expression of a monk, by the eagerness with which a youth surprises an in-comer in relating the fact. The idea of fear is further carried out by collateral incidents; and a boy frightened by the baying of a dog drops his bread to the ground in the arcades of the distance. By the side of the group in colloquy, two females stand in attitude of listening, one of whom offers to the beholder a type not unlike the aged ones of the Leonardesque school. A youth coming down a flight of steps, arched spaces in good architectural taste, and in fair perspective, through which a landscape and a distant city are visible, complete the picture.

Filippino never showed more ability in distribution than when he conceived and carried out this well balanced composition in which he showed great boldness, realizing the chief incident and the episodes subordinate to it with truth and nature, and with an animation and movement more marked than even those in Ghirlandaio's effort at the Sixtine chapel. His colour is at the same time harmonious, if not of warm tones.

Beneath the foregoing which fills the lunette of the wall to the right of the entrance, S. Thomas, enthroned between his allegorical supporters, Philosophy, Theology and two others, tramples on a fallen heretic and enjoys the prospect of Arius, Sabellius and Averroes, prostrate on the foreground, whilst various groups are scattered around in the space enclosed by arches.[1]

[1] This fresco has a long split in it to the right, and is further injured by extensive repainting.

In another part of the chapel a fresco in the form of an altarpiece, represents the annunciation, with S. Thomas introducing Cardinal Caraffa, the whole injured by repainting. Above this again, the Virgin ascends to heaven surrounded by angels in the garland form already noticed in Botticelli. Four sybils in the ceiling which, Vasari says, were painted by Rafaellino del Garbo, are, like the ascending Virgin, so injured by retouching as to forbid comment. The rest of the spaces no longer contain pictures.[1]

Thus with the exception of the miracle of the crucifix whose merits have been described, but one composition in addition claims attention, and of that, one may say that animation and movement are again conspicuous, and that some of the heads are equal to those of the Brancacci chapel. We judge of the time which Filippino took in the adornment of this chapel by a brief of Pope Alexander the Sixth, issued on the 19th of May 1493, in which Cardinal Caraffa's request, that Alexander the Sixth might honour it with his presence on completion, is contained, and in which numerous indulgences are conceded to the faithful entering it for prayer.[2]

Before Filippino's return to Florence Filippo Strozzi his patron had been carried off by death[3]; nor do we find that the artist was then required to perform his promise of painting the chapel at S. M. Novella.[3] His next work in date is the altarpiece ordered for the brotherhood of S. Francesco del Palco at Prato. A petition of this poor fraternity which is still extant under the date of June 19th 1491,[4] is not only interesting because it elucidates an incident in the artistic life of Filippino and Domenico Ghirlandaio, but because it throws a gleam of light upon the customs of the time. The brethren humbly

[1] These frescos are noticed and praised by Albertini in Opusculum, ub. sup. p. 50. He says too (ibid. p. 49 verso) that Filippino painted in the Sixtine chapel. If he did, no traces of his work are preserved.

[2] See the record in note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 248.

[3] The will of Filippo Strozzi dated 1491 (in Gaye, Carteg. Vol. I. p. 359) provides for the completion of the chapel, but no doubt time was required for raising funds in the manner intended by the testator.

[4] The petition in full, is in the Prato Catalogue, ub. sup. p. 36—7.

submit to the municipal council, that the want of an altarpiece is a serious injury to their worship. They describe their efforts to subscribe a sufficient sum for one which they have ordered of Domenico Ghirlandaio, for thirty five ducats, lament their inability to raise more than twenty ducats, and beg that the difference may be given to them out of the funds of the town treasury. It is on record in the minutes of the council that this petition was heard, and it was proposed that twenty ducats should be assigned to the brotherhood out of the public money. Ghirlandaio, however, is not known to have carried out the commission which was entrusted about 1495 to Filippino.[1] The altarpiece, representing the Resurrection and the appearance of the Saviour to the Virgin, is now in the Munich gallery and is a fine one of Filippino.[2]

A year later, he completed the altarpiece of S. Donato al Scopeto at Florence, now at the Uffizi[3] in which he rivalled Fra Filippo in the pyramidal arrangement of an adoration of the Magi. A pleasing impression is created not only by the distribution of the figures in the system before alluded to, but because that system is carried out under the condition of introducing upwards of thirty figures, each of which contributes by its action and movement to the general harmony of the lines; whilst the variety of race, the realism of various faces and forms, and the animation of expression and motion, contribute to the comparative perfection of the whole, developing all the branches of progress peculiar to the Florentine school

[1] Catalogue of Prato, ub. sup. p. 16. See also Vas. Vol. V. p. 246.

[2] Christ appears to the Virgin with the marks of the crucifixion upon him. The Eternal looks down from heaven where he appears between two angels. Below, Christ rises from the sepulchre, supported by angels and attended by S.S. Francis, Dominick and Augustin; Monica, Chiara and Celestin. The picture is well preserved and catalogued Salles, No. 562.

[3] No. 202. Sala del Baroccio. With these words on the back of the panel: "Filippus me pinsit de Lipis Florentinus addi 29 di Marzo 1496." See also Vas. Vol. V. p. 251, who says that the figure bearing a quadrant is Pier Francesco de' Medici, and that besides, there are portraits here of Giovanni Vecchio de' Medici and his brother Pier Francesco.

of the time and carrying out rules introduced by Fra Filippo and improved by Fra Bartolommeo.

The spectator may remark how the leading principle on which the picture is arranged, is illustrated by the two Magi kneeling at the Virgin's feet; and the pyramid is capped by S. Joseph looking over her. The same lines are doubled as it were by the groups on the right which are terminated in alt by one climbing a wall to overlook the scene, whilst a couple have reached the favorable height, and convey the intelligence of what they see to those beneath them. Equally happy episodes fill up the opposite side of the picture. One of the kings pauses to let the crown be removed from his head; eager spectators are behind him, and the horses of the cavalcade are walked or trotted round in the distance. Whilst this masterpiece may compare with that of Leonardo representing the same subject hard by, — whilst it reminds one of the dawn of the sixteenth century, its abundance of figures, liveliness of incident and action, recal the adoration of the Magi by Sandro Botticelli, and prove to us that he and Filippino derived the principles on which these works were produced from the examples of Fra Filippo. Yet if we attentively consider Filippino's admirable creation of 1496, and coldly analyze it, we find it much more loosely executed than the Madonna of 1485, and we mark the presence of that fatal facility which mars the less conscientious works of a still later period.

Time elapsed, however, before the master finally yielded to the charm of working fast. He exhausted, in 1498, all the feeling and grace with which he was supplied, in a tabernacle at Prato,[1] on whose sides he depicted in fresco, a Madonna with angels and saints, of life size, in a throne enriched with fanciful ornament combining the antique with the grotesque. The grace which adorns the thin face and shape of the Virgin reminds the spectator of that which beams in the Madonna of Fra Bartolommeo; and

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 246.

the combination of curious and capricious forms of ornament, the cento or arabesque of living heads, masks and monsters with architectural curves, which are the ornamental part, illustrate an original fancy in Filippino, and recal varying or purer forms of the same tendency in the youth of Michael Angelo, the manhood of Mantegna or Piero della Francesca.[1] The colour, in such parts as have been preserved, is liquid and transparent and of a rosy tone.

Between the time when this tabernacle was completed and that which produced the altarpiece of the Scopetini, two interesting incidents mark the painter's life. In 1496 he joined other great artists of the time in valuing Baldovinetti's fresco in the Gianfigliazzi chapel at S. Trinita of Florence,[2] and he thus appears to us in the character of umpire by the side of Perugino and Cosimo Rosselli. In 1497, he married, and a son of that marriage, Francesco di Filippo, owed the friendship of Benvenuto Cellini to the number of studies of Roman antiques which had fallen as heirlooms to him after the death of Filippino, and which Benvenuto no doubt exhausted for his own use.[3]

A design for an altarpiece in the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, finished in later years by another painter, was also one of the fruits of Filippino's labours in 1498;[4] But his name is connected with a most interesting inci-

[1] The tabernacle is on the old Canto al Mercatale at Prato, now the corner of the Strada di S. Margherita. The Virgin, erect, holds the infant with one hand, and presents the orb to him with the other. The outlines of the figure alone remain, the blue of the dress being abraded and leaving the white of the wall bare. (It is said, this was done of old for the sake of the high priced blue.) The infant, looking round, glances at S. Catherine on the right, who kneels, with S. Stephen erect behind her. S. Margaret, with whom is S. Anthony the abbot, kneels on the opposite side. The whole fresco is enclosed in a frame imitating carved stone with arabesques on a yellow ground. The following inscription is divided and may be read in parts above the saints at the sides: "A. D. M.CCCCLXXXXVIII." Parts of colour here and there are gone, but no restoring has taken place.

[2] See "Alcuni documenti", ub. sup. p. 18.

[3] Vide note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 253. The name of Filippino's wife was Margherita.

[4] See record of 1501—2 as to this picture, in Vasari, Vol. IX.

dent in this year. During a storm which spent some of its fury on the city of Florence, the lantern above the cupola of S. M. del Fiore had been struck by lightning, and it became necessary to take active steps for its repair. But the question of cost, of fitness and of means was one of such importance that Simone Pollaiuolo who then held the office of superintendent in the cathedral durst not settle it on his own responsibility. A meeting of grandees, architects and painters was accordingly convoked, and we find sitting at the same assembly Filippino, Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi.[1]

Filippino's Virgin and child between the kneeling Baptist and S. Stephen, ordered for the comune of Prato in 1501 and finished in 1503, is in too bad a condition to justify any authoritative opinion,[2] but the frescos which the heirs of Filippo Strozzi at last succeeded in urging Filippino to complete, are in existence and prove what has already been said of the painter's decline.

Before describing these, however, we may glance at a picture of 1501 in which that decline is already apparent. It is in S. Domenico at Bologna in the chapel of the Isolani family.[3] S. Catherine kneels at the Virgin's throne and receives the ring from the infant Saviour in the presence of SS. Paul and Sebastian, SS. Peter and John the Baptist, —of S. Joseph who looks from the distance, whilst the Eternal and angels hover above in the central sky and on the summits of edifices forming

p. 224, where payments are made for a frame to Bartolommeo d'Agnolo. See also Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 251—2.

[1] See La Cupola d. S. M. del Fiore. 8°. Flor. 1857, by C. Guasti. p.p. 119—120.

[2] This is a lunette inscribed on a frame feigning a painted relief: "At meus hic natus justus: servate frequenter."

"Sic vos justitiam pauperibusque pii. A. D. MCCCCIII." The Virgin's head is injured. The Baptist's red dress scaled off. The green dress of the Virgin is new, the nimbuses yellow. The picture is now No. XI. in the gallery of Prato, and the records referring to it are in the appendix to the Catalogue, ub. sup. See also Vas. Vol. V. p. 246.

[3] On a card in the foreground which is a red and somewhat repainted pavement are the words: "opus Philippini. Flor. pict. A. S. MCCCCCI." The blue dress of S. Catherine is in part new. The picture was known to Vasari. (Vol. V. p. 247.)

a rich perspective of architecture. The demonstrative part taken by the saints in the ceremony is not more clearly characteristic of Filippino than the mannered realism of the drawing, specially in the muscularly developed nude of S. Sebastian, whose appearance, bound and stuck with arrows adds to the mystic symbolism of the subject. Less care in execution, harder tones and a comparative absence of taste are characteristic of a picture which still carries with it the stamp of a great artist.

The taste displayed in the Strozzi chapel is more doubtful than ever; and Filippino is no longer merely fanciful in ornament and painted architecture. His manner surfeits and palls.

The resurrection of Drusiana, the torment of S. John by boiling oil, fill one side of the chapel. S. Philip destroying the idols and the crucifixion of that saint are depicted on the other. The figure of Drusiana rising on her tressel at the prayer of the Evangelist is not devoid of feeling, and there is a stern gravity in S. John. The bystanders are well grouped behind him, and great realism marks a frightened man in the distance, — a woman and a priest, carrying a vase, whilst an octogon temple in the background to the right aptly suggests the pagan time. The saint boiling gave Filippino occasion to express, as Vasari says,[2] the anger of the judge and the reverberation of the fire on the faces of the executioners. S. Philip destroying the idols appears with the cross in his hand, and by the virtue of that symbol crushes a monster whose death-struggle frightens a boy into the arms of his mother, who stands amongst the priests and servants of an idol depicted in the middle of the space with a cat and a parrot in its grasp. Priests and soldiers on the left are filled with anger and despair. Slaves, lamps, trophies are intended to convey the aspect of a heathen temple.

In the martyrdom, Filippino chooses the moment when S. Philip having been nailed to the cross, the instrument is raised with cords by figures, whose action is duly praised by Vasari. The ornamented architecture in monochrome is a mixture of the sacred and profane, in which faith and

[1] The incident of the dog baying at a child is repeated.

[2] Vasari. Vol. V. p.p. 249—50. Vide also Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 14.

charity are allegorically depicted by the side of tragedy. In the ceiling are patriarchs with their symbols, in various movements, and in the stained window a Virgin between angels, the Evangelist and S. Philip.

The decoration of the Strozzi chapel is, in a word, a grotesque and capricious mixture of exaggerated movements, actions, and forms, — of strange architecture surcharged with ornament, — of colour, gay to extravagance where preserved. It fails for that reason to please, yet it reveals the close of the career of a great painter.[1]

The latest authentic record which we possess of Filippino is an opinion given, in conjunction with that of twenty other painters, as to the place best suited for Michael Angelo's David.[2]

He died in 1505,[3] and was buried in S. Michele Bisdomini at Florence.

A list of works unnoticed in the foregoing remarks follows:

Florence. Corsini Gallery. Round. The Virgin, erect, holds the infant who takes flowers from a basin in the hands of an angel. Another angel approaches with bloom, whilst three more kneel singing. The youthful S. John is seen coming forward through the landscape, which is a little embrowned by restoring. A youthful delicacy and freshness are in this piece which is of a soft, bright, and clear tempera reminiscent of the manner of Fra Filippo.

Florence. Torrigiani Gallery. A wedding chest (No. 8—11.), four sides containing incidents from the history of Esther. These pieces are rich in incident, full of animation and feeling, luxuriously ornamented in dresses and accessories, and coloured with exquisite softness. They are a refinement on the art of Fra Filippo, and exhibit the carefulness and finesse of a youthful effort.

Florence. Academy of Arts, No. 57. *Gallerie des grands tableaux.* A deposition from the cross. The Saviour and the figures of those taking him down have the character of Filippino; the group of the fainting Virgin and the saints about her, that of Perugino. This is the picture of the

[1] The frescos are totally injured by repainting.

[2] Gaye, ub. sup. II. p. 460.

[3] Vasari (Vol. V. p. 253.) says, April 13.

S.S. Annunziata, of which Vasari and Albertini speak, saying that Perugino completed the work left unfinished by Filippino at his death.[1]

Florence. Pitti Gallery. No. 347. Round. The infant lies on the ground and is adored by the Virgin, youthful Baptist and four boyish angels. Another of these throws flowers. The group is inclosed in a space surrounded by a balustrade parting the fore and middle ground from a distance of hills. This piece which pleases at first sight, will not bear close inspection, as it wants the finish and feeling noticeable in Filippino. It reminds one of the rounds by Botticelli without being assignable to him either. It is a production of some subordinate, whose works may presently be adverted to.

Same gallery. No. 388. Death of Lucretia. This picture, composed of small figures, bears the stamp of the school of Fra Filippo and may be by Filippino.

Florence. S. M. Novella. Inside and above the chief portal. Nativity, much injured fresco, of old on the altar to the right of portal, is painted in a style between that of Filippino and that of Botticelli, with an inspiration from the manner of Fra Filippo.[2]

Florence. S. Martino delle Monache. Lunette annunciation, in the passage from the convent to the church, totally repainted, but still with traces of the hand of Filippino.

S. Gimignano. Palazzo Publico. Two rounds of the Virgin, and of the angel annunciate (half life size): fine works of Filippino.

Pistoia. Late Puccini Collection. Small annunciation: the Virgin sitting, the angel kneeling. In the background the bed, candles &c., a pretty and not too vulgar picture of the master.

Naples. Palazzo Santangelo. Round, figures all but life size. Holy family. The Virgin holds the infant who caresses the youthful Baptist, supported by S. Margaret. To the left is S. Joseph. In front on a parapet is the little S. John's reed cross. A pilaster behind Joseph is ornamented with carving; on the spandril a coat of arms. Distance a town, water, sky, and clouds, somewhat injured. This piece miscalled Ghirlandaio, is by Filippino. The feeling in the Virgin's head, the fresh and somewhat entire colour, the free execution, reveal Filippino's talent about the time of

[1] Vasari (Vol. V. p. 252.) Albertini, Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 13.

[2] When in its original place, this fresco was above an Ecce Homo which has since perished.

the Nerli altarpiece and the adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi.

Venice. Gallery of the Seminario. Two very graceful angels on panel, by the master.

Munich Gallery. No. 538. *Saal.* Assigned to Ghirlandaio, but by Filippino, the dead Saviour on the Virgin's knees between S.S. John the Baptist and the kneeling John Evangelist (left), the Magdalen kissing the feet of the corpse, and S. James erect. Distance, landscape with angels above.

Berlin Museum. No. 78. Portrait of a youth ($^3/_4$), much injured by old restoring, but by the master.

Same gallery. No. 82. Virgin and child somewhat feeble example of the master, defective in drapery and mannered.

Same gallery. No. 101. Same subject. Mannered style of Filippino's decline.

Same gallery. No. 1134. A much injured Virgin and child, which cannot be assigned to Filippino, but has the manner of a Florentine, not a pupil of the master.

Same gallery. No. 96. The Saviour on the cross between three angels. Below, S.S. Mary and Francis, on gold ground, an injured picture of the master,[1] the Virgin full of feeling.

Dresden Gallery. No. 33. Virgin and child, by some inferior painter imitating the manner of Raffaellino del Garbo.

London. National Gallery. No. 293. The Virgin and child between the kneeling S.S. Jerom and Dominick. On the predella, the dead Christ is supported by Joseph of Arimathea, S. Francis and the Magdalen, half lengths, at each side. This piece originally belonging to the Ruccellai, bears their arms and was of old in S. Pancrazio at Florence.[2] The Virgin and child recal Filippino's in the adoration of the Magi at the Uffizi. The S. Jerom beating his breast is already a little mannered, but the action is bold and resolute. The colour is entire and bright, and the landscape splendid.

Same gallery. No. 592. Adoration of the Magi, somewhat damaged and originally part of a painted chest. The composition is crowded with people and excessively rich, the tempera, soft and a little darkened by time. The style of drawing and mode of rendering form are grand, as in the fresco in the Prato tabernacle. Some figures in the distance to the left recal Botticelli's creations; yet the picture is rightly assigned to Filippino.

[1] Originally in S. Rafaello at Florence afterwards in S. Procolo. See Vas. Vol. V. p. 245. and notes of commentators.

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 242.

Same gallery. No. 598. S. Francis in glory, dated 1492, with five playing angels at each side, is a genuine picture not free from the defects and affectation of the master's later time.

Liverpool. Institution (*No.* 20). A Virgin and child.

London. The late Beriah Botfield Esq. Exhibited at Manchester under No. 115. Virgin and child of a later period than that of Filippino.

London. Dudley house. Crucifixion and Virgin and child, both in the character of Filippino's school.[1]

Before passing on to the life of Domenico Ghirlandaio it becomes a duty to notice a series of pictures of more or less merit whose character proclaims them to have issued from the hands of men subordinate to Filippino Lippi and Botticelli, who may have been of a wandering class of assistants assuming the style of their temporary masters without possessing talent sufficient to entitle them to an independent position as first rate artists.

Two angels at the side of a statue by Rossellino, at Empoli,[2] and a portrait assigned by Vasari to Botticelli, which take their place naturally in the class now under consideration, have already been noticed. The classification may be continued for the sake of elucidating points of interest in the lives of a set of artists who bear, many of them, the christian name of Raffael:

In the Pieve of Empoli, a painted receptacle for the sacrament is preserved. Records are in existence which

[1] The following is a list of pictures, not known to exist at the present time. S. Francesco fuori porta a S. Miniato, Florence. The Eternal and children (Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 245—6.). Lucca, S. Ponziano, tavola surrounding a S. Anthony by Andrea Sansovino, (ibid. p. 246). Pictures executed for Mathias of Hungary. (Ibid. p. 247.) D° sent to Genoa (ibid.). Yet the annotators of Schorn's Vasari (ub. sup. II. p. 308) say: there is in S. Teodoro (?) at Genoa a S. Sebastian between S.S. John the Baptist and Francis with the Virgin and child between 2 angels in a lunette, inscribed "Philippinus Florentinus faciebat". Florence. S. Salvadore. Altarpiece executed for Tanai de'Nerli. (Ibid. p. 247.) Small figures executed for Piero del Pugliese (ibid. ibid.). Poggio a Caiano, frescos (ibid. p. 251). S. Giorgio altarpiece finished by the Spaniard Berruguete (ibid. ibid.).

[2] See antea.

prove it to have been commissioned, in March 1484., by the governors of the company of S. Andrea at Empoli, of Francesco di Giovanni di Domenico, "depintore" of Florence, on condition that it should be completed within two years.[1] Further records prove that it was not finished till the expiration of three years, when (1491) the altarpiece was brought from Florence and placed by "twenty facchini",[2] on the altar. Removed (1623) to S. Giovanni Battista, a neighbouring Baptistery, at the time when the high altar was rebuilt in marble,[3] it is now in one of the chapels of the Pieve, and has the shape of a triumphal arch painted on both fronts. On one of these, S.S. Andrew and John the Baptist stand guard at each side, whilst on the other, now out of its original position and hanging apart, are the Virgin and angel annunciate. The predella of one front contains the Last Supper between the martyrdoms of the above mentioned saints, and that of the second front the sermon on the mount, the capture, and the dance of the daughter of Herodias. The principal figures are long, slender, bony, and fairly proportioned. Their heads are long and bearded, the hands and feet studied and the draperies full and involved. They combine features common to Botticelli and Filippino with a dull low-toned tempera akin to that observable in some works of the former.[4] The predellas, more modern in aspect, seem the continuation of the same style. We thus possess an altarpiece, which, unless its authorship be contested, which is hardly possible, presents to us Francesco di Giovanni di Domenico as apparently an assistant in the school of the two great painters whose works this altarpiece resembles. To this same artist we should assign the two angels at the side of the statue by Rossellino already described in the life of Botticelli.

That Francesco trained a son to his profession is proved by a record of April 26th 1506, in which the company of S. Andrea of Empoli gives a commission to Raffaello, "olim Francesco Johannis," of Florence, to paint a Virgin and child between S.S. Andrew and John the Baptist. We

[1] At the rate of 40 florins of Empoli per annum. See MS. Libro dei Ricordi e partite della compagnia di S. Andrea di Empoli under March 28. 1484. The record does not give the subject.

[2] MS. Supra.

[3] This fact is duly recorded in "Libro detto Campione beneficiale", in the Archivio of the chapterhouse of the Pieve now collegiate church of S. Andrea di Empoli.

[4] Having particularly verde shadows.

must not, however, confound matters, as the commentators to the latest edition of Vasari seem to do (Vol. VII. p. 199). The picture ordered in 1506 is not in existence and can not be identical with the altarpiece by Francesco di Giovanni, just described, because in it there is not and never was, a Virgin and child. But another work by Raffaello di Francesco exists, and is in the gallery of the Uffizi. Respecting it, we have a record dated August 1504 in which Raffaello is commissioned by the incumbent of the Pieve of Empoli" to complete the table of the high altar of the said Pieve in the form agreed upon with Francesco his late father;[1] and it is satisfactorily known by what means the altarpiece was transferred (as a work of Perugino) into the gallery at Florence.[2] The records thus preserved seem to indicate, first of all, that Francesco di Giovanni completed what was called a "tavola del corpo di Christo" in 1491; that he was afterwards commissioned to furnish a regular altarpiece; and that on his failing to carry out that commission, his son Raffaello undertook and successfully brought it to a termination. The altarpiece, catalogued under his name[3] represents the Deposition from the cross, its predella[4] contains Christ and the maid of Samaria, Christ driving the changers out of the Temple, and the entrance into Jerusalem. The picture is a second class production different in style and execution from the sacrament receptacle at Empoli. It is painted in oil in a manner reminiscent of David or Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, or, perhaps better, of Granacci, whose careful execution and fusion of tints are emulated. The figures are somewhat short and vulgar and the colour reddish. The predella looks like the effort of a cold and poor follower of the styles of Perugino and Lorenzo di Credi.

Having thus far proved that the Deposition from the cross at the Uffizi and the "tavola del corpo di Christo" are by different hands, we may proceed to notice some pictures in which the character of the latter is to be found mixed with others, deriveable from the influence of Andrea del Castagno: viz:

Berlin Museum. In passage, and not catalogued: a crucifixion, all but life size, two angels and five saints, inscribed and dated 1475. The Christ is reminiscent of that by An-

[1] See the record in com. to Vas. Vol. VII. p.p. 197—98.
[2] Ibid. ibid.
[3] Uffizi Scuola Toscana. No. 1239.
[4] No. 1238.

drea del Castagno in the first cloister at the Angeli at Florence. The angels have the same vehemence, the tempera, too, is rough.

Same collection. In passage, not catalogued, a crucifixion and four saints, in the same class as the foregoing.

In character nearer the school of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi is the round of the Nativity at the Pitti (No. 347, described antea in Filippino), and a coronation of the Virgin in the Berlin Museum (No. 72, described antea in Fra Filippo). By the same hand as the latter is the Virgin and child with angels, between the Magdalen and S. Bernard at the Louvre (No. 364, assigned to Cosimo Rosselli), the angels being a repetition of the types marking the Berlin picture, the colour being grey and flat, the draperies serpentine and involved, and the execution rude. The best of these three pieces is the Pitti Nativity (No. 347) which, with the rest, reveals a point of contact in its painter with the man who executed the angels by Rossellino's statue and the sacramental altarpiece of Francesco di Giovanni at Empoli.

Taking the Pitti Nativity (No. 347) for a guide the following may be classed as in the same character and style.

Florence. S. Lorenzo. The Nativity, injured by restoring in oil. The Virgin adores the child, with S. Francis, and a youthful saint, bearing a sword, kneeling at the sides. The type of the latter is reminiscent of that of the angels in the Pitti round; the same peculiarity being remarkable in the face, forms, and draperies of S. Francis. This picture, at the same time, falls into the class of those usually catalogued under the name of Raffaellino del Garbo, one of which is in the sacristy of this church of S. Lorenzo, and represents the nativity, but being rubbed down to the preparation admits of no further remark.

Florence. S. Felicita. To the left of the portal S.S. Anthony, Roch, and Catherine (life size), with scenes from their legends in a predella, at each side of an annunciation. Coarser and ruder than the Pitti Nativity, of dull tones, grey shadows and hasty drapery, this piece is assigned to Cosimo Rosselli, a name which covers many mediocrities.

Another painter of the name of Raffaello is revealed to us in a picture bearing that name with the addition of "de Caponibus", from which one learns to avoid confounding him with Raffaello di Francesco and Filippino's pupil Raffaellino del Garbo.

Florence, Spedale di S. Maria Nuova, room of the Commis-

sario. The Virgin and child, between S. Francis (left), presenting a kneeling donor, and (?) S. Zanobius in prayer introducing the patroness. At the foot of the throne is a little picture of the crucifixion, between the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist, which is quite Peruginesque. The distance is a landscape of hills. The whole picture is enclosed in a feigned cornice adorned with arabesques. Figures life size and well preserved. This is a fine second class Florentine work, betraying the effort of its author to imitate the Perugian school, of Pinturicchio especially, but truly impressed with the Florentine manner in the gravity and weight of the figures. The S. Francis recals Spagna, the S. Zanobius and the kneeling figures, the school of the Ghirlandai, — the Virgin and child, Pinturicchio in softness of type and drapery and in the nature of the ornaments. The whole is painted in oil at one throw, of a low brown and somewhat flat tone. An inscription may be read as follows:

"Raphael de Caponibus me pinsit A. D. MCCCCC."

With this guide we trace to the same hand the following:

Florence. S. Spirito, altarpiece in the second chapel to the left of the transept. Life size Virgin and child exposed to veneration by two angels drawing a curtain, between S.S. Lawrence and John Evangelist (left), Stephen and Bernard (right), the latter holding Satan bound by a chain. On the base of the throne is the date 1505. Predella, a Pieta and four scenes from the lives of the saints, very prettily composed, and that of S. Bernard reminiscent of Filippino. Here again is a mixture of the Peruginesque with the weighty Florentine manner, but a more careful execution, modelling of greater impasto, more in the mode of tempera, but a little hard and reddish in tone.

Sienna. S. Maria degli Angeli fuori Porta Romana, choir. A large altarpiece with a lunette, in a broad gilt frame, of a grand appearance, but disappointing on close inspection. Centre, the Virgin and child between S.S. Mary Magdalen and Jerom (left), John Evangelist and Augustin (right). The Eternal gives a blessing from amongst seraphs, in the lunette. In the predella, the adoration of the Magi is flanked by four episodes from the lives of the saints. The same hand as at S. Spirito of Florence is marked in the exaggerated line and involved draperies of the Evangelist, S. Augustin is a heavy and vulgar figure. In the Virgin and child, the type and movement and the style of drawing have something of the Perugian of Pinturicchio. The adoration of the Magi is also Peruginesque, whilst the side

predella scenes are reminiscent of the school of the Ghirlandai. The whole altarpiece is painted at one throw in oil and bears the reddish general tone already noted. Beneath the figure of S. Jerom are the words:

"Raphael de Florentia pinxit. A. D. MCCCCCII."

Academy of Pisa. Originally in S. Matteo of Pisa. Altarpiece of the Virgin and child, two angels, S.S. John Evangelist, Jerom, S. John the Baptist, and a bishop at whose feet is the bust profile of a female (engraved by Rosini as a work of Fra Filippo Lippi). Here the painter, who is still apparently the same as the author of the foregoing, is more Florentine. But the face of the bishop is the same as in the altarpiece of S. M. Nuova; and the style generally is feeble, the figures cold, somewhat rigid and bony, the draperies involved as before, the colour tempera, of high impasto, of a dull flesh tone shadowed with verde. The Peruginesque tendency is most visible in the predella, which is parted from its original centre piece and appended to a picture by Perino del Vaga in S. Matteo of Pisa. It represents amongst other scenes the adoration of the Magi and the massacre of the Innocents, painted in the same manner as the predella at Sienna.

If as an attentive examination inclines one to suppose, all these pictures are by Raffaello de Caponibus, he is an artist who may be said to have studied under Perugino and the Florentines, and who exhibits a mixture of Umbrian and Florentine peculiarities, the latter being more specially derived from Filippino and the Ghirlandai.

The commentators of Vasari notice further[1] a picture of Christ appearing to S. Gregory, described in the biography of Rafaellino del Garbo,[2] but bearing the signature:

"Raphael Karli pinxit. A. D. MCCCCCX."

Without having seen this work one may affirm that it is not by Raffaellino del Garbo whose father's name is Bartolo. It remains to be ascertained whether Raphael di Karlo is the same as Raffaello de Caponibus.

This review of inferior works and painters may be fitly closed by a rapid sketch of a series of frescos on the walls of S. Martino at Florence, an oratory belonging to the Congregazione de' Buonomini, a charitable institution whose duties and good works it was the aim of the painter to illustrate. The room so decorated is rectangular, the short side by the altar being divided into parts, each of which

[1] Vas. Vol. IX. p. 200. [2] Ibid. p. 193.

forms a lunette at the top, the opposite one through which the door is pierced similarly divided. The long side to the left of the entrance is in four spaces, like the rest, that to the right in three, at the flanks of two windows. Numbering the lunettes from that of the short side by and to the right of the altar and counting to the left round the building the spectator may note: 1. The dream of S. Martin. 2. S. Martin dividing his dress. 3. Burial of the dead, a function peculiar to the "Buonomini." 4. Pilgrims receiving hospitality. 5. The Buonomini visiting in prison. 6. Visit in a lying in hospital. 7. (above entrance door) Distribution of clothing. 8. Distribution of wine. 9. Education. The rest of the series in the wall pierced by the windows is much injured and almost obliterated. Rumohr, suggests that these paintings are youthful creations of Filippino,[1] but they betray a later origin and the hand of a painter in the school of Filippino. The Christ and angels in the dream of S. Martin seem conceived in a mixed manner derived from Filippino and Sandro Botticelli, the forms of the angels' heads being more common and less pleasing than those of the former, and ruder in drawing and execution. The drapery throughout is reminiscent of Ghirlandaio, but this is the only relation of the painter to that master, his style being on the whole more akin to that of Filippino than to any other. The types and the character of the figures generally produce the impression that they may have been conceived and carried out by the author of the round of the Nativity (No. 347) at the Pitti, all the females in the frescos of the Buonomini having a form rudely modelled on the Virgin of that picture; and this remark may extend to the draperies and the nude, in her and in the angels.

[1] Forschungen, note to Vol. II. p. 272.

CHAPTER XX.

DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO.

We now pass to the consideration of the works of a man whose life forms, like that of Giotto, one of the great landmarks in the history of Florentine art. Domenico Ghirlandaio was a painter whose energy and creative power contemned the mere practise of painting altarpieces, and whose grasp of the essential qualities of art enabled him to conceive and carry out greater creations. Unequal to Masaccio or even to Fra Filippo in the power of charming by brightness or richness of tone, he first claimed attention by his intelligence of grand and decorous laws of composition. His strongly tempered mind, braced with a nerve equal to that of Michael Angelo, was above the artifices of colour, and he doubtless considered them second to the science of distribution and of form, and calculated to fetter his inclination for expressing on large surfaces and with great speed the grand conceptions of his genius. In these conceptions, fruits of long study and careful thought, he aimed at embodying all the essential elements conducive to a perfect unity. That unity he had found in Giotto, and strove with such success to emulate, that he may be said to have completed the body of the edifice whose first stone had been laid almost two centuries before by that successful artist. Yet he might have struggled to the goal in vain, had he not taken for a guide in his pictorial manhood the works of one who had given proof, during a career too short for his cotemporaries, but long enough for his fame, that he possessed the noblest faculties. Ghirlandaio studied attentively and fruitfully the master-

pieces of Masaccio at the Carmine, taking from them the grand qualities of decorum, dignity, and truth. Nor would his efforts have been crowned with complete success, had he neglected the lessons taught by another class of men, the bias of whose thought and the tendencies of whose research had resulted in great gain to the various branches of their art. He gathered and harvested for subordinate use the experience of architects, of students of perspective, of form, of proportion, and light and shade, and learnt to apply the laws of chiaroscuro to the human frame, and to the still life that surrounds it. Without adding anything specially to the total amount of experience acquired by the efforts of successive searchers, he garnered the whole of it within himself and combined it in support and illustration of the great maxims which he had already treasured up, and thus conduced to the perfection of the masculine art of Florence, which culminated at last by the joint energy and genius of himself, Fra Bartolommeo, Raphael, and Michael Angelo.

The same breadth of spirit and greatness of aim which led Ghirlandaio to prefer dealing with large spaces to painting altarpieces, induced him to neglect the innovations which had already been carried out by the Peselli, Baldovinetti, the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio. He therefore remained true to the old system of tempera practised in his time, following with unwavering fidelity a method which may be described as resembling that of Benozzo mingled with that of Fra Filippo, but carried out in obedience to the peculiar bent of his mind and with a stamp of original character. The new method introduced by the innovators, perfected later by Fra Bartolommeo, Leonardo and Andrea del Sarto, thus owed nothing to Ghirlandaio, who contributed in no way to the development of that division in the Florentine school, whose chief as regards technic was da Vinci. Yet would it be an error to assume that Domenico was untaught in the methods of this class of men. We may presume, indeed, that the practise of the various ateliers was generally

known to all the men who followed the profession of a painter and to Ghirlandaio amongst the rest; but that he considered that of tempera subject to less serious inconvenience than any other, and capable of yielding fairer results than a new system promising much for the future perhaps, but still surrounded with difficulties and disadvantages of no ordinary kind. One of these disadvantages, indeed, might have seemed perfectly decisive to Ghirlandaio. The loss of time and labour was great compared with that of tempera, especially in carrying out wall pictures. Besides this, it may have been obvious already that Baldovinetti's attempt to transfer the new system from panel to wall was a failure; and Domenico, who is Baldovinetti's pupil, recoiled probably from a system so clearly open to objection.

Baldovinetti's pupil: — Vasari says so, for painting as well as for mosaic, of which Ghirlandaio was wont to exclaim "that the first was fleeting, the last eternal,"[1] Baldovinetti was undoubtedly, of all the Florentines, the most fitted to teach the business of the mosaist, having spent much time in mastering it, and being celebrated in records as the ablest executant of his age in that branch. As for painting, Ghirlandaio might well have taken from Alesso also the fundamental rules of his art. He steered clear of the master's hazardous changes; but his works, though superior to those of Baldovinetti, are still impressed with reminiscences of his style,[2] whilst they recal in a measure also the pictorial plastic character of wall paintings in the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal at S. Miniato al Monte, variously assigned to the Pollaiuoli and Baldovinetti. This mixture of the plastic with the pictur-

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 105 and Vol. V. p.p. 73—83.

[2] We should be inclined to attach little importance to the evidence afforded by a fresco at S. Niccolo in Florence whose date (1450) is repainted (see antea), and whose surface is extensively retouched in oil; but the fact that it discloses features common to Baldovinetti's picture at the Uffizi and to Ghirlandaio strengthens the conclusion that the two artists were connected as master and pupil.

esque Ghirlandaio clearly possessed; and it may be traced at once to the influence of Baldovinetti and to that of an early apprenticeship in the workshop of a goldsmith. But this brings us to the consideration of some important facts which can no longer be postponed, the birth and early education of the master whose life we treat.

Domenico di Tommaso Curradi di Doffo Bigordi was born in 1449, and bred in the house of his father, a jeweller if we believe Vasari,[1] a broker according to his own account.[2] We have no means of deciding, whether Tommaso did not in times previous to his adoption of the broker's business carry on the art of a goldsmith. Certain it is that the neatness and precision of drawing which became remarkable in the development of Domenico's pictorial talent may have arisen from his early introduction to the fashionable art of the period, whilst a statuesque pose and moulded system of draperies equally characteristic of his style in after years might be possibly derived from the same source. The influence of bronze sculpture visible in the paintings of the Pollaiuoli is illustrated in a remarkable manner in Ghirlandaio. The laws of modelling for casts are plain enough on consideration. They comprise simplicity and breadth of mass, low projection and shallow depressions, lines mostly in a common direction, with a parallelism but slightly altered by inflection inwards, or expansion outwards, and for this reason always to some extent arranged. Whilst these laws as affecting drapery are traceable in the paintings of Ghirlandaio, the practise of the modeller is equally visible in his effort to give some plastic character to the human form, which assumes for that reason a certain hardness and want of flexibility. Nor is it likely that such marked peculiarities as these should have been merely transfused into Domenico's style by contact with one deriving them from the pursuit of the goldsmiths'

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 66.

[2] See his income paper (1480) in Gaye. Vol. I. p. 266. from which we ascertain the date of Domenico's birth.

trade. They seem rather to form inherent qualities in a man who should have been apprenticed to it. Hence we may believe that Ghirlandaio is truly described as having been bred in the shop of his father or of some other jeweller, known perhaps by the name of the "Garland maker" which clung to him and his kin.[1]

Ghirlandaio's talent was of slow and majestic growth. His father describes him at the age of thirty one as without a fixed place of abode,[2] and he does not seem to have enjoyed the privileges of a master till after the completion of a series of frescos in the church of Ognissanti,[3] in one of which he depicted Amerigo Vespucci who was "to give his name to a continent,"[4] and, as he sat, was perhaps unconscious of his future greatness. The loss of the frescos in the Vespucci chapel, however, is in a certain measure supplied by the preservation of others in the body of the church and in the refectory of Ognissanti, both of which bear the date of 1480; and we are enabled to perceive that Ghirlandaio, though long past the age of Masaccio when he produced the Brancacci series, was still in his ascending course at this time. The Last Supper in the refectory is composed in the traditional form, with the Saviour in the centre of a double winged table, and the traitor alone at the opposite side between him and the spectator. It is not as yet here therefore that Ghirlandaio impresses the beholder with his greatness as a composer; but the old symmetry of sitting apostles is already varied by a clearer exhibition of the moving thought in the assemblage, and whilst Peter menacingly points at Judas, a group on the left presses forward, eager to fathom the words of the Redeemer, in a manner which recals the masterpiece of Leonardo. A great variety of

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 66.

[2] See the income paper, ub. sup. in Gaye. Vol. I. p. 266.

[3] Vas. Vol. V. p. 67. The subjects, a dead Christ and saints, and a "Misericordia" above an arch. See also Richa. (Vol. IV. p. 266.) The whole was whitewashed in 1616.

[4] See Mr Layard's admirable monograph on Domenico Ghirlandaio in the publications of the Arundel Society. 8°. London, 1860.

individual expression and action is also apparent, and the melancholy in the face of the apostle next S. John Evangelist is remarkable. But Ghirlandaio shows that his talent is not matured especially in his handling of colour. Some roughness of surface is caused by stippling. Some flatness is created by the absence of broad shadow; and the greatest depth, being near the outline, communicates to the figures an unpleasant hardness not diminished by the effort to define the forms with a wiry line. Sculptural grandeur, clearly within the painter's aim, is marred by too much arrangement of drapery, and the liquid general colour is of an unpleasant reddish tone.[1]

The S. Jerom in Ognissanti church is equally decorous and becoming; but the gravity natural to a father of the church, composing his homily amidst books, is carried almost to immobility; and the execution being similar to that of the Last Supper, stamps Ghirlandaio as an artist, promising, but incompletely formed, and with less fire, life or practise of hand than Botticelli.[2]

Even in the later frescos with which he adorned the Sala del Orologio in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence (1481—85), Ghirlandaio had not entered into the full enjoyment of his powers, but he already gives more relief and roundness to his figures and to their several parts, and shows that he is near the goal at which he afterwards remained. The restoration and renewal of many parts of the Public Palace in 1480, 1481 and following

[1] This fresco occupies the whole wall opposite the door of the Ognissanti refectory and is composed of life-sized figures. The head of the Saviour is new, having been repainted on fresh intonaco apparently in the 17th century. S. John lies on his lap. The painting is dimmed besides by damp, and some dresses near the feet of the figures, chiefly that of the 3d apostle from the left side, are restored. Below the feet of Judas is the date "MCCCCLXXX". Vasari wrote of the last supper. (Vol. V. p. 67.) Richa also (Vol. IV. p. 288.).

[2] The fresco is noticed by Vasari (Vol. V. p. 67.), Richa (Vol. IV. p. 266.) and Albertini (Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 14.). It is also dated on a bench, MCCCCLXXX., and with the exception of some retouching is in good preservation. Vasari further notes a S. George in Ognissanti which no longer exists. (Vol. V. p. 70.)

years is attested by numerous entries of payments to divers architects, sculptors and painters. The gates of the audience hall, entrusted to Giuliano and Benedetto da Maiano, the faces of the same to Ghirlandaio, Botticelli,[1] Pietro Perugino, Filippino Lippi, Piero del Pollaiuolo and others, represent a sum of artistic activity only rivalled by that of Sixtus the Fourth, who jealous, one might almost suppose, of the Florentines, employed the same artists, and interrupted the progress of their work at home for the sake of the Sixtine chapel. Among those whom the papal commands took to the Vatican in the midst of his employment at the Public Palace of Florence is Ghirlandaio, whose journey to Rome, however, only occurred subsequently to the completion (in 1482) of the apotheosis of S. Zanobius and its attendant incidents, one of the few wall paintings left in a hall originally adorned by so many artists.[2]

The reader must fancy the end wall of the room so painted with feigned architecture as to represent a deep vaulted alcove, whose front and side arches repose on square pillars or pilasters through the open spaces at whose sides the eye takes in a view of S. M. del Fiore, with Giotto's facade and the bell tower. Two lions bearing the standard of the republic, stand guard (or rather stood, as one of them is mutilated by the subsequent aperture of a door)[3] over the Majesty of S. Zanobius enthroned with the mitre and crozier of office between two saints. The lunette at the bottom of the alcove is a feigned bas-relief of the Madonna between two angels. Two finely ornamented pilasters form lintel posts at the sides of the alcove and support a gilt wooden cornice which covers the centre arch and two shallow recesses at each side, in which are figures, in the open lunettes, of Brutus, Scaevola[4]

[1] We assume that the Sandro Marini (misprinted for Sandro Mariani) in Gaye's record, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 578. is no other than Botticelli.

[2] It appears from an entry of 1481 (Flor. style) that Ghirlandaio had already done a part of the work in the hall of the Palazzo, and from an entry of November 1482, the S. Zanobius was already finished. (Gaye, Vol. I. p.p. 577—8.) This fresco is mentioned with praise by Vasari (Vol. V. p. 79.), and by Albertini (Memoriale, ub. sup. p. 15.). The figures are over life size.

[3] These lions were in stone colour.

[4] A crack in the intonaco has

and Camillus, of Decius, Scipio, and Cicero, whilst medallions of emperors fill the spandrils.

Florentine artists have seldom been more happy in laying out architectural spaces than Ghirlandaio in this instance. The spectator's memory involuntarily reverts to the false and capricious extravagance of Filippino, — to the overcharged richness of Botticelli, and contrasts their efforts with the purity exhibited here by Ghirlandaio; the whole is distributed with such excellence of proportion, adorned with such taste, and realized with such a successful application of linear perspective that nothing remains to be desired.[1] The illusion is not diminished by any disproportion between the architectural space and the saints which it encloses. The figures add to the satisfaction of the beholder by grandeur and dignity of mien. Nothing can be more gracefully conceived than the Madonna in the central lunette, more bold and truly classical than the Roman heroes in the side recesses. Ghirlandaio seems indeed to invest himself with the character of the antique and to ignore the coarseness of Andrea del Castagno and others of his forerunners. The air which swells his draperies gives them an excellent form. Yet Domenico still leaves something to improve in the breadth of chiaroscuro, his brown-red shadows being darkest near the outline which remains hard as before, the result being a certain flatness in the liquid yellowish flesh tones. Whilst Domenico, in obedience to the prevalent taste of his cotemporaries was introducing into Florence, for the first time, the mixture of sacred and profane thought previously confined to the painters of the Siennese school, and was thus giving the cue to Perugino for the ornament of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, Sixtus the Fourth called him to Rome to exhibit his talents on a grander scale and on more sacred themes. But before he left Flor-

removed the inscription, but the action of the figure, holding its hand in a brazier, indicates sufficiently the person intended.

[1] We may note that the classic style of the architecture and basreliefs is but a continuation of a feature already in Giotto's fresco at S. Francesco, upper church of Assisi, in which Trajan's column is introduced. See antea.



THE CALLING OF PETER AND ANDREW; a fresco in the Sistine Chapel, by D Ghirlandajo

ence, he had occasion to test his power in a fresco of the annunciation painted on the walls of the oratory of S. Giovanni in the Pieve of S. Gimignano at the request of Juliano Martini Cetti, its patron and founder. The style of this piece, however, betrays already the help of Sebastian Mainardi, Ghirlandaio's brother-in-law and assistant,[1] especially in the figure of Gabriel which is too much below the usual powers of the master to be his entirely. The fine head of the Virgin is more worthy of him, but S. Gimignano boasted later of better and more important works from his hand.

Hitherto Ghirlandaio had proved that a painter might be imbued with great qualities, and possess a combination of power sufficient to raise his art to a high general level, and yet be deficient in minor points subject to correction by later practise. In the frescos of the Sixtine he proclaims a partial, an all but complete victory over the defects of his earlier time, and produces the finest picture in a chapel in which he competes with and surpasses all his cotemporaries. Completed, as we may conjecture, before 1484, this work presupposes a change in Domenico derived from the analysis and study of Masaccio's masterpieces, and is certainly marked by greater power in the reproduction of relief, by more breadth of light and shade, more skill in the rendering of forms, and in the handling. Without entering into a description of the subject, which is clear enough from our illustration, we may call attention to the grandeur conspicuous in the Saviour who reminds one, by attitude and gesture, of Masaccio's Christ in the "tribute money", — to the beautiful arrangement in the groups of youths and saints behind the kneeling apostles, — and to the evident improvement carried out there by the painter in the greater spaciousness of the masses of

[1] Sebastiano di Bartolo Mainardi married Domenico's half-sister Alessandra. See root of the Ghirlandai in Vas. Vol. V. p. 88.

[2] This fresco is inscribed: "hoc opus fieri fecit Julianus quondam Martini Cetti di S. Giminiano MCCCCLXXXII."

chiaroscuro, — the consequent gain in rotundity of parts, — the increased precision in the definition of the outer forms and the detail of the inner ones. The appropriate vastness of the landscape adds to the nature of the scene; and Ghirlandaio impresses the beholder by applying the laws of relief and linear perspective just as Michael Angelo affects him by the same means. Ghirlandaio's absence of feeling for colour is, however, still felt. His desire to carry out the modelling of parts induces him to return with stippling over all; he brings red on to the cheeks, and he gives a rough texture to the surface of his work. His flesh tone has a predominant purple hue with somewhat leaden shadows due to a verde under preparation. The result is hardness in strong contrast to the softness of Masaccio and an absence of the fusion which is peculiar to Fra Filippo's impasto. Yet the effect at a distance is preserved, and the lack of charm in brilliant tone is compensated by severer qualities.[1]

Whether Ghirlandaio made a long continuous stay at Rome, or whether he journeyed more than once between that capital and Florence, is not certain. It is equally remarkable to find that he draws pay at the beginning of each year 1483, 1484, 1485, from the superintendents of the Palazzo pubblico at Florence, and that he paints not only a second fresco at the Sixtine which has perished,[2] but a chapel at S. M. della Minerva at Rome for the Florentine house of the Tornabuoni.[3] He must have had time, too, to admire the monuments and architecture of the olden times; for his taste and experience are evidently improved by his journey, and his portfolios were clearly enriched with many a design, with many a bas-relief not to be found or studied in Florence.

[1] The nature of Ghirlandaio's painting is that of Michael Angelo, whose colossal figures at the Sixtine are finished with all the minuteness of a miniature. Yet how grand is the effect at a distance. These frescos of Ghirlandaio are mentioned by Vasari. (Vol. V. p. 70.)

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 71.

[3] This has perished likewise. (Vas. Vol. V. p. 71. and Albertini, Opusc. ub. sup. p. 50.)

If the fresco of the Sixtine illustrates the dignified grandeur of a severe style based on immutable laws, those of the Cappella S. Fina at S. Gimignano, where Domenico laboured before 1485,[1] show grandeur and dignity, tempered and softened by feeling, grace, and feminine tenderness.

On the wall, to the right of the entrance, S. Fina, a girl in the flower of her age, lies on a low bed attended by two females, one of whom raises her head that she may contemplate with more ease the apparition of a pope in a glory of angels. Fear is simply depicted in the gesture of the second attendant, who sits behind the bed near a table laden with a tray and other utensils. An inscription on the wall suggests that the vision warns the saint of her approaching dissolution, whilst her subsequent death is clearly declared by the representation, in the upper space, of her maiden form kneeling in a circular halo carried to heaven by seraphs.

On the wall to the left, S. Fina lies in state, a female in rear of the couch looking over her, a boy kissing her left foot, a bishop and his suite reading the service at her head, and the chanters and spectators in grave contemplation at the opposite side. Right and left of the choir in which the scene is depicted are views of the towers of S. Gimignano, the bell of one of which is rung by an angel. In the lunettes are six figures of bishops in couples, in the spandrils, eight prophets with scrolls, and in the ceiling, the Evangelists in the usual triangular spaces.[2]

There is in this fine creation of Ghirlandaio an ex-

[1] There is a record of 1477 at S. Gimignano, in which no painter's name is mentioned, but which comprises a claim of 49 lire for blue and gold for painting the chapel of the Pieve. (Pecori, ub. sup. p. 520.) The chapel of S. Fina was however not consecrated till October 1488, when the relics of the Saint were finally transferred to it. The architecture of the building is by Giuliano da Maiano. (Pecori, ub. sup. p. 638.) Vasari has not forgotten the frescos of the cappella S. Fina and describes Mainardi as Domenico's assistant there. (Vol. V. p.p. 83—4.)

[2] The fresco of the death is fairly preserved with the exception of some retouching chiefly in the blues of vestments. Some of the prophets in the spandrils are injured by restoring; and of the Evangelists: S. Mark is new; S. Luke's green dress is repainted; S. Mathew's red mantle similarly altered, and the green tunic of the angel near him freshened. The head of S. Mathew is in part uninjured.

quisiteness of sentiment comparatively unfrequent in his works. A select form in the frame, the face and hands of the recumbent saint, extasy in her expression as she sees the vision, seem to prove that the painter had in his mind a noble model. Yet nothing, in the age of realism in which Ghirlandaio lived, more truly reminds the spectator of the spirit which animated the soul of Giotto. An equally high principle presides over the portrait character of other figures, whether we take for consideration the females who contemplate the vision or the spectators of the final scene. The chapel of S. Fina is truly advantageous to Domenico's fame; and though tradition points to Sebastian Mainardi as the painter of the ceilings, the execution is the same throughout and the helping hand of apprentices is not more visible in one part than in the others.

Less favorable in its impression on the spectator is the Last Supper in the convent of S. Marco[1] at Florence, where Ghirlandaio, repeating the arrangement carried out at Ognissanti, gives evidence of his progress in the production of relief, but less happily renders animation and movement. Yet the dim tone and roughness of surface, caused by time and damp, may have a part in diminishing the sympathy that might otherwise be felt for this work.

The truth is that Ghirlandaio himself contributes to make his admirers fastidious; and disappointment ensues when the result is below the expectations naturally raised and kept up by the contemplation of his finer creations.

Amongst the number of these the series of frescos adorning the family chapel of the Sassetti in S. Trinita at Florence is extraordinarily attractive, because it represents Italian art securely raised to a high standard and free from most of the defects abundant in cotemporary masters.[2] Striking because of the unity present-

[1] Vasari (Vol. V. p. 69.) mentions this fresco and an altarpiece which is not to be found there now. See also Richa. (Vol. VII. p. 133.

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 68.

ed by the judicious combination of architectural decoration, correct distribution and sagacious application of the laws of optics as affecting the spectator, admirable because of the various charms due to correct design, noble choice of form, just value of tone and true perspective, this series, like that which followed it at S. Maria Novella, represents the highest powers of Ghirlandaio. Incidents, in themselves humble and natural, gain a monumental grandeur, a dignity incomparable when combined with the adventitious splendour of cathedral edifices, pomp of station in the actors or spectators of the scenes; and when nothing in the framework of the pictures conduces to a diminution of the lofty tone in which the whole is pitched. If indeed the portrait character given to many of the figures, and the local scenery, was calculated in Ghirlandaio's time to modify the exact impression that might otherwise result from a total disregard of all but the letter of the subjects, yet must these naturally have gained much in dignity in the eyes of the masses by their connection with persons of the highest position in the land. Such indeed is the dignity and commanding mien imparted to these by the painter that the spectator even of these days falls under the charm and accepts the result as full of interest and value. We suppose that in the Sassetti chapel, not only the frescos, but the feigned pilasters and cornices of classic shape which divide them, and the ornaments of the altar and tombs, are all part of one great design.

By the sides of the altar kneel Francesco Sassetti, and his wife Nera. Within arched recesses in the walls forming the sides of the chapel are the funeral urns of the pair. On that to the right the cover bears the words. "Gen. Saxet F.R.T.F.", a scroll on the body of it; the lines: "Deo Omnip. Franciscus Saxettus sibi V. P." On that to the right, in the same order, are the family name and the inscription "Deo Omnip. Neræ cursale Conjug. dulciss. cum qua suaviter vivit Franciscus Saxettus Pos." The borders of the arched recesses are filled with classic designs, with a syren and a seraph in the key of the

bend. Bas-reliefs in classic style interspersed with centaurs and tripods, illustrating the study of antiquity now usual amongst artists, cover the friezes of the plinths supporting the urns. Classical subjects are likewise in the spandrils of the arched niches in which the tombs are ensconced; — two Cæsars, and a harangue by two figures to a group of five soldiers on those of Francesco; — Germanicus starting in his chariot in rear of a cavalcade on those of Nera. A double course of frescos on three sides of the chapel overtops the lower spaces whose arrangement and decoration have been described. The subjects are six in number beginning in the lunettes with, first, to the left, S. Francis renouncing his father's heritage, next, Honorius confirming the rules of the Franciscan order,[1] then the Saint before the Soldan. In the second course, also from left to right, the saint receiving the Stigmata,[2] the resurrection of the child of the Spini[3] and the funeral of S. Francis are depicted. Four sybils are in the groined ceiling. Beneath the portraits are the words: "A. D. MCCCCLXXXV. XV Decembris."[4]

Seen from the necessary distance, the Sassetti chapel not only shows a complete unity of decoration, but charms above all works hitherto carried out by Ghirlandaio, because in addition to the known features of his style a greater harmony of colour is apparent, and because the just value of tones in contrast creates an impression almost equal to that produced in the same sense by the frescos of Masaccio. A surprising reality is represented,

[1] The dresses of the cardinals and prelates seated in rows perpendicular to the Pope's throne are injured and repainted in many parts, as are likewise some of the heads and hands. The same remark applies to the kneeling monks of Francis' suite. Some colour in the distance has evaporated, and a few of the distant figures are injured.

[2] The head of S. Francis is repainted, and likewise parts of the distance. The Saviour in the sky to the left is also partially retouched.

[3] Some dresses are scaled off, especially in a group to the right. The same has happened to a part of the bed on which the child sits and the ground by it, as well as to a piece of the gown of the grieving female at that place. Some holes in other spots have been stopped with fresh paint. The background and some distant figures are damaged by scaling.

[4] The V in the date is new. The Tiburtine sybil predicting the coming of Christ to Octavian was painted on the outer arch of the chapel and is now obliterated. (Vas. Vol. V. p. 68.)

with the breadth and grandeur attained by Masaccio and Raphael, in the portrait of Sassetti, whose form and bald head are not more finely given than those of his wife. The treatment in the former is such that Ghirlandaio appears to surpass himself in the handling of impasto, and disdains the usual minuteness of stippling. The simple flow of a lake-red drapery of solid stuff, the manly frame and fleshy hands are nature itself.

The fresco of S. Francis before the archbishop of Assisi, at whose feet he kneels in his nakedness, is not as powerful as others, nor does Ghirlandaio choose the moment of Bernardone's anger. On the contrary his rage is spent, the cord with which he wished to stripe his son almost drops from his hand, and he totters in the arms of a friend with grief in his look and attitude.

The scene of the ordeal before the Soldan is also somewhat nerveless.

The episode of S. Francis receiving the Stigmata on the other hand is rich in incidents. The distance is a landscape with Pisa and its leaning tower at the foot of hills, people watering horses, traffick on the roads and paths, a frightened hind and its companion. On the right S. Francis receives the marks of the wounds, whilst his follower to the left falls backwards in surprise. The highest points are touched copiously in gold for the sake of light, the subject being on the dark side of the chapel, and the head of S. Francis looking, up is, repainted. The chief interest is thus concentrated on three frescos.

Nothing better can be desired than Honorius granting the rules to Francis in presence of the cardinals, whilst Lorenzo de' Medici stands on the right with three attendants facing a group of four on the extreme left, and heedless of six others emerging from subterranean depths up a flight of steps at the edge of the picture. This is one of Ghirlandaio's creations in which natural truth is allied to dignified mien, in which form and its rotundity are rendered with the master's best art, and

some heads are modelled and relieved so as to deserve unqualified praise. His perspective is telling and specially interesting; because, if we compare the Palazzo Pubblico as represented here with the same building as drawn in the time of the Duke of Athens at the Stinche[1] we trace the changes which a century and a half had produced in one of the principal edifices of Florence.[2]

Beneath this again is Ghirlandaio's masterpiece as far as the production of colour is concerned, the resurrection of the child of the Spini, too well known to require description.[3] Whilst in the frescos of the S. Fina chapel at S. Gimignano, feeling predominates, grandeur and decorum absorb attention here. If asked to select a grand figure from the crowd grouped together with such mastery, one should point to that on the extreme right whose cap hangs over his dress, and whose form, wrapped in a long cloak, rivals those of Masaccio in the tribute money, and recals, by grave and dignified repose of attitude the fine creations of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael. The last person on that side may be easily recognized as a likeness of Ghirlandaio himself in cap and mantle with his hand on his hip and looking out of the picture; it is the same that may be seen in the choir of S. Maria Novella and in the adoration of the Magi at the Hospital of the Innocenti. Looking at the group on the left, one sees a bevy of decorous and high-born dames, prominent amongst whom stands one in profile in rich attire clasping her hands and expressing in her face an exquisite confidence. At a time when we cease to ask for ideal form, because the age was essentially one of portraiture, we concede to Ghirlandaio, in such a group as this, the art of rendering the human shape and features with incomparable nobleness, without an alloy of

[1] See antea a fresco assigned to Giottino.

[2] We notice the street where the Uffizi now stands and the splendid Loggia de' Lanzi.

[3] The distance shows the Ponte a S. Trinita as it stood at that time and the child may be seen falling from a window of the building to the left.



THE DEATH OF ST FRANCIS: a fresco in S. Trinità at Florence, by D. Ghirlandajo.

coarseness or vulgarity. The truth in its most pleasing appearance and rendered with great perfection of relief by light and shade is attained so far in a measure superior to that of Masaccio.

It is unnecessary to enter into details of the arrangement or grouping in the fresco of the death of S. Francis. which is admirable for technical skill, for modelling, for precision and truth. The noblest realism supplies the place of ideal elevation, and if the religious calm of Giotto may be sought in vain, the scene in its completeness is the grandest display of the art of its time. We may remark with what skill Ghirlandaio takes advantage of the strong light on this side of the chapel, to model his flesh, so that it shall have all the advantages resulting from that circumstance. Some heads are painted with surprising breadth, striking the beholder as perfect in detail, yet preserving their mass. Were it not for a certain staid nature in the figures, we should say, not Ghirlandaio, but Raphael, is the painter. But this scene as a composition invites comparison with a similar one executed by Giotto, the great founder of the Florentine school, in whom noble feeling, propriety, significance, and judgment in the distribution of space were combined. How little of this combination appears in the creations of Botticelli or Filippino need not be pointed out. Taking the death of S. Francis in the Bardi chapel, contrasting it with this, we shall note that Giotto takes the saint in a glory to heaven, and that one of the monks at the bedside looks up and tempers his grief at the departure of Francis by the knowledge that he is already on the way to heaven. Were this incident withdrawn from Giotto's fresco, its significance would be lost. Ghirlandaio neglected this episode. He increased the number of spectators about the death-bed. The scene assumes a more real appearance, but is less true to the spirit of the time of S. Francis than that of Giotto. Abandoning prescription, he sacrificed the simplicity of the older time to the pomp of a more modern epoch, an useless and disadvantageous luxury

and a surrender of the severe simplicity of the earlier artist.

We may add that the comparison is equally in favour of Giotto, if we take for contrast his meeting of Francis with the indignant Bernardone, and that which Ghirlandaio gave with less than his wonted power in the lunette of the Sassetti chapel.

Ghirlandaio, however, represented, as before remarked, the utmost perfection of the art of his time and all the progress which had been made in the lapse of two centuries. He so fully embodied the unity of this progress in all its branches, that his influence was felt by all cotemporary and subsequent artists. The mode in which he affects the sculpture of his cotemporaries is clear in the works of Benedetto da Maiano whose pulpit at S. Croce in Florence is a plastic adaptation of the art which Domenico evolved. The altarpiece which completed the decoration of the Sassetti chapel is now in the Academy of Arts at Florence. It is a fine adoration of the shepherds, dated 1485, in whose landscape distance the procession of the Magi may be seen advancing to the foreground. The portrait of Ghirlandaio described by Vasari is not to be found there, nor has the picture a pleasing appearance, because of the dull leaden tone caused by repeated varnishing; but the heads are in the style of those in the frescos of the chapel.[1]

Domenico had hardly finished this great undertaking, than he was requested to renew the choir of S. Maria Novella and replace the damaged masterpieces of Andrea Orcagna. The Ricci who were patrons of the altar and whose ancestors had left their arms on the scutcheons that studded the walls were willing to admit that the injury which time and accidents had caused to Orcagna's frescos was only to be remedied by a total renewal of the chapel, but their means were no longer equal to so

[1] No. 50. Acad. Catalogue, Galerie des gr. tableaux. Dated on a post of the penthouse, "MCCCCLXXXV". Vasari calls the heads of the shepherds "cosa divina".

vast an enterprise, and they feared with reason the loss of their patronage and the erasure of their arms. When therefore Giovanni Tornabuoni asked them to consent to the renewal of the decorations at his expense by means of Ghirlandaio, they only acceded to his request with misgiving, and stipulated by a deed drawn up in due form that, at all events, their arms should be preserved in the most honoured place. Giovanni Tornabuoni signed the deed and with the cunning usual to his countrymen in that age meditated the evasion of its terms. Nor had the Ricci reason to congratulate themselves in the sequel upon the fruits of their policy. The spirit of the deed was easily evaded. The arms of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci were carved in stone on the front pilasters of the choir and those of the Ricci were lost in a small shield in front of the tabernacle of the sacrament. The rage of the Ricci when they saw the quarterings of their antagonists so prominent and theirs so humbly concealed, can scarcely have been lessened when they found that Ghirlandaio had, in addition, painted no less than twenty one portraits of the Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci in the frescos of the choir.[1]

In this splendid chapel, Ghirlandaio placed four courses of frescos on the three walls. He divided the lower one, pierced by a long window, into seven parts, depicting the Coronation of the Virgin in the lunette; beneath it, S. Francis before the soldan to the left, and the death of Peter Martyr to the right, of the window, lower down in the same order, the annunciation and S. John the Baptist's departure to the desert; and in the lowest, portraits of Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife. On the wall to the left beginning from below, he placed side by side, Joachim's Expulsion from the Temple, and the Birth of the Virgin; above these in the same order, the Virgin's presentation in the Temple and her marriage; above these again, the adoration of the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents, concluding the series with the death and ascension of the Virgin in the lunette.

On the wall to the right, in the same order, are the ap-

[1] The story is told by Vasari. (Vol. V. p.p. 71 and following.)

pearance of the Angel to Zacharias, the Salutation, the birth of S. John, Zacharias naming the child, the sermon in the desert, the Baptism of Christ, and the dance of the daughter of Herodias. In the ceiling are the four Evangelists.

A minute description of this vast and admirable series might weary the reader, and occupy inordinate space. There are few but will have had occasion either to visit S. Maria Novella or to study the engravings executed with comparative care by Lasinio; but Ghirlandaio's style and artistic career are amply illustrated by these frecos; and such comments as appear calculated to elucidate those points may be interesting and are certainly required. None who are enabled to view in their combined effect the whole of these wall paintings will fail to admire the architectural division of the spaces by pilasters and cornices represented perspectively so as to suggest the actual presence of an ornament which is merely imitated from nature. The taste in which these ornaments are conceived may be judged by reference to our illustration of the "birth of the Virgin." But that which most surprises the beholder is the grasp of power exhibited by Ghirlandaio in the decoration of a vast space, and the boldness which shrinks before no misgiving as to the likelihood of completing so great an undertaking. One may conceive Ghirlandaio saying, after he had done, "I wish I had the circuit of the Florentine walls to paint,"[1] and the enterprise does not seem presumptuous or impossible; but a man who could mean as well as utter such words, must have had the fibre of Michael Angelo, and was the fit person to give that great artist his early education. It is in the choir of S. M. Novella that Ghirlandaio shows himself completely master of the art of grand and animated composition, it is there that his novelty of conception and his aptitude for reproducing varied action are shown. If it were a question, where Raphael should have learnt to combine incidents, and to

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 80.

delineate form with its most finished precision of modelling, one should say it was in S. Maria Novella. There too, noble form without soaring to the ideal, satisfies the beholder because it has dignified shape and movement and never suggests coarseness or vulgarity. Yet must it not be forgotten that here as at Rome, and in all the works of the master, the surface of colour is rough, and dimmed by time.[1]

It is necessary to premise further that Ghirlandaio did not execute this work without the aid of numerous assistants. But he reserved to himself the adornment of the lower courses, because they were nearest the eye of the spectator, and in these, accordingly, his powers are concentrated.

Most perfect as regards the reproduction of plastic form, most harmonious for colour, most powerful in the handling of impasto is the fresco of the angel appearing to Zacharias, in which the painter finds a justification for the introduction of a splendid series of portraits in the necessity for depicting a congregation attending the service of the ministry at the altar. Without encumbering the sacred space with seats, he contrives to vary the planes upon which the spectators stand by placing some on the platform of the altar, others upon the flags below, others again ascending to the floor of the church.[2] To these portraits, but especially to the group of five immediately behind and to the right of Zacharias,[3] Ghirlandaio gives rotundity and relief exactly as Raphael afterwards did to his Leo the Tenth between Giulio de' Medici

[1] Contrary to the practise at S. Gimignano, where the design is pounced on the wall, the drawing at S. M. Novella is traced with a style through the original cartoon which gives a broad outline. The stippling in many parts has become black; and the painting generally wants light.

These therefore are half lenghts, supposed to be — on the right — Federico Sassetti, Andrea de' Medici and Gianfrancesco Ridolfi, partners in the bank of the Medici. Left, Cristoforo Landini, Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficini, and Gentile de' Becchi.

[3] Supposed to be Giuliano Tornabuoni, Giovanni Tornaquinci, Gianfrancesco, Girolamo, and Simone Tornabuoni.

and Cardinal Luigi de' Rossi in the masterpiece of the Pitti.[1] The imitation of plastic form is carried out with the success of Masaccio and improved to greater precision in the working out of detail without any sacrifice of mass. The central figure of the group, indeed, is striking for harmony of colour, unity of character and of form. Equally grand is the group of four near the angel[2] whose shadows are cast on the floor, showing the artist's ability in simulating play of light. True perspective gives an additional value to classic architecture.[3]

But the extent of Ghirlandaio's experience in vistas of landscape and buildings is seen to still greater advantage in the salutation, where the progress due to a diligent study of the science of converging lines and the influence of Roman antique models,[4] gives renewed interest to a well composed and precisely executed episode.

The use which the painter made of classic ornament is most evident in the "birth of the Virgin" which is splendidly decorated, and admirable alike for the propriety of the vanishing lines of the architecture and the accuracy with which shadows are projected by the flow of light through an open window. One of the figures, of a girl moving forward and pouring water into a basin, is one among many illustrations of Ghirlandaio's tendency to paint drapery in its flight, imitating the stiffness of bronze; whilst the face of the nurse smiling at the babe assumes likewise an immobility almost betraying a plastic

[1] No. 63. in that Gallery.

[2] These according to modern judgment, are Giovanni Tornabuoni, Pietro Popoleschi, Girolamo Giacchinotti and Leonardo, brother of Giovanni Tornabuoni.

[3] On the frieze of the arch in the distance, to the right, one reads the words: "An. MCCCCLXXXX, quo pulcherrima civitas opibus victoriis artibus. ædificiisque nobilis copia salubritate pace perfruebatur."

[4] The design for this piece is at the Uffizi. It represents S. Anna and S. Elizabeth meeting on a terrace from which a distant view of a city and hills is gained. Three graceful females form the suite of S. Anna, on the left. Two follow S. Elizabeth and three look on, the foremost of which, in rich attire, is clearly a portrait, probably that of Ginevra de' Benci mentioned by Vasari. (Vol. V. p. 77.) The three of S. Anna's suite are slightly altered by time.



THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN; a fresco by Ghirlandajo, in the Choir of S. Maria Novella at Florence

model. The drawing of this piece, exhibited at Manchester, was excessively remarkable as showing that the master in his preliminary sketch only busied himself with the general movement and in nowise with detail,[1] a peculiarity noticeable later in Michael Angelo.

Less care is expended in the treatment and handling of Joachim's expulsion from the temple than in the subjects previously examined. The two groups at the extremes are, however, full of merit, and interesting, because Ghirlandaio represented himself again to the right in the attitude already assumed by him at S. Trinita, accompanied, — by Sebastiano Mainardi, whose vacant gaze is not prepossessing as he presents his head on the margin of the picture, — and Baldovinetti who looks pensive, standing at the other side of Domenico in the hanging barret of the period.[2] The figure of Joachim expelled by the priest is feeble and more in the style of Mainardi than of his master.[3] The birth of the Baptist in the second course is fine as a composition;[4] the episode of Zacharias giving the name less so, being also weaker in action and execution; yet there is much individuality in the heads. Richness of composition and a lively abundance of incident are conspicuous in the Sposalizio, where many of the figures accuse the modest attainments of Mainardi.[5] The Presentation in the Temple is equally below the average of Ghirlandaio's power.

But the sermon of S. John is one of those symmetrically balanced compositions which, combining thought, grandeur and individuality, not only prove their value by the effect produced on the beholder, but by the attention which other painters devoted to it. The Baptist, within a circle of people of all ages and sexes, stands forth as the precur-

[1] In the ornament at the back of the room are the words "Bigordi" and "Grillandai".

[2] Yet some critics state that this is not Baldovinetti, but Tommaso, Ghirlandaio's father. Note to Vasari. (Vol. V. p. 73.)

[3] The tone is redder and the treatment more mechanical.

[4] The hand of assistants is here. The heads of the figures to the spectator's right are injured.

[5] Some harsh contrasts of colour may be seen in the ground. The

sor and seems to warn the Pharisees. Behind him, coming out of Galilee, the Saviour advances to the spot. "All Jerusalem and Judaea," — beautiful females (on the left) communing or in thought, one in front between St. John and the spectator, watching and forgetting her child who plays naked on the ground, aged men seated on the right overlooked by two others; — the more distant groups in rear, females to the left, males to the right, parted according to the rigid rules of the old church, keeping their distance by proportion of height, — a fine landscape of hills with traces of sparse wood and foliage; — the several parts form an union attractive beyond measure, and appreciated in past times by Raphael who, in the Bowood predella,[1] remains below it, and only perfects the laws it evolves in the masterpiece of the Parnassus.[2]

The Baptism, also finely arranged, illustrates Ghirlandaio's capacity for depicting nude form. The distribution of the subject is the usual one from which no Italian painters had diverged, representing the Saviour in a rill with the Baptist pouring water over his head; on one side two angels on their knees; on the other, the Eternal looking down from amidst the heavenly host; but close by stand those on whom the rite has been performed, two dressed, one tying the latchet of his shoe; and to the left are those awaiting their turn to be baptised. The landscape of rocks divided into three great masses, is ably conceived to aid the effect of the three principal divisions of the group. True in proportion and outline, in shape of bone and muscular parts, Ghirlandaio's nude is a return to the unity of parts achieved by Giotto, without the chastened form which was the ideal of the first great Florentine. It was reserved to Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael to combine the qua-

drawings of this fresco are at the Uffizi.

[1] Predella at Bowood of the altarpiece of the Servi at Perugia, now at Blenheim, representing also the sermon of S. John.

[2] This fresco is executed with some haste. A piece of colour has scaled off from the dresses of the two females on the extreme left; the heads of the two men standing on the extreme right are injured.

lities which brought them nearly to the level of the old Greeks.[1]

The massacre of the Innocents, a seriously injured fresco, has not been engraved, which is a pity, for, as far as one can see, it is rich in striking episodes in momentary action and in the life of modern art. One may still mark by the engraved outlines:

How a rider on the extreme left has caught the hair of a dishevelled mother lying with her wounded child. Another soldier clings to the neck of his fallen horse, and strives to extricate himself, recalling to mind the bold action of a similar incident in Giulio Romano's battle of Constantine. To the right again, a prostrate guard, and near him, a female dragging at the hair of another with such rage that his body is curved backwards, and threatens to fall, whilst the arm of a companion is withheld by a female. Women fly on the extreme right. The two principal groups are united by another more distant, of a soldier striking at a babe in its mother's arms. The whole scene is in front of a splendid series of antique arches whose terraces are filled with spectators.

Rich as a composition in the most modern style the adoration of the Magi is hopelessly damaged by the scaling of the wall and the consequent loss of the faces of Virgin, child, S. Joseph, two magi and a couple of spectators. Equally grand, the death and ascension of the Virgin is in a very bad state especially in the upper part.

The dance of the daughter of Herodias presents some analogy, as regards defects, with that of Fra Filippo at Prato; but is better distributed. The rest of the paintings in the chapel, including the portraits of Giovanni Tornabuoni and his wife, are more or less in bad condition.[2]

The altarpiece which completed the grand decoration of the choir was removed in 1804, and is now divided between the galleries of Munich and Berlin. At Munich, we see the Virgin and child appearing to S. Dominick, and the

[1] The glory of angels and the Eternal are feeble, the figures being hard and slender.

[2] The four evangelists in the ceiling are feeble in comparison to the rest, as are the sybils of the Sassetti chapel.

Magdalen, between SS. Michael and John the Baptist. On the side panels are S. Catherine of Sienna and S. Lawrence; the whole by one hand and a fine production somewhat injured by restoring.[1] The reverse of the altar-piece at Berlin represents Christ's resurrection, with S. Vincent Ferrerius and S. Anthony at the sides,[2] vastly inferior to the parts at Munich, and apparently by assistants with the help of Benedetto and David Ghirlandaio.[3]

The chapel was opened on its completion in December 1490;[4] but the window, with designs by Ghirlandaio, executed on glass by Alessandro Fiorentino whose name it bears was not finished till 1491.[5]

We may picture the jubilant crowd of Tornabuoni and Tornaquinci, Sassetti, Medici, all of whom had sat in turns to Domenico for their portraits, present at the opening, and triumphing not less because of the splendor of the new decorations of the chapel, than because of their victory over the Ricci. We may fancy the congratulations heaped upon Ghirlandaio, the expansion of his fame, and the commissions which overwhelmed him. Yet we know of no other series of frescos in Florence except an apotheosis of S. Francis in the Novitiate of S. Croce

[1] Centre: is No. 556. Saal, Munich Gal. S. Catherine. No. 555. S. Lawrence. No. 560.

[2] The resurrection is No. 75. in the Berlin Museum; the S. Vincent No. 74.; the S. Anthony No. 76.

[3] The Saviour is on a cloud, with the banner in his hand. Two of the guard are running; one still sleeps. In the distance are the Marys. The Saviour has most the character of the master, though coloured of dull tone and without relief. The soldiers are common, lean and coarse, like those in a resurrection at the Academy of Florence, assigned by Vasari to Raffaellino del Garbo. Their forms, action, and dress, are all in bad taste; they are executed in a style approaching that of Benedetto and David Ghirlandaio. The saints in the wings are done in a manner not unlike that of the soldiers in the centre panel.

[4] See Manni's life of Ghirlandaio in Vol. 45 of P. Calogera's Opuscoli.

[5] The subjects in the window are — centre: the Virgin giving the girdle to S. Thomas — beneath: the circumcision and the miracle of the Virgin "della Neve"; at the sides: S.S. Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, Lawrence, and another Dominican. See note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 72.

Numerous studies for the S. M. Novella frescos, besides those mentioned in the text, are to be found in various collections, but need not be further described here.

which reveals his manner, and even that may be by his immediate assistants and pupils.[1] When the question of remuneration for the work done in S. Maria Novella was raised, Giovanni Tornabuoni excused himself. In his eagerness to spite the Ricci and to gild his own family with honours he had been lavish of promises. Domenico was to receive twelve hundred ducats certain, and two hundred more contingent on the painter's success in pleasing his patron. Giovanni Tornabuoni admitted that he was pleased, but begged Ghirlandaio not to press for the contingent sum; and the artist nobly declared himself satisfied,[2] showing, in the ordinary business of life, the calm and repose which seemed to dictate his every action and to shed its influence on his painting. If, however, he were careless of worldly accumulations and comforts, his brother David was proud of the importance reflected upon himself by abilities in which he had a humble share; and the fussy impatience with which he resented the tactless treatment of Domenico by the monks of Vallombrosa is illustrative at once of the character of the two men. The hard cakes and water soup which the abbot placed before them might possibly have been eaten without comment by the phlegmatic Domenico, it roused the ire of David who broke the tureens on the attendant friar's head and replied to the superior's remonstrance by saying that the fame of his brother was greater than that of all the beggarly abbots of the monastery. Domenico was less sensitive and more practical, and used to tell his

[1] S. Francis stands on the orb of the world, between S.S. Louis, Bonaventura, and 2 other saints, with eight smaller figures in kneeling posture divided at each side. An inscription stating that the novitiate was inaugurated in 1455, does not apply to the fresco, which is clearly of Ghirlandaio's school excluding, however, Mainardi.

[2] Vas. Vol. V. p. 72. Ghirlandaio is described as having painted an adoration of the Magi (round) in Casa Gio. Tornabuoni, which is not to be found. (Vas. Vol. V. p. 69) and a small chapel "al Casso Maccherelli", a country seat of the Tornabuoni of which the frescos are wellnigh totally ruined. (Ibid. Vol. V. p. 79.)

assistants that they were not to refuse any commission that should be brought to his shop, were it even for lady's petticoat panniers; and that, if they did not choose to accept them, he would.[1] We find accordingly that even during the time when the frescos of S. Trinita and S. M. Novella were on hand, he delivered a great many altarpieces at Florence and in other towns of Italy. There are indeed panels to note whose style might indicate even an earlier time. Such, for instance, as two Madonnas between saints in S. Anna of Pisa; the first of which, with a portrait of a kneeling patron, displays, in spite of great injury, a style not unlike that of the master in 1480, whilst the second, of the same period, is broadly painted and exhibits a certain freshness in the heads.[2]

A Virgin and child with saints, in the sacristy of S. Martino at Lucca might be added to the foregoing, as it develops a grace and feeling akin to those of the S. Gimignano frescos. An exquisite predella repeats one of the subjects of Peter's liberation used by Filippino in the Carmine, but shows that Ghirlandaio was not as yet so thoroughly practised in the painter's business as his rival.[3]

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 80.

[2] The first of these represents the Virgin, with the child in the act of benediction between S.S. Jerom and Joachim (left), John the Baptist and Bernard (right), the patron kneeling with a cap in his joined hands in the right hand foreground. The figures are lean, the tone is dull, in consequence of the great injury caused by restoring. (figures $^3/_4$ life.) The second altarpiece, of size equal to the last, not free from restoring, represents the Virgin holding a white rose in her right, with the infant on her lap, between S.S. Stephen and Catherine of Alexandria, S. Lawrence and a female decked as to the head with red roses. See Morrona, ub. sup. Vol. III. p. 211.

Vasari mentions frescos by Ghirlandaio in the Pisa Duomo. Of these there remain only some angels in the arch of the tribune, too much repainted to permit of criticism. Those assigned to the master on the facade of the "opera" are obliterated. Inside the opera, an angel removed from outside is preserved, but is utterly repainted. Vide Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 80—1.

[3] This picture injured by restoring represents the Virgin holding the child erect between S.S. Clement, Peter (right), Sebastian and Paul (left). In a lunette which is not by the master, but in the mixed manner of Filippino and Botticelli is a Pieta, i. e. the Saviour supported by the Evangelist, with four angels bearing the symbols of the Passion. In the predella,

He begins to prove his riper greatness in combination with youthful freshness in an altarpiece representing the Madonna and saints originally in S. Giusto and now at the Uffizi,[1] a noble picture in which the laws of the sculptor and goldsmith are applied, the power of distribution so highly developed by Ghirlandaio is apparent, and the tones are in the perfect keeping which distinguishes all his works. It is a gay and pleasing tempera in which much of the older practise is simplified, proving the truth of Vasari's remark that Domenico had seen the disadvantage of surcharging draperies and dress with relief borders like Masolino or Fra Filippo, on the system exaggerated by Benozzo and preserved by the Pollaiuoli. Merely pausing to mention an equally fine Madonna and saints painted about this time, and now in the Academy of Arts,[2] one may assign to the next succeeding time the splendid apotheosis of Christ adored by S.S. Romualdo, Benedict, Attinia and Greciniana in the Badia of Volterra. The Redeemer, majestic, in a glory of angels, gives a blessing from the heavens, whilst the two first mentioned saints stand looking or pointing upwards, and the females kneel in extasy in the foreground of a landscape. A Camaldole monk is in prayer at the right hand corner of the picture. The Benedictines of Volterra owed this grand work to the generosity of Lorenzo de' Medici,[3] who succeeded in thus ob-

besides the subject above named are the martyrdom of Pope Clement thrown into the sea by order of Trajan, the Pieta, the martyrdom of S. Sebastian, and the conversion of S. Paul. The S. Sebastian in the centre is a grand nude. See also Vas. Vol. V. p. 80.

[1] No. 1206. Scuola Toscana. Life size figures, noticed by Vasari Vol. V. p. 69. The Virgin is enthroned, the infant holds an orb, at the sides two angels and S. Michael, two angels and S. Gabriel. In front adoring figures of S.S. Zanobius and Justus; distance, a rich architecture and landscape. The drawing still peeps through the superposed colour, which is well and carefully modelled; but some glazes, especially those in the Virgin's head, are gone.

[2] No. 17. Galerie des grands tableaux. Its subject: the Virgin and child between two angels with flowers, S. Thomas Aquinas (right), and S. Denis Areopagite (left), whilst in front kneel S.S. Clement and Dominick. In the predella: the Pieta between 4 episodes of the saints' lives.

[3] Vas. Vol. V. p. 82.

taining from Ghirlandaio a masterpiece in which excellent proportion is combined with grace in the figures, and the whole is worked out with a resolute hand, great depth of impasto and a fine choice of colour.[1]

The grand altarpieces completed during the progress of the works at S. M. Novella are the adoration of the Magi, a round at the Uffizi, of 1487,[2] and the same subject in the church of the Innocenti dated 1488.

In treating of the first one can but repeat the enumeration of qualities incident to the grand style of Ghirlandaio; but one may note the persistance with which he held to the method of tempera and refused to venture upon any of the innovations of the painters of his time. The altarpiece of 1487, is painted as usual on an underground of faint verde, stippled with lights and shadows, much laboured, and to a certain extent fused; but with the verde cropping up; and whereas in frescos, a common defect is dulness of tinge, the reverse is the case here, the tones of dresses being too gaudy in their contrasts, though correct as regard their harmonic value in juxtaposition.[3]

The adoration at the Innocenti is richer in figures, more compact in distribution, and there are charming forms of children kneeling at each side of the principal group. A noble architecture and landscape enliven the distance; a cavalcade advances through the side of an arch, and far away, the angel announces to the shepherds. In the fields to the right the Innocents are massacred by order of Herod. Amongst the more distant figures of the group to the left of the Virgin, the fourth from the picture's side is a portrait of Ghirlandaio.[4] This in fact is the

[1] This noble piece is injured by restoring in oil, and by oil varnishes.

The story of Vulcan in the Spedaletto of Volterra assigned by Vas. Vol. V. p. 70. to Ghirlandaio is now all but obliterated.

[2] Probably for the church of Orbatello; see Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p. 285.

[3] This picture is No. 35. Uffizi Corridor, and is injured by retouching. The date MCCCCLXXXVII is on a stone in the foreground.

[4] Four angels, of whom two hold a scroll, form the upper glory. On a border in the arch are the ciphers of the date: "MCCCCLXXXVIII". Though slightly restored, this picture is by no means injured. See

finest panel by the master, being more calculated to bring out his qualities than the Visitation of 1491 at the Louvre, where the hand of assistants, and perhaps of Mainardi, may be traced; but in which we may still admire the tall commanding shape of the Virgin, the statuesque beauty of Mary Jacobi, the motion of Salomé shown not merely by the position of the limbs, but by the flight of the drapery.[1] It is surprising to find in pictures painted so late the freshness of a man in all his strength, and without a symptom of decline, and to notice to the last the lingering trace of the art of the "orafo."

The records of Prato do not explain why Ghirlandaio did not carry out in 1491 the order for the altarpiece of the Franciscans del Palco.[2] The painter's career seems to halt in the strangest way in that year.[3] Vasari describes the Visitation at the Louvre originally ordered for the church of Cestello as having been left unfinished at this time;[4] and we find the Tornabuoni soothing a period of sickness by a present of a hundred ducats.[5] It is enough that no pictures exist with a date more recent than 1491, and that such mosaics as Ghirlandaio is known to have executed were produced before that date. Whether he be really the author of a mosaic dated 1485 above the portal of the church of Orbatello, those who have seen that work may best answer.[6] Richa, vaguely notes that Domenico was one of the restorers of the mosaics of the Florence Baptistery.[7] The annunciation on one of the portals of S. Maria del Fiore worked with power equal to that of the master's best works, proves his ability in all phases of his art, but bears no date.[8] The mosaics

Vas. Vol. V. p. 69, Albertini, Mem. p. 13, and Richa. Vol. VIII. p. 128.

[1] No. 204 Louvre.

[2] Executed by Filippino. See antea.

[3] Vasari (Vol. V. p. 80) says: he laboured in Pisa, and on the facade of the opera he painted King Charles recommending Pisa. It has been supposed that the subject was an allusion to the peace signed in 1494 between Charles VIII. and Florence. (See Schorn's Vasari. Vol. II. 2. p. 214.) The painting, however, is absent.

[4] Vas. Vol. V. p. 69.

[5] Ibid. Vol. V. p.p. 84—5.

[6] Note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 83.

[7] Richa, Chiese. Vol. V. p. XLII.

[8] Noticed by Vas. Vol. V. p. 83.

of the chapel of S. Zanobi in S. Maria del Fiore, entrusted to Domenico, David his brother, Botticelli, and the miniaturist Gherardo, remained unfinished[1] but such parts as may have been carried out have disappeared; and history only records that they were left incomplete in 1494 at the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is remarkable, however, that the really practical mosaist of the Ghirlandai family, insofar as records enable us to trace the fact, is David, who repaired the mosaics of the Duomo of Orvieto in 1492,[2] and who undertook, in 1493, those of the facade of the Sienna cathedral, assigned by Vasari to Domenico.[3]

The death of the great painter has been approximatively guessed from the knowledge that Benedetto, as next of kin, took the guardianship of the family *in loco patris* in 1498;[4] but Domenico may have died earlier.

He had been twice married; to Costanza who died in 1485, and to Antonio, a widow at S. Gimignano. His descendants formed a long and honorable line running to sand in convents and monasteries in the seventeenth century.[5]

A number of works which have not found a place in the foregoing narrative may be classed as follows:

Florence. Galleria Pitti. No. 358. Round. Adoration of the Magi, with a slight variation, repeated from that of the Uffizi (No 35), but not so able.

Rimini. Palazzo Pubblico.[6] S. Dominick between S. Sebastian and another saint, under niches on a feigned altar of marble. A lunette now parted from the body of the piece represents the Eternal. Three compartments at the base, injured by scaling, are filled with incidents from the lives of the saints. The picture is not one of Ghirlandaio's

[1] See the record already quoted in Vas. Vol. VI. p. 240.

[2] Note to Vas. Vol. V. p. 83.

[3] See the contract in Doc. Sen. ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 452. Of pictures by Ghirlandaio at Sienna we know nothing. There are no traces of frescos in Palazzo de' Spannocchi. (Vas. Vol. V. p. 84.)

[4] Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p. 267. Domenico was buried in S. M. Novella in 1493 according to Vasari.

[5] See the root of the family in Com. to Vas. Vol. V. p. 88.

[6] Vas. Vol. V. p. 82.

best, but hasty in execution and conveying the impression that assistants had an extensive part in it.

Volterra. Duomo. Cappella S. Carlo.[1] The Virgin and child between S.S. Bartholomew and Anthony the abbot is by an inferior painter of the time in the mixed styles of Ghirlandaio, Filippino, and Cosimo Rosselli.

Modena Gallery. No. 25. Round. A very poor Nativity coarsely worked by a feeble artist, only noticed because catalogued.

Munich Gallery. Saal. No. 538. Pieta assigned to Ghirlandaio, but by Filippino, see antea.[2]

Berlin. Museum. No. 88. The Virgin and child in a glory of five cherubim, adored from below by the erect S.S. John Evangelist and Baptist, the kneeling S.S. Francis and Jerom. The arrangement of the Virgin, with the naked infant grasping her neck, is repeated from the Tornabuoni altarpiece at Munich (556) and similar to that in a picture by Mainardi in the choir of the Pieve of S. Gimignano.[3] It is an arrangement of a pleasing kind, possibly carried out in the Berlin picture with Mainardi's assistance, being less masterly than that of Munich. The two standing saints are clearly weak productions of assistants, being poorly drawn especially as to hands and feet. The kneeling saints, in oil, are by Granacci.

Same Museum. No. 84. Virgin, child and saints. This picture, of all those assigned to Ghirlandaio in this Gallery, most truly represents his manner, but the outlines are hard, the colour sharp and of a dusty red in shadow. The hand of apprentices appears in the figures of saints.

Same Museum. No. 68. Virgin and child between two saints, inferior to Domenico, but recalling Mainardi at his school.

Same Museum. No. 83. Profile, bust portrait of a female supposed to be a member of the Tornabuoni family. A repetition of the same belongs to W. D. Lowe Esq. and was at Manchester (66),[4] assigned to Masaccio. Both are by some pupil whose handling is naturally below that of Ghirlandaio.

Same Museum. No. 85. Portrait of a man, in the character of the foregoing.

[1] Ibid. Vol. V. p. 82. note 2.

[2] Possibly this may be the Pieta assigned to Ghirlandaio by Richa (Vol. IX. p. 177) in his time at S. Fridiano of Florence.

[3] See postea.

[4] See antea.

Same Museum. No. 21. Assigned to A. Mantegna, dated 1489,[1] and engraved in D'Agincourt, (Pl. CXL) Judith carrying the head of Holofernes. This piece is of Ghirlandaio's school, and clearly a Florentine work, in tempera of a dull tone.

Dresden Gallery. No. 19. Round, tempera, Virgin and child and S. Joseph. Poor, by some pupil of Sebastian Mainardi and so recals the school of Domenico.

Vienna. Harrash collection. By the same hand as the foregoing. The Virgin adoring the infant who lies on the ground, S. Joseph on one side, the pent-house and the usual episodes in distance; figures one fourth of life size. This in a more pleasing picture than that of Dresden. The flesh tones in the face and hands of the Virgin are retouched.

London. National Gallery. No. 296. The Virgin adoring the infant Christ, assigned with a query to Ghirlandaio, but not by him.[2]

London. Mr. Barker's collection. Life size Virgin and child, between S.S. John Baptist, Buonaventura, James, Catherine, angels above at the sides of an arch in perspective. This picture, with the stamp of Ghirlandaio's school, is hard and raw in colour. The S.S. John and Catherine, the first especially, are in the master's style, but the hardness apparent in the rest recals the youth of Granacci.

London. Sir Charles L. Eastlake's collection. Virgin and child, half length, life size, weighty figures lightly coloured and shadowed in a blueish grey, the head of the Virgin pleasing, a step below Ghirlandaio, but a fine picture.

Paris. Collection of Mr. Reiset. A Virgin and child in the character of the foregoing. Though a softness different from that of Mainardi may be noted in these two productions, his name may not be excluded.

We may conclude with a notice of a large altarpiece in S. Girolamo of Narni representing the coronation of the Virgin, and crowded with about a hundred figures in a rich architectural arch supported on pilasters, filled with cherubs and figures (6) of saints. The Saviour crowns the Virgin in the midst of a glory beneath a vast dais, supported by two angels. Innumerable people stand or kneel below. In a predella is the resurrection, S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and S. Jerom in the desert.

[1] Falsely in Catal. 1498. [2] See antea in Peselli and Verrocchio.

This vast and well preserved tempera, assigned to Spagna because of a likeness of subject and groups between it and two other coronations by him in Todi and Trevi is feebly distributed and painted in a cold yellowish tone with little relief of light or shade by assistants in the school of Ghirlandaio. The attribution to Spagna was confirmed, for a time, by a statement that a record existed proving the fact. But this is not so. A record exists and may be found at length in Lorenzo Leoni's Memorie storiche di Todi,[1] in which "Magister Joannes alias Spagna, the Spaniard" is commissioned to paint a "table" like that of S. Girolamo of Narni. It does not therefore say that the Narni picture is by Spagna;[2] nor ought one to confound the Umbrian style of that master apparent in the coronations of Todi and Trevi with the Florentine manner of the Narni altarpiece.[3]

Ghirlandaio's pupils and assistants include his brothers David and Benedetto, Granacci, Jacopo del Indaco (of whom nothing is known), and Alessandro of Florence. Besides, and chief amongst them, Sebastian Mainardi occupies a worthy place near him, and may be dealt with in this place to the exclusion of the three first named, whose works illustrate a later phase of Florentine art. We have already had occasion to trace the hand of this favorite disciples of Domenico in some of the

[1] Todi 8°. 1856. p. 119.

[2] It has been assigned by Orsini in his Perugian guide to Raphael. See also Passavant's life of Raphael. Vol. I. p. 509.

[3] The following works by Ghirlandaio, as noticed by Vasari, are not now to be traced: At S. Croce, to the right of the entrance, a story of S. Paolino. (Vas. Vol. V. p. 67, and Albertini, Mem. p. 15.) In the same church, a small visitation (Richa. Vol. I. p. 238), in S. M. Ughi, Florence, a Virgin and child between 2 angels, restored in 1731 by F. M. Pacini (Richa. Vol. III. p. 183), Arte de' Linaiuoli Florence; a tabernacle (Vas. Vol. V. p. 70). Compagnia di S. Lorenzo in S. M. Novella, an altarpiece (Richa. Vol. III. p. 104). Compagnia della Scala, a Madonna (Ibid. Vol. III. p. 108). Badia di Settimo, frescos in the choir and two altarpieces (Vas. Vol. V. p. 80). S. Maria Nuova. Florence. A S. Michael in armour (ibid. Vol. V. p. 81, and Albertini, Mem. p. 13). Badia di Passignano (Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 81—2). Altarpiece for the Signori de' Carpi (ibid. Vol. V. p. 82).

greatest undertakings of the time, pointing out the inferiority of the execution. Mainardi has been in certain cases confounded with his master, and namely in the frescos of the Baroncelli chapel at S. Croce,[1] representing S. Thomas kneeling before the tomb and receiving the girdle from the Virgin in the heaven above him amidst angels. The space to be filled requiring the introduction of figures larger than life, must have been trying to Mainardi, who still succeeds, however, in giving to the Virgin something much resembling the character of Ghirlandaio. The figures generally tend to slenderness, and lack feeling. Mainardi's style may be discovered in the two side figures of an altarpiece in the Sacristy of S. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence, whose centre, a S. Jerom, is by another hand.[2] The whole piece is attributed to Cosimo Rosselli, but the wings are painted in the mode of the figures described as beneath Ghirlandaio's usual powers in the fresco of the Expulsion of Joachim in S. Maria Novella. It is the work of a man accustomed to decorate large spaces and to give his figures a weighty aspect, but who degenerates also into heaviness. The draperies are comparatively ill cast, the colour leaden with sharp lights, the execution cold and mechanical. These saints may in fact have been designed by Mainardi in the shop of his brother-in-law after 1490.

If we should desire to point out where Mainardi assisted his master at S. Gimignano we should say that he did so, not in the cappella S. Fina, where the hand of assistants is not easily traceable, but in the annunciation of 1482.

A fresco in which the Spirit of Ghirlandaio almost seems to have passed into his pupil is that which adorns a ta-

[1] Assigned by Albertini, Mem. ub. sup. p. 15, to Ghirlandaio, The S. Thomas is in a good state. the dresses of the first and second angel from below, — of the Eternal are repainted. Vasari says, that Mainardi used Ghirlandaio's cartoon for this piece (Vol. V. p. 84).

[2] This S. Jerom is reminiscent in style of the parts of the Tornabuoni altarpiece at Berlin, Nos. 74—76, which bear traces of the hand of David and Benedetto Ghirlandaio. See antea.

bernacle in the Via S. Giovanni at S. Gimignano, representing a life size Virgin and child in glory, above a landscape. Part of a saint still remains in the side of the arch. We may continue the record of Mainardi's works as follows:

S. Gimignano. Pieve. Choir. Altarpiece of a Virgin and child in glory, as in the Tornabuoni panel at Munich and in the panel (88) at Berlin, with S.S. Gimignano, Nicholas, Mary Magdalen (left), Fina, John the Baptist and another saint (right, life size). This piece shows the falling off of a man following Ghirlandaio's style, but losing power when deprived of the support of the master near him. The colour is more dull and leaden, redder, in this than in previous pictures.

S. Gimignano Gallery. No. 9. Two rounds; — a Virgin and child, all but life size, the latter in benediction, between pretty angels, originally in S. M. de' Lumi; the most graceful creation of the master perhaps; and a Virgin with the child patting the infant Baptist on the chin, an angel near, inferior to the foregoing and of reddish tone. The S. John particularly is heavy and large headed.

Louvre. Campana Gallery. Round, slightly varying from the above, called Domenico Ghirlandaio, with three angels and a colonnade in the distance.

Naples Museum. No. 277. Round, repetition of the last mentioned.

London. Dudley House. We note further here under the name of Pesellino (see antea) a Virgin, child, and infant Baptist superior to those just described and finished with great care, but marked by heavy character in the form and head of the Baptist.

S. Gimignano. S. Agostino. Cappella S. Bartolo. Here is a fresco representing S. Lucy between S.S. Gimignano and Nicholas of Bari in the end wall of the chapel, and the four doctors of the church in the ceiling. In this piece Mainardi exhibits decline of power. The S. Lucy recals the Virgin of the Presentation in S. M. Novella as to type. The figures are long and slender, and the heads are small. A rude style, inky shadows, and absence of mass in chiaroscuro, brick red flesh colour are some of the most prominent defects. The S. Jerom is the least defective figure in the ceiling; an inscription now obliterated ran as follows: S. B. M. G. H. O. F. A. D. MCCCCC.[1]

[1] Pecori, ub. sup. p. 545.

S. Gimignano. S. Agostino. In the same character as the foregoing, beneath the organ, a fresco of S. Gimignano enthroned, and adored by three figures of Matteo Lupi, Domenico Mainardi and Nello Nelli de' Cetti, with the date of 1487 in the border, and beneath it, a recumbent figure of Domenico Strambi on a tomb. This is a common production, the counterparts of which, S. Peter Martyr between the Augustine monk F. Giunta, and the Dominican F. G. Coppi, on the wall near the bell room and dated 1488, has disappeared.[1]

Berlin Museum. No. 77. A Pretty Virgin erect caressing the child sitting by her on a parapet, is in the style of the two rounds at the S. Gimignano gallery. Sharp in tone and with bister shadows.

Berlin Museum. No. 86. Portrait of a youth, fine. Besides these there are portraits assigned in various Galleries to Ghirlandaio which may be by Mainardi, as at Rome Palazzo Barberini, portrait of a man.

Rome. Museo Cristiano. Press. VII. A nativity, — the Virgin adoring the child, S. Joseph on the other side of it, and above, five singing angels. This is by Mainardi.

Mainardi is supposed to have died about 1515.[2]

The windows of the choir at S. M. Novella were completed, in 1491, by one Alessandro Fiorentino. This Alessandro is to be classed amongst the pupils of Ghirlandaio:

In the chapel of the Palazzo del Podesta at Florence are a Virgin and child, and a S. Jerom painted like a picture from the atelier of Ghirlandaio. The first is dated: "An. Sal. M.CCCCXC." the second is inscribed: "Alexandrini p̃toris Florentini. A. D. MCCCCLXXXX." Here is therefore one more of Domenico's assistants, to whom we may assign by comparison with the pictures at the Palazzo del Podesta, the following:

Florence. Academy of Arts. Galerie des anc. tab. No. 31. A Virgin and child between the kneeling S.S. Francis and Catherine, S.S. Matthew and Louis erect, dated:

"A di XX di Settembre MCCCCLXXXIIII."

Another painter in the same style is Ambrogio d'Asti by whom we have the centre part of an altarpiece in the

[1] Pecori, ub. sup. p. 540. [2] Pecori, ub. sup. p. 496.

Academy of Pisa, representing the Saviour enthroned between the Virgin, an angel pouring ointment over his head, with an Eternal in a lunette above, inscribed: "Ambrosius Astẽsis p M.D.XIIII." Ambrose, however, is a rude executant and not author of the sides of the foregoing which represent S.S. Ursula and Ularia of Barcelona.

Returning to S. Gimignano, another painter, deriving his style from the school of Ghirlandaio, but of feeble powers, is Pietro di Francesco, by whom a Virgin and child between six saints may be seen in S. Agostino. This work bears the painter's name and the date 1494, and is excessively rude. The predella contains the Pieta, resurrection, ascension and four half lengths of saints. A half length of the Virgin and child by this artist is in the S. Gimignano Gallery. A Virgin and child taking the breast, in his style, but more pleasing because of the Virgin's regular forms and something in the manner reminiscent of Botticelli, is in the Oratorio of S. Maria at Pancole. A Pieta in this character is in the Pretorio at Certaldo (assigned without grounds to Giusto d'Andrea in com. to Vas. IV. p. 192), inscribed with the date of 1490. A Virgin and child between saints in the Pieve at Empoli, is of this class.[1]

[1] In the Campana gallery now in Paris is a Virgin and child under the name of Gozzoli with S.S. Lawrence, Peter Martyr, a bishop, and John about her, a gable work by Fra Francesco of Florence.

CHAPTER XXI.

BENOZZO GOZZOLI AND HIS ASSISTANTS.

An artist versatile in the appropriation and absorption of pictorial features characteristic of divers masters and periods may be powerful as a machine, prolific by nature; he is seldom great, and never original. Such an artist may excite surprise, by the readiness with which he assumes and forsakes a manner, by the rapidity of his execution and the consequent fecundity which it engenders; he cannot claim a high place in the history of art; and thus, whilst we acknowledge in Domenico Ghirlandaio the talents which form an epoch, we concede to Benozzo Gozzoli little more than industry and an aptitude for collecting and superficially applying, with the aid of a somewhat extravagant fancy, the gains acquired by the united energy of the painters of the fifteenth century. The principal interest which might attach in our eyes to the works of Benozzo is due not so much to their intrinsic value, as to their influence on a certain section of Umbrian painters; and it is curious to remark that whilst the example of Giotto left little or no trace in Assisi and its neighbourhood, that of a second rate Florentine of a later time produced an impress equally strong and lasting, proving a greater facility in painters of these parts to assimilate a showy and coarse style than a pure and great one.

Gozzoli's real name is Benozzo di Lese di Sandro. He was born at Florence in 1424,[1] — followed, as we have seen, Fra Giovanni to Rome, and acted as his assistant at Or-

[1] So according to his father's income paper of 1470, in 1420 according to his own of 1480.

vieto in 1447.[1] In 1449 he parted from his old master to seek his own fortune; and, with more instinct than luck, applied to the council of the Duomo of Orvieto for permission to complete the unfinished labours of Angelico.[2] Unsuccessful in this attempt, Benozzo, then in the flower of his age, proceeded, not to Florence, the Mecca of artists, but to Montefalco, near Foligno in Umbria, whither he was led, no doubt, by his early connection with the Dominicans, and the hope that perhaps the recommendation of Angelico might be of service to him. In this comparatively solitary spot he settled in 1449, and obtained instant employment. In S. Fortunato, about a mile from the town, he painted a Virgin and child amongst saints and angels above the portal,[3] an apotheosis of S. Fortunato on the altar of that name,[4] an annunciation in fresco on one of the walls, and S. Thomas receiving the girdle[5] on the altar. The fastidiousness of the Orvietans becomes almost inexplicable in presence of these creations which are amongst the best that Benozzo ever produced.

[1] Vasari (Vol. IV. p. 186) says, Benozzo painted a fresco in the Cappella Cesarini, at Araceli in Rome representing S. Anthony and two angels in a niche above the altar. The heads in this piece are the only parts that are not repainted; and it is true that they reveal Benozzo's hand, as do likewise traces of paintings on the lunettes of the portals. A predella, No. 35 in the Gallery of the Vatican representing a story of S. Hyacinth assigned to Benozzo is by a Ferrarese artist of his time of whom we may have occasion to speak.

[2] On the 3d of April 1449, his application is met by a request that he shall give proof of his skill. See Della Valle's Duomo di Orvieto. p.p. 125 and following, and 307, and Com. to Angelico's life in Vas. Vol. IV. p. 48.

[3] This fresco is on the portal outside the church, and the seven angels forming the glory are injured by the scaling of the colour of the dresses. The Virgin and child are between S.S. Francis and Bernardino. This and the rest of the paintings in the church are clearly of the same period.

[4] All but the head of S. Fortunato is repainted by a restorer of the 18th century.

[5] This altarpiece is now in the Museum of S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome. The usual garland of playing and singing angels is about the Virgin. Six saints are in the pilasters, and of six predella scenes the Sposalizio is slightly damaged. The drawing is accurate and shows less defective form, less immobility and less angularity of drapery than later examples. Still prettier are the predella scenes, which appear like slightly inferior reductions from originals by Angelico. The picture indeed has been assigned to him.

Deeply imbued with the lessons of Angelico, he does not equal the master who guided his early years, but he follows his manner to the best of his inferior talents. Depicting the kneeling angel of the annunciation he comes as near the mark of Fra Giovanni as possible, keeping the form without the intense feeling of the Dominican, painting with colour more lively and less coarse than that which marks his later works.[1] The monastery of S. Francesco at Montefalco was the next scene of his labours, and there he filled the hexagonal choir with a triple course of episodes from the life of S. Francis, copious adjuncts of saints in the ceiling and window, and portraits in medallions along the lower skirting of the principal subject and in the vaulting of the entrance arch. Scrolls held by angels in the pilasters of the entrance contain inscriptions from which it appears that Benozzo's patron was the Franciscan Jacopo di Montefalco, and that the whole choir was completed in 1452. The spirit which animates the master is still the religious and kindly one derived from contact with Angelico, and some of the compositions, such as the fine one of S. Francis' birth, the rich one of his death, and the quarrel with Bernardone, are worthy of admiration, whilst others, of the saint supporting the falling church, or expelling the devils from Arezzo, are reminiscent of Giotto.[2]

[1] The Virgin is seated on the left on a throne, in the pediment of which are the words: "Benozzii d... Florentia ..CCCCL." The angel kneeling to the right plays a tambourine. The figures are all but life size, in a feigned arch, with a landscape like those of Angelico. The left side is cut down by the work of an altar.

[2] The scenes from S. Francis' life fill four sides of the choir, beginning on the lower course of the nearest left side with the birth, and ending with his death in the lunette of the nearest side to the right. The order of the subjects is as follows: 1. Lower course, the birth, and the episode of the cloak thrown on the ground for Francis to walk upon. 2. S. Francis gives his dress to the poor. He sees a palace in a dream. 3. He is protected from his father's anger by the bishop of Assisi. 4. Meeting of S.S. Francis and Dominick, and the Virgin warding off the thunderbolts. Second course also from left to right: 5. S. Francis supporting the falling church. 6. Expelling devils from Arezzo. 7. S. Francis and the sparrows. S. F. blessing the donor Jacopo di Montefalco and Marco, who kneel before him. 8. S. F. and the Cavalier of Celano. Lunettes: 9. The nativity at Greggio. 10. S. F. be-

There is clear evidence indeed of Benozzo's esteem for the patriarch of Florentine painting, in the fact that his portrait by the side of Dante's and Petrarch's fills a medallion in the base of the choir window and bears the inscription: "Pictorum eximius Jottus fundamentum et lux." The execution is already more hasty and the action more realistic than at S. Fortunato; and one scene on the side nearest the right pilaster, representing the Virgin warding off the thunderbolts of the Eternal with her cloak is marked at once, by rigidity of form, by defective extremities, by hard colour and wiry outline, by angular draperies and a vulgarity of thought or shape which become more frequent at a later period. Nor is it less interesting to note, in this series and in the portal fresco of S. Fortunato, originals which carried Angelico's manner at second hand into Umbria, — the very best creations of a class whose least attractive unit is Mesastris, and which comprises Alunno of Foligno, the Boccati of Camerino and Matteo of Gualdo. But Benozzo did not paint merely the choir of S. Francesco, he also furnished the chapel of S. Jerom in that edifice with a fresco of the Madonna and saints on the wall, simulating an altarpiece on its altar, a crucifixion above it, four evangelists in the ceiling, scenes from the life of S. Sebastian on the pilasters, and figures of saints in the vaulting of the en-

fore the Soldan. 11. S. F. receiving the Stigmata. 12. Death of S. F. On the base of each of the four sides are five medallion portraits of Dominicans, three at the base of the window, of Petrarch, inscribed: "Laureatus, Petrarca omnium virtuf monarca." He wears a laurel crown; — of Dante, full face, inscribed: "Teologus Dantes nullius dogmatis expers." These portraits we all repainted by the so-called restorer Caratoli in 1858; as indeed are all the frescos more or less. Amongst the six saints in the window side is one of S. Severus, the design for which is in the collection of drawings at the Brit. Mus. The scrolls held vertically by angels in the pilasters contain these words, that to the right: "In nomine Sanctissimæ Trinitatis hãc cãpellam pinxit Benotius Florentinus sub annis domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo secundo. Qualis sit pictor prefactus ĩspice lector." That to the left: "ad laudem oñipotentis dei beatus... hoc opus fecit fieri Frater Jacobus de Montefalcone ord. minorum." An inscription at the base of each fresco describes its subject. The saints in the vaulting are S.S. Francis in glory, Anthony, Catherine, Bernardin, Rosa of Viterbo and Louis.

trance.[1] Imitating still the manner of Angelico, Benozzo accuses the comparative inferiority of his talent in the coarse type, the false anatomy and proportion of the Redeemer, and in the wooden mask of the infant Christ. He repeats the Evangelists of Fra Giovanni in the chapel of Nicholas the Fifth at Rome, and labours in the water colour system of his master. The character of the decorations at S. Francesco, of which the earliest are no doubt those of the chapel of S. Jerom, is that of a work throughout by Gozzoli; but the painter had even thus early an assistant, and Mesastris is already in relation to him as Benozzo had been to the Dominican of Fiesole. His stay at Montefalco may have extended till 1456, when, for a Perugian church, he finished a Madonna with saints, now in the academy of that city, whose prettiness and careful handling rival those of S. Fortunato.[2] Shortly afterwards he became a resident in his native city.[3]

In considering the causes which might induce Benozzo to face the competition of the metropolis at this time, the conclusion is almost inevitable, that a paucity of artists had become perceptible there after 1457. Andrea del Cas-

[1] At the side of the Virgin and child enthroned between S.S. John the Baptist, Jerom, and two other saints, and overlooked by an Eternal in a pinnacle between 4 doctors of the church, are two scenes from S. Jerom's life, one of these, where he extracts the thorn from the lion's paw. On the pediment are five scenes from the lives of the saints, the whole inscribed on the upper cornice: "Opus Benotii de Florentia." Lower, at the side are the words: "Constructa et depicta est hẽc cappella ad honorem gloriosi Hieronymi M.CCCCLII. a I°. Nov." Above the Madonna, the Redeemer crucified, 4 angels and a kneeling monk at each side of the foot. In the pilasters of the chapel, are the martyrdom of S. Sebastian and other incidents from his life. Amongst the saints in the arch vaulting, S.S. Catherine and Bernardin, with the Eternal in the key. The work is injured here and there.

[2] The Virgin and child is between the kneeling saints, Peter, John the Baptist, Jerom and Paul. On the background are the words: "Opus Benotii de Florẽtia MCCCCLVI. Two pilasters have each three saints. In the predella are the resurrection, and S.S. Thomas, Lawrence, Sebastian and Bernard. According to Mariotti (Lettere pitt. ub. sup. p.p. 66—7) the picture was painted for Benedetto Guidalotti, founder of the Collegio Gerolimiano at Perugia.

[3] Benozzo's name is registered in the guild of Florentine painters, but the published date 1423 is clearly an error, as he was not born till after that year. Gualandi, ub. sup. Ser. VI. p. 178.

tagno and Pesellino had been carried off; Domenico Veniziano was on the verge of his career, and Fra Filippo, frightened by his creditors or the plague, had retired finally to Prato. The Medici must therefore have been really at a loss for hands to adorn their Florentine palace, and glad to find a man of skill and fancy like Fra Giovanni's pupil to decorate the walls of the chapel now known as that of the Palazzo Riccardi. Three characteristic letters addressed to Piero de' Medici by Benozzo prove that he had already made some progress in these frescos in 1459, and that the work was approaching completion towards the close of the year.[1] Instead of choosing a series of scenes from the legend of a patron saint, the artist was induced to select the journey of the Magi to Bethlehem as a fitting subject; and, in imitation of those who had already given to the incidents of that journey an increased value of detail on the panels of family chests, he shaped the various episodes of a pompous progress into one long series filling the walls of the body of the building. The kings, in gorgeous state, are accompanied on their march by knights and pages in sumptuous dresses, by hunters and followers of all kinds, and the spectator glances by turns at the forms of crowned kings, of squires, and attendants with hunting leopards, all winding their solemn way through a rich landscape country.

Benozzo had thus already divested himself of the purely religious character which had given his earlier pieces a resemblance to the style of Angelico, and resolutely emulated the realists in their habit of making scripture incidents a vehicle for the reproduction of luxurious dress, animal life and landscape. In this new phase of his art he was not unsuccessful. His work has a pleasant spirit and animation in it, and the style which he assumes so quickly and with such good results almost resembles that which on a smaller scale attracts the spec-

[1] See the letters in Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p.p. 191 and following.

tator in the painted chests at the Torrigiani gallery.[1] Yet on close comparison the wallpaintings of the Riccardi chapel, although carefully executed and rich in episodes and costume, are not drawn with the consciousness of a perfect mastery over form. The old defects of Benozzo in rendering extremities or articulations are conspicuous as before, and the journey to Bethlehem is effective not as the inspiration of an original genius, but as the facile reproduction, on a large scale, of a style imitated from the works of others. The student is thus enabled to guage the true value of Benozzo in the two manners which he had successively adopted at Montefalco and Florence, and to place him on the level to which he is called by the peculiarity of his artistic development.[2]

The Sanctuary or tribune of the chapel is filled with choirs of angels in various attitudes in a landscape, some in flight, some kneeling, others plucking flowers; and the idea of an Eden of which the heavenly host are gardeners is rendered with some poetry of thought.[3] The picture formerly on the altar is lost,[4] and the only part of one preserved in Florence is a predella in the Uffizi,[5] but we are enabled to judge of Benozzo's talent in panel pictures at this time by the valuable one at the National Gallery originally painted for the compagnia di S. Marco in 1461 and ordered with special directions that the Virgin enthroned should have the form and ornaments of Angelico's on the high altar of the monastery to which the brotherhood was affiliated.[6]

[1] These pieces of "Cassoni" indeed look at first sight as if they might be by Benozzo, but they are too well drawn and in too good a style for him. See antea: the Peselli.

[2] One may praise in this decoration of the Riccardi palace the harmony of the painting with the splendid carved and gilt ceiling.

[3] This part, however, is the most damaged and restored in the building.

[4] It has been said that the altarpiece is in the Munich gallery. This is not so. See Schorn's Vasari (Vol. II. 2. p. 67). It may, however, be in the private collection of the King of Bavaria.

[5] This predella, formerly in S. Croce, is No. 1188. Scuola Toscana, and represents the resurrection i. e. Christ between S. John and the Magdalen, the marriage of S. Catherine between S. Anthony and a Benedictine.

[6] See the whole record in "Al-

From Florence, Benozzo migrated to S. Gimignano in 1463—64, and there completed a series of works under the patronage of Domenico Strambi, better known as Parisinus, because of his long stay in the French capital. Above the altar of S. Sebastian in the church of S. Agostino, the titular martyr may be seen erect in prayer on a pedestal in a long mantle supported aloft by angels, so as to shelter a multitude of people. The Virgin baring her breast, the Saviour showing the lance wound at the sides, implore the mercy of the Eternal, who from above, launches thunderbolts intercepted by the cloak of S. Sebastian. This trivial subject, conceived by Benozzo in the fashion of an earlier fresco at Montefalco, was no doubt intended to realize pictorially the intervention of S. Sebastian to preserve S. Gimignano from the plague which raged there in 1464. It was completed in that year and served as a model for numerous Umbrian painters of a later time.[1] The crucified Saviour beneath, with four adoring saints and twelve medallions at each side, is the votive gift of Domenico Strambi, whose kneeling presence in miniature form in front is declared by the words. F.D.M.P.[2]

In the course of the same year and part of 1465 the whole choir of the church was decorated with a triple course of scenes from the legend of S. Augustin from the first moment of his entering the grammar school at Tegaste, to his burial.[3]

cuni documenti artistici", ub. sup. (Nozze Farinola-Vai.) p.p. 12. 13. Benozzo received 300 livres (piccioli) for his pains. The picture is No. 283 in the Nat. Gallery. Another panel by the master there representing the rape of Helen, (No. 591) supposed to be part of a painted chest, has some marks of Benozzo's manner, and at all events, is clearly by one who issued from the school of Angelico. Some restoring may be noticed.

[1] On the pedestal of the saint and under his feet are the words: "Anno domini Milesimo quattrigentesimo LXIIII. XXVIII, Julii fuit hoc opus expletum, dieque sequenti hoc in altari extitit primitus celebratum MCCCCLXIIII."

[2] "Frater dominicus Magister Parisiensis."

[3] The subjects run in courses from the lowest compartment on the left, to the lunette on the right side, and embrace: — the entrance of S. Augustin into the grammar school. On the left S. Augustin is consigned to the master by his father and mother Pa-

Most of the seventeen subjects into which the walls are divided have been injured, and the intrinsic value of each compartment is unequal. One may note amongst the best that of S. Augustin teaching rhetoric at Rome, seated in cathedra with rows of hearers on seats at each side; one in which the death of S. Monica, the saint's mother, is represented; but the best is that in which the death of Augustin is depicted, where Benozzo fairly arranges a great number of people in a good composition and gives to some of those in the foreground a character at once akin to that of Angelico and of Fra Filippo. It is, indeed, characteristic of the series that something of

trizio and Monica. To the right a child is on the back of an usher in the act of receiving a flogging on his bare posteriors, whilst the master points to S. Augustin as the model of an industrious pupil. 2. Admission of S. A. to the University of Carthage. Only 3 or 4 figures to the right are preserved. 3. Monica praying for her departing son, fresco, part obliterated, part repainted. 4. Passage of S. A. from Africa to Italy, totally repainted. 5. Reception of S. A. on disembarkation. The lower half of the fresco is ruined. 6. S. A. teaching at Rome. This has been well given in the publications of the Arundel Society. 7. Departure of the Saint for Rome. In the upper part of the composition 2 angels bear a scroll with the inscription: "Eloquii sacri doctor Parisinus, et ingens Gemignaniaci fama decusque soli, hoc proprio sumptu Dominicus ille sacellum insignem jussit pingere Benotium MCCCCLXV." 8. Meeting of S. A. with Ambrose at Milan. In centre foreground a servant takes off the Saint's spur, whilst another holds his horse. To the right S. A. meets Ambrose and between the two episodes S. A. kneels before Theodosius. 9. S. A. hears Ambrose preach. Monica begs Ambrose to convert her son, and conference of S. A. with Ambrose. A great part of the episode of the sermon is gone. 10. S. A. reads S. Paul's epistles. 11. Baptism of S. A. by Ambrose, with the inscription on vase: "adi primo daprile MilleCCCCLXIIII." partly damaged fresco. 12. S. A. visits the hermits of Monte Pisano, explains the rules of his order to his brethren, sees the vision of Christ in the shore. Well preserved. 13. Death of S. Monica. Two monks stand on the foreground, one of them, Strambi, indicated by the inscription F. D. M. Paris; — a fine composition. A naked child runs away from a dog on the right. Lunettes: 14. S. A. and his congregation; lower angle to the right obliterated. 15. Triumph of S. A. over Fortunatus, much injured. 16. S. A. in extasy before S. Jerom. 17. Death of S. A. On the front faces of the pilasters are superposed, right: 1. Tobit and the fish. 2. Angel and Tobit. 3. S. Fina. Left: 1. Martyrdom of S. Sebastian. 2. S. Sebastian. 3. S. Monica. Inner sides of pilasters, right: S.S. Nicolas of Tolentino, Nicolas of Bari, Elias; left: S.S. Bartolus, Gimignano, and John the Baptist, with a small martyrdom of S. Bartolus on a lower frieze. In the entrance vaulting Christ between the apostles.

Lippi's spirit in stature and build of figures may be seen commingled with a touch of Fra Giovanni's religious feeling; yet Benozzo remains naturally inferior to both. It must not be forgotten in the meanwhile that one of the assistants in this undertaking was Giusto d'Andrea, a Florentine, who had by turns served under Neri di Bicci and Fra Filippo,[1] and who relates in a diary of his own that, being in the employment of Benozzo, "who was an excellent master of wall painting," he painted all the saints at the sides of the window in the choir of S. Agostino and the four apostles on the vaulting of the entrance.[2] The obliteration of the former deprives the student of means for judging Giusto's value as an artist, but the lowest medallions of apostles in the vaulting of the entrance are so much below the usual mark of Benozzo that they are doubtless those to which the diary alludes; and their manner is repeated in two angels holding a scroll in the fresco of Augustin's departure from Rome.[3] Giusto remained three years with Benozzo,[4] and no doubt had his share also in the work at the altar of S. Sebastian. An example of the mixture of styles to which a painter might be liable after wandering from the school of Neri di Bicci into that of Fra Filippo and others may be seen in a so-called Fra Filippo at the Esterhazy Gallery in Vienna, in which the life size Virgin and child are enthroned between S.S. Anthony the abbot and Lawrence. At foot is the half figure of a monk in prayer. The hand is clearly that of an inferior artist who had been in Fra Filippo's atelier, and carried off from thence the types and character which he imitates in a feeble manner. The picture besides is injured by varnishes.

After completing for Domenico Strambi the wall paint-

[1] See Neri di Bicci's journal, ub. sup. Com. to Vas. Vol. II. p. 258. He served under Neri in 1458–9, and with Fra Filippo in 1460.

[2] See the journal in Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p.p. 212. 213.

[3] In these two angels note the coarseness of the figure, the round and vulgar heads, the strong outlines and broken folds of drapery which seem a caricature of Fra Filippo.

[4] Ibid. Ibid.

ings of S. Agostino, Benozzo began those between the portals in the Pieve of S. Gimignano, representing there the martyrdom of S. Sebastian and various episodes and figures,[1] inferior in style and execution to anything that he had as yet done in the place. With equal rudeness and haste Benozzo seems to have laid in, with much help from the feeble hand of Giusto, the crucified Saviour and saints, a fresco in the court of the convent of Monte Oliveto outside S. Gimignano.[2] He devoted more conscientious labour in 1466 to two Madonnas amongst saints and a marriage of S. Catherine painted severally for S. M. Magdalena and S. Andrea of S. Gimignano and S. Francesco of Terni, all of which bear his signature, and are of the best that he finished in these years.[3]

Not confining himself, however, to the immediate neighbourhood of S. Gimignano he undertook and carried out

[1] The saint is colossal and stands on a pedestal surrounded with figures shooting arrows, whilst 2 angels hold a crown above his head. Above, Christ and the Virgin (half lengths) are in a glory of seraphim and cherubim. Beneath are the crucified Saviour and saints, with figures also of saints in the painted borders. On the pilaster to the left of these frescos are, front: S.S. Bernard and Augustin; side: S. Anthony. On the opposite pilaster, in the same relative situations, S.S. Bernardin and Jerom and the Virgin. There is also a saint on the pilaster face, by the portal, to the spectator's left of the martyrdom.

[2] The Saviour, 4 angels about the horizontal limb, the Virgin and Evangelist erect at the sides, S. Jerom penitent on his knees at foot, all life size. The Redeemer is a caricature of Benozzo's at Montefalco.

[3] Madonna of S. M. Maddalena, now in the choir of the Pieve. It represents the Virgin and child enthroned between kneeling S.S. M. Magdalen, John the Baptist (left), Martha and Augustin (right), inscribed: "Opus Benotii de Florentia MCCCCLXVI." Madonna of S. Andrea 3 miles outside S. Gimignano: Virgin and child enthroned with angels holding baskets of flowers between kneeling S.S. Andrew and Prospero, inscribed: "Opus Benotii de Florentia, die XXVIII augusti MCCCCLXVI," and lower down: "hoc opus fecit fieri venerabilis sacerdos dñs Hieronimus Nicolai de s̃co Gem . . Rect. dicte ecclesie." In the predella is the resurrection between S.S. Jerom and Guglielmus. At Terni, S. Francesco chapel of the Rustici family, the marriage of S. Catherine, 2 angels supporting a dais of tapestry. At the sides of the principal group are (left) S.S. Bartholomew and Lucy kneeling, (right) S. Francis. Above, the Eternal and three angels, inscribed: "Opus Benotii de Florentia MCCCCLXVI."

the adornment of the chapel of the Giustiziati, at the foot of the Ponte dell' Agliena in the outskirts of Certaldo, a small edifice inclosing a tabernacle painted on all its sides with a deposition from the cross inside, the crucifixion and martyrdom of S. Sebastian outside,[1] with other incidents and figures, a damaged decoration in which Giusto d'Andrea had a share. Nor is it improbable that he entrusted to the same assistant most of the paintings in a tabernacle at S. Chiara of Castel Fiorentino, where a Virgin and child with saints and incidents from the life of Mary form a compact, but much injured series.[2]

Benozzo who in 1465 had caused himself to be registered in the guild of Speziali at Florence remained in S. Gimignano till 1467. At the latter date, he restored Lippo Memmi's frescos in the Palazzo del Podesta, and his presence there till at least the summer of that year is proved by a curious letter which he wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici begging him to assist Giovanni di Mugello, a brother of Giusto we may conjecture, who had been accused of stealing some sheets from the cells of the monks in a monastery at Certaldo.[3]

[1] The deposition contains 11 figures. Sides of tabernacle, S.S. Anthony Abbot, James the Elder (right), John the Baptist and another (left). Vaulting, the Eternal and 4 Evangelists. Face of arch, the annunciation. The annotators of Vas. Vol. IV. p. 192, after quoting a passage of Giusto d'Andrea's diary in which he says he painted with Benozzo at the Tabernacle de' Giustiziati, add that the work here alluded to is a Pieta in the Pretorio of Certaldo, Stanza del Giudizio Criminale (noticed in these pages as a work in the style of Pietro di Francesco, see antea). But this must be an error. The tabernacle above described is a public foundation bearing the arms of the Florentine republic and traditionally called still Cappella de' Giustiziati.

[2] The Virgin and child are between S. Paul and other saints, part standing, part kneeling. The lower half of the fresco is gone. In the vaulting are the Evangelists and doctors of the church. The compositions are Benozzo's. But on one of the pilasters is a figure of a monk, with a heart in his hand, quite in the manner of Neri di Bicci. A saint on the opposite pilaster has the same character. Both are painted in strongly marked and contrasted colour. These features would clearly prove the presence of Giusto in a work whose ensemble is that of a feeble Benozzo.

[3] Gaye, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 209.

By far the greatest and most important labours of Benozzo were those which he now undertook at Pisa, where as early as January 1469 (Pis. st.) he had already completed the fresco of Noah and his family,[1] an engraving of which accompanies these pages.[2] Following this succesful effort he continued the series with two subjects, forming the lower course of those by Pietro di Puccio West of the Ammanati chapel, representing the Curse of Ham, and the building of the tower of Babel. It is characteristic of Benozzo's temper that his earliest fresco in the Campo Santo is also his most pleasing composition, the most striking one for the richness of its episodes, its architecture, and its landscape. He drew it more carefully than usual and almost succeeded in showing that he could produce graceful impersonations. Yet a severe criticism may still reprove defective proportions in the articulations, extremities, and total conformation of the human frame, a wooden stiffness in the mode of presenting them circumscribed by an endless and mechanical line. It was very natural that being thus cold and lifeless in action, he should fail altogether in expression; and it is equally apparent that, whilst in muscular forms his conventional art does not suffice to infuse life into a laboured anatomy, in the play of features it cannot suggest any one of the passions. It is that Benozzo being endowed with certain simious qualities and having had occasion to contemplate many masterpieces in his life, but being unable to fathom all the sources and mysteries of the art of his cotemporaries, tries to imitate results, and thinks it enough if he has approximately succeeded. Nothing that

[1] Ciampi, Notiz. Ined. ub. sup. p. 153. The commission was given in May 1469 (Pis. St.). He therefore took nine months to paint his first fresco. See Förster, Beiträge. ub. sup. p. 131.

[2] The whole figure of Noah lying on the right foreground is new, as well as all the lower part of the group about him. Other parts here and there are scaled. A long perpendicular flaw, in the centre of the fresco near Noah drinking, cuts away part of a female near him. On the collar of the figure pointing with both hands to the prostrate patriarch are the words: "....us Benotii de Florentia MCCCCL..."



NOAH AND HIS FAMILY, a fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa. By Benozzo Gozzoli.

he does is founded on any principle more profound than that of superficial imitation. If he foreshortens a figure, it is not that he has inquired into the laws of perspective, but because he copies with a certain speed and ease a petrified model. The same absence of scientific principles marks his architecture, which is surcharged with planes and ornament, and imperfect like that of Masolino and Angelico, without their excuse for imperfection; because Masaccio, Fra Filippo, Botticelli and Filippino had already shown how it should be applied. Whilst Benozzo thus proves himself devoid of original talent in some important branches, he is not much more successful as a colourist. His tones are somewhat entire and frequently inharmonious. His technical method on wall as on panel is simple. In flesh he paints his shadows grey with a warm general liquid tint for light by their side; and he stipples the whole together with red. In draperies, he places the lights and shadows with a copious and high surface over a general local colour. By thus using the method of tempera panel painting on the wall he carried out a perishable system whose disadvantage is apparent in the present state of the Campo Santo pictures in which vast quantities of colour have scaled off even in flesh parts, and the stippling has frequently become black.

In the midst of all these short-comings, however, Benozzo has moments of luck, and in the twenty one frescos of Pisa, there are occasional pretty episodes and fair bits of composition. The comparative inferiority of other parts may be due to assistants; and whereas, in Montefalco, we trace the hand of Mesastris, in S. Gimignano, that of Giusto d'Andrea, that of Zanobi Macchiavelli is apparent in the Campo Santo.[1]

In the curse of Ham, the group of Noah pouring out his malediction on the left is all but gone, but in the attendant peaceful episodes which form the rest of the picture, there are pleasing groups of a girl leading a child and car-

[1] For instance in the fresco of Abraham and Lot in Egypt where two combatants grasp each other by the hair.

rying a pitcher on her head, — of a mother in profile with a child in her arms; yet the feeling is marred by the unwrought nature of the more minute parts.[1]

The building of the tower of Babel is supposed to take place before a great number of spectators. To the left stands Nimrod and many persons of high station, amongst whom one recognizes, side by side, Cosmo de' Medici, Lorenzo "il Gottoso", Lorenzino, an adolescent, and Politian. In the air, the Eternal appears, commanding the confusion of tongues.

Above the Cappella Ammanati and facing one of the gates of the Campo Santo, Benozzo painted the adoration of the Magi with more than usual breadth, inserting a portrait of himself on horseback at the very tail of the suite on the left of the picture.[2] Beneath this he placed the annunciation, with two angels below it, pointing to the mystery.

Following the wall to the Eastward the double course of frescos, all by Benozzo, includes:

No. 5. Abraham and the worship of Baal (upper course not so damaged as others). 6. Abraham and Lot in Egypt (lower course) with good episodes and fair studies of horses in the cavalcades. 7. Abraham's Victory (upper course), where there are two fine figures of men fighting on horseback and many fallen ones foreshortened with little art.[3] 8. (Lower course) Abraham and Hagar. Much injured. The angel appearing to Hagar is reminiscent of Angelico, which cannot be said of those appearing to Abraham, whose heads, however, are gone. The face of the patriarch is very fine, whilst nothing more vulgar can be conceived than the grimacing agony of Hagar in the scene which shows her beaten by Sara. 9. The destruction of Sodom and escape of Lot (upper course). Some of the contradictions in Benozzo are very apparent here. A confused group of naked figures on the left is striking for its lame action and the wooden nature of the forms, whereas the angels and celestial soldiers, casting thunderbolts, are much more animated and vigorous. One angel, indeed, with his two arms raised in the act of throwing the fire, is very energetic, and seems

[1] The blue of the sky is all repainted.

[2] He wears a blue dress and a cap, and looks at the Virgin on the right, whose blue dress is new, whilst her head, neck, and breast are gone.

[3] The fresco is not seriously injured.

a type bequeathed to Benozzo by Angelico. Lot's wife, turned to a pillar of salt on the right, imitates the form of a classic statue. The rest of the group is good; but the expression and action of Lot are vulgar and exaggerated.[1] 10. The sacrifice of Isaac; — rudely executed (lower course). 11. The marriage of Rebecca (upper course). This is one of the best ordered compositions of the series. The group at the well is attractive; but there is something colossal in a few of the figures. The distant episodes are as usual the best. 12. (Lower course). The birth of Jacob and Esau, almost obliterated. One of the incidents on the left foreground offers an useless luxury and surcharge of architecture and figures. 13. The marriage of Jacob and Rachel and Jacob's dream (upper course). The angels in the dream are pleasing, and a group of dancers and spectators offers one of the prettiest passages in all these works of Benozzo. 14. Meeting of Jacob and Esau, and rape of Dinah (lower course). This piece is remarkable for the richness of its landscape still life, but also for its beautiful group of Jacob and Rachel with the youthful Benjamin, of which, however, a part (the top of the heads) is gone. A portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici amongst the sons of Jacob and the Sichemites has almost faded away. 15. The innocence of Joseph (upper course). The groups of this compartment are truly described by Rosini as huddled together. One of them is good, which shows Jacob recognizing the clothes of Benjamin. 16. (Lower course) Joseph, made known to his brothers. The foreground parts are almost completely new, but an adventitious interest accrues to the piece from the inscription on a scroll held aloft by two angels, eulogising the talents of the painter. It is this inscription, placed in the fresco just above the funeral vault and stone given to Benozzo by the Pisans in 1478, which is alluded to by Vasari, when he says that it was placed in the middle, i.e. the centre, of the work which he had completed.[2]

The rest of the series, of which two (the destruction of Dathan and Abiram and the death of Aaron) are obliterated, is devoted to the life and works of Moses. 17. His infancy and first miracle.[3] 18. The passage of the Red Sea.[4]

[1] The fresco is fairly preserved.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 187. The inscription is correctly given in the Aretine biography.

[3] Not free from retouching.

[4] All the lower part is gone and the original drawing in red is still left on the first intonaco.

19. The tables of the law;[1] and 20. Aaron's rod,[2] both reminiscent of Cosimo Rosselli's frescos at the Sixtine chapel. 21. The fall of Jericho, and David and Goliath;[3] — of great variety in the episodes, but composed of figures in extravagant proportion and movement. 22. The Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon, almost obliterated, but preserving the upper portion of a large number of people, male, female, and children, to the right. Of this rich composition, an old drawing, a copy from the fresco, not an original design for it, is in the Academy of Pisa. In the lower part of the right hand group, at the Campo Santo, the intonaco has fallen away and left the original red drawing on the rough cast. It is curious to remark that, whereas most of the figures find a natural completion in the drawing on the rough cast, that of a child whose head alone appears in the finished part does not extend to the under plaster. The whole of this child is in the drawing at the Academy, and proves it to be a copy from, not the sketch for, the fresco.[4] A number of designs for this series by Benozzo were some years since, and may still now be in possession of Don José Madrazo at Madrid, who bought them at Pisa; but they were all retouched.

The whole of this mighty collection of frescos was completed by Benozzo in sixteen years; and the payment for the last subject, representing the meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was made on the 11th of May 1485.[5] Five years previous to that time, Benozzo wrote out the income paper now in the archives of Florence[6] in which he states, that besides property in land and houses at Florence, he owns a house in via S. Maria at Pisa, in which he resides with his brother Domenico and their joint families. His indefatigable industry may be conceived from the number of extant pictures dating from the period of his stay in Pisa; a list of which would comprise the

[1] This fresco shows some resemblance to Cosimo Rosselli's paintings in the Sixtine chapel, though it is in bad condition and many parts all but gone.

[2] Much injured and again reminiscent of Rosselli.

[3] In great part gone, and the centre very dusty.

[4] The drawing might be that from which the design on the rough cast was corrected; but on artistic grounds this seems unlikely.

[5] Förster, Beiträge. ub. sup. p. 131.

[6] Gaye, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 271.

apotheosis of S. Thomas Aquinas, painted for the Duomo of Pisa and now in the Louvre,[1] a conception, once in S. Marta, now in the Academy of Pisa,[2] a Virgin and child among saints in the same gallery, originally in S. Benedetto a Ripa d'Arno,[3] and a Virgin and child between two angels in the "Coretto" of the Monastery of S. Anna at Pisa.[4] These pieces might be supposed to issue from the shop, and therefore not to have employed more than the painter's leisure hours; but he had also the habit of accepting commissions at a distance, as is proved by the frescos of the tabernacle on the road to Meleto, two and a half miles from Castel Fiorentino, where the Virgin and child between saints are depicted over an altar, her death on the left side, her burial, ascension, and gift of the girdle on the right; and the whole work is signed with Benozzo's name and dated 1484.[5] The execution is rude enough, but not so feeble as that of a series in bad condition in a chapel at Legoli, between Pontedera and Volterra, apparently painted by some one attached to Benozzo's school.[6]

[1] No. 72. Catal. of the Louvre. The picture is reminiscent of the S. Thomas by Traini, has reddish flesh tints, and dresses in changing hues; it reveals the style common in the Campo Santo frescos. It is much injured by restoring. (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 188.)

[2] Four miniature figures kneel at the sides of the principal group, which as usual represents the Virgin on the lap of S. Anna, the latter giving a flower to the infant Christ. The triangular cusp is filled by a figure of the Eternal. The infant's type is reminiscent of that of Fra Filippo. The picture is pleasing, but injured in the draperies, chiefly by old varnishes. (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 188.)

[3] Virgin and child between S.S. Benedict, Scholastica (left), Ursula and Giov. Gualb°. (right). The infant holds a bird, 2 angels a crown over the Virgin's head. A vertical split runs down the centre of the latter. This is a defective picture but undoubtedly by Benozzo. (Vas. Vol. V. p. 188.)

[4] The Virgin takes flowers from a vase.

[5] The date is clear from the inscription on the front of the tabernacle: "Hoc tabernaculū fecit fieri dominus gratia prior Castri Novi ad honorem Scē Marie Virginis, die XXIIII decembris MCCCCLXXXIIII;" — the authorship from the following on the wall on which the altar rests: "Ma.... F. M. Beno... Florentinus depi..." The saints at the Virgin's side are Catherine, Peter, Margaret, and Paul, the scene opening out from beneath two curtains, each of which is held back by an angel. In the picture of the Virgin's death one of the kneeling figures in front is probably the patron.

[6] The chapel is that of Monsignor della Fanteria and repres-

The erection of a tomb for Benozzo in the Campo Santo by the Pisans, and the inscription on that monument long kept up the belief that the painter's death occurred in 1478, but Ciampi's records satisfactorily proved that he was living in 1485.[1] A still later record recently discovered convincingly shows that Benozzo was still alive at Florence in 1496, having in January of that year been chosen by Alesso Baldovinetti to value his frescos in the Gianfigliazzi chapel at S. Trinita of Florence.[2] Vasari's catalogue of works by Benozzo contains as usual a few that have not been preserved to our day.[3]

Having devoted a few remarks in the course of the foregoing narrative to the career of Giusto d'Andrea, and alluded cursorily to the presence of Macchiavelli, another of Gozzoli's assistants at the Campo Santo, we may be interested by some details respecting works in which the style of Benozzo, commingled in some particulars with that of Fra Filippo, is imitated by inferior men.

Pisa. Residence of the Capellani del Duomo, in S. Lazzaro fuori Porta S. Luca at Pisa. Virgin and child between S.S. Lazarus, Lawrence, Anthony abbot and Bernardino, a kneeling male and female in front originally inscribed: "Giampiero de Porta Venere e Mona Michela della Spetie feciono fare questa tavola MCCCCLXX." In a predella is the resurrection between S.S. Peter and Stephen. This much injured picture, assigned to Benozzo, is a rude production by a third rate follower of the master during his residence

ents Christ crucified, a Virgin and child, and saints, and the annunciation.

[1] Notiz. Ined. ub. sup. p.p. 153—5.

[2] "Alcuni documenti non mai stampati. Nozze Farinola Vai." ub. sup. p. 18.

[3] The list comprises a transit of S. Jerom in S. Friano (Vas. Vol. IV. p. 185), a Virgin and saints in the Torre de' Conti, and frescos in S. M. Maggiore at Florence (ibid. p. 186), two altarpieces in S. Caterina, one in S. Niccolo and two in S. Croce of Pisa (ibid. p. 188), one in the Duomo of Volterra (ibid. p. 189). An annunciation No. 1165[a] in the Berlin Museum, assigned to Benozzo, is a poor, but old copy from the same subject by Fra Filippo.

at Pisa; by a man, however, who is acquainted also with other styles besides the dominant one of Gozzoli.

S. Gimignano gallery. In Pretorio of Duomo (No. 12.); originally in S. Michele of Casale, — Virgin and child between four saints, feeble, lean, and grotesque in character, flatly coloured in rosy tones, assigned to Gozzoli, but showing some reminiscence of Fra Filippo in the child, and less rude than the foregoing.

Volterra. S. Girolamo (fuor di), Virgin and child between S.S. Anthony of Padua, Lawrence, Cosmo and Damian, with S.S. Francis and Jerom kneeling in front, assigned to Ghirlandaio, drawn with mechanical rudeness and with defects which may be noticed in the works of Macchiavelli.

Prato. Galleria Comunale. No. XII. In the same style as the foregoing with a mixture of Benozzo's and Filippo's manner, a Virgin giving the breast to the infant, amongst saints. Something in the Virgin and child also recals Ghirlandaio, the colour being reddish and leaden, the outlines sharp, the draperies double and of many folds, the figures straight and long, the heads small.

Florence. Academy of Arts. No. 16. Galerie des anciens tableaux. A Virgin and child between saints like the foregoing.

All these works may be assigned to Giusto d'Andrea, whose characteristic features are more or less those of a better, but still second rate, assistant of Benozzo, Zanobi Macchiavelli.

This painter is merely alluded to by Vasari as Gozzoli's pupil,[1] and has been cursorily mentioned in these pages as an aid in the Campo Santo frescos. The least favorable aspect under which he presents himself is in a Coronation of the Virgin at the Louvre dated 1473;[2] the next best, in a piece at the Academy of Pisa, representing the Virgin, child and saints, undated, but signed with his name.[3] Yet in the latter which, though injured, is what Vasari calls "ragionevole" the long figures are rigid; the open mouths impart

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 191.

[2] This piece, No. 245 of the Louvre catalogue, is inscribed: "Opus Cenobii de machiavellis MCCCCLXXII."

[3] Originally in S. Croce fuor

a stupid air to the faces, and the drapery is at once broken and involved. The child is the best part of the picture which is a caricature of the manner of Fra Filippo rather than of that of Benozzo, but still shows a mixture of both.

Better and equally authentic is a Virgin with the naked child, seated between S.S. Nicolas and Jerom (right), Bernardino and another (left), as late as 1859 in the hands of Mr. Bacci, a picture dealer, Via Ghibellina, Florence, and inscribed "Opus Zenobii de' Machiavelis." This is a creation showing how an artist of no high powers can at times approach other masters. It is, like the previous ones, a mixture of the manner of Fra Filippo and Benozzo, that of the Fra being dominant, especially in the form of the infant. The Virgin's figure has a certain ease, and its proportions are fairly correct. Gentleness is in the face, at whose sides long locks fall to the shoulders. The nude of the child is, however, angular in drawing. There is a want of purpose in the attitude and an absence of fitness in the superabundant angular drapery of the standing saints. The extremities are coarse and large; the flesh tints are carefully painted in a monotonous tone, and lined with wrinkles.

The value of this piece is great as leading the critic to a just appreciation of a Madonna and child, enthroned between angels and saints, in our National gallery.[1] Though assigned there to Fra Filippo Lippi, it has the mixed character of that master and of Benozzo. The angels in front, though much injured by restoring, are most in the Fra's style, but the draperies are like those of Benozzo, and the saints have the same listless and aimless attitudes, the same coarse extremities as those previously described. The reddish prevailing tone is flat and without softness. It may be right in a public gallery not to change the nomenclature of pictures hastily,

di Pisa, it bears the inscription, "Opus Zenobii de Machiavellis."

[1] No. 586.

but this one bears the impress of a single hand, that of a painter who had studied in the school of Fra Filippo and mingled his manner with that peculiar to Benozzo.

Omitting Mesastris whose labours must be classed amongst those of the Umbrian school influenced by Benozzo, we may conclude this chapter with a few words devoted to the Florentine, Domenico di Michelino, and others of still less note.

Domenico di Michelino is named by Vasari amongst the pupils of Angelico.[1] We have seen him paint a portrait of Dante in S. M. del Fiore on a design given by Baldovinetti. This figure was long assigned to Orcagna, and represents the poet, of life size, holding the Divina Commedia which emits rays illuminating the city and fortifications of Florence in the distance. Dante is dressed in a red cap and tunic, and crowned with laurel. In the distance to the left are the condemned, a hill, and figures of Adam and Eve. The style is that of the fifteenth century, like a continuation of that of Masolino, and thus justifies Vasari's assertion as to Domenico's education. The painting is careful, the drawing precise, and the colour warm but flat.

Another painter whose style approaches to that of Michelino is Piero Chelini, whose injured scenes from the legend of Peter Martyr on the front of the Bigallo at Florence are proved by Rumohr to have been completed in 1444.[2] To this class of paintings may be added:

Florence. S. Croce, Cappella Medici, a life size bishop whose dress is supported by two angels, carefully drawn and flatly coloured.

Same place. S. Bernardino in glory supported by two angels, with a miniature patron offering a cup, and a smaller figure kneeling; dated: MCCCCXXXXIIII.

Florence. Academy of Arts. No. 52. Gal. des anciens tableaux. The three angels and Tobit:

Finally Zanobi Strozzi is to be mentioned as a miniaturist who may have been Angelico's assistant, for notices of

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 39.

[2] Rumohr, Forschungen. Vol. II. p.p. 169. 170.

whom the reader must be referred to Vasari (VI. 39, II. 234 and VI. 187—189, 253, 259, 327, and Baldinucci (Opere. V.).[1]

Passing from the comparatively obscure companions of Benozzo Gozzoli, and reverting to his cotemporaries, the last of the Florentine artists of the fifteenth century who claims present attention is Cosimo di Lorenzo Filippi Rosselli, commonly known as Cosimo Rosselli, the direct descendant of a family devoted to painting and sculpture for at least a century and a half previous. Looking back at the ascending line of Rosselli we find three great-uncles and some of their sons following the paternal profession of art, the father Lorenzo an architect, the cousins all painters, the brother a miniaturist, and a niece married to Simone Pollaiuolo, better known as Cronaca.

Cosimo was born in the via del Cocomero at Florence in 1439,[2] and belongs to the same artistic class as Benozzo di Lese. He had the misfortune to become in 1452 or 1453 assistant to Neri di Bicci, a master who was ill calculated to prepare him for a brilliant future. He left Neri in October 1456,[3] about the time of Gozzoli's arrival in Florence; and presumptive evidence may be adduced to prove that some sort of connection was formed between the two. Their styles were not unlike, and it seems as if they might have had a common atelier. Looking at the Last Judgment of 1456 assigned to Angelico and Rosselli in the Berlin Museum,[4] and bearing in mind that the style evolved in it is that of a weak pupil of Angelico, the conclusion might be, supposing the attributions to be correct, that Cosimo, whose later works are reminiscent of those

[1] He was born in 1412, and known to be alive in 1463. As regards a portrait of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, repainted by him, and now in the guardaroba magazines at Florence, it is a much damaged and repainted work of a second rate character.

[2] See income papers of 1457 and 1469 in Gaye. ub. sup. note to p. 458. Vol. II.

[3] See records of Neri ub. sup. in Vas. Vol. II. p. 258.

[4] No. 57. See antea note to Vol. I. p. 588.

of Benozzo had thus early exhibited the lowest form of a manner modelled at a respectful distance on that of Fra Giovanni.

Several pictures noticed by Vasari still exist in Florence: An ascension of the Virgin, on the third altar to the left of the entrance to S. Ambrogio,[1] an apotheosis of S. Barbara originally at the Servi, now in the Academy;[2] a coronation of the Virgin, to the left as one enters the church of Cestello, or S. M. de' Pazzi,[3] and a Virgin giving the breast to the infant amongst saints, in the sacristy of the same church.[4]

The first of these is a poor example of Cosimo's not first rate talent, dull in tone and weak in the figures; the second is comparatively of greater value, and the two others are amongst his best. Throughout the whole of these pieces the figures are lame and without grace of outline, the draperies straight or broken into rectangles, the colour on the innovating system, raw, dull, low in tone and opaque.[5]

Rosselli seems to have spent some of his years in Lucca, where a fresco of Christ taken down from the cross, inside and above the portal of S. Martino, reveals, in spite of its bad condition, his style and defects. His influence in that city may be traced in pictures falsely assigned to Lucca Zaccagni, such as a Virgin and child surrounded

[1] The Virgin is surrounded by five seraphs, and welcomed by four angels offering her lilies, the Eternal appearing above. Below are S. Ambrose and S. Francis in a landscape, and in a predella 3 scenes from the life of S. Francis. Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 27. 28.

[2] No. 45. Galerie des gr. tableaux. S. Barbara is erect between S.S. John the Baptist, S. Mathias, life size figures with the inscription "Barbara diva tibi tabulam sanctissima cetus Theutonicus posuit qui tua festa colit." Vas. Vol. V. p. 28.

[3] This coronation has been erroneously assigned to Angelico. Richa. ub. sub. Vol. I. p. 322. See also Vas. Vol. V. p. 28.

[4] The Virgin is enthroned on a flowery meadow and pats the head of the infant Baptist. S. James and S. Peter are at her sides, and two angels suspend a crown above her head. Vas. Vol. V. p. 28.

[5] We may not forget here that the annunciation, 2 prophets and the Eternal, pinnacles of an adoration of the Magi by Lorenzo Monaco have already been mentioned Vol. I. note to p. 555 in connection with the name of Rosselli. See cat. of Uffizi No. 17. first corridor.

by saints, on the altar della Consolazione in S. Agostino,[1] and others too numerous to mention.

He gained some sort of name when he strove to emulate the great men with whom he competed in the Sixtine chapel at Rome. There indeed he proved, like most Florentines, that he was more competent to carry out frescos than subjects on panel, yet he remained far behind all his rivals. Nor can we consider Vasari's story of his success in the competition against them, because Sixtus the Fourth preferred copiously gilt work to walls painted with well wrought figures, as any thing else than an ironical protest against the bad taste which could not be stigmatized by more direct means.

Moses delivering the tables of the law, at the Sixtine chapel, is a fresco in which Cosimo Rosselli combines so many traits characteristic of Benozzo Gozzoli's style that the impression already suggested by other works is strengthened, and the spectator is tempted to believe that the two men laboured together. One might even believe, were it affirmed, that some of the Campo Santo frescos were their joint production. This resemblance is to be found in the disproportion, defects of extremities, and exaggerated movements of the figures; in the aimless draperies which suggest nothing as to the inner forms, the reddish tinge and dark shadows of the flesh parts, and the constant use of wiry outlines.

As Benozzo, in his great compositions, tethers his defective manner with the support derived from numberless episodes, and a will to render momentary action, so Rosselli partially succeeds in the Passage of the Red-Sea at the Sixtine.

The best of his compositions in the chapel is the Sermon on the Mount, where he is more regular in the distribution of groups; and types of either sex are casually better than before.[2] The Last Supper, however, is the

[1] The Virgin and child are between S.S. Augustin and Monica, Nicholas, and Jerom.

[2] The vast landscape is described by Vasari as by Pier di Cosimo. Vol. V. p. 32.



CHRIST'S SERMON ON THE MOUNT; a fresco in the Sistine Chapel, by Cosimo Rosselli

poorest of his series and the worst fresco in the chapel, and it emulates in colour the brick tones of Gozzoli.

It is not possible to ascertain the exact date of Cosimo's stay at Rome, but Vasari suggests that it was previous to 1484, by giving that year falsely, it is true, as that of the artist's death.[1] There is reason to believe that the paintings of the Sixtine date before that of the Beato Philippo receiving the dress of the Servites from the Virgin, which is still visible in the court of the S.S. Annunziata at Florence; and Richa authorizes us to believe that Cosimo completed this defective piece in 1476.[2]

His best wall painting, completed, one may conjecture, within the foregoing dates and not in 1456 as Rumohr would persuade his readers,[3] is in the chapel of the Sacrament at S. Ambrogio, where the exhibition of a chalice, in which the blood of the Redeemer was said to have been miraculously deposited,[4] is represented. A priest holds the cup to the adoration of churchmen and nuns, kneeling before him and at his sides on the platform before the portal; and a crowd fills the space in front of the steps. The distribution of the scene accuses an absence of motive or thought. The figures are placed side by side without a bond of union. Some females in the middle distance, — the nuns at the church door, are better, and tell of some feeling in the artist; the drawing is fairer, the colour laid on with more impasto; and a juster distribution of light and shade is attained; and it would seem as if Cosimo had endeavoured to improve his style by the study of Ghirlandaio's great masterpieces;[5] yet he still remains

[1] Vas. Vol. V. p. 32.

[2] Richa, Chiese Vol. VIII. p. 108. See also Vasari Vol. V. p. 28. The beato Philip kneels naked and of life size in the space. The types of the figures are vulgar; the flesh tones red with inky shadows; and the outlines are wiry.

[3] Forschungen Vol. II. p. 265.

[4] Vide Richa, Chiese Vol. II. p. 248.

[5] This is especially true as regards the female heads and draperies particularly in the group of females in the middle distance to the left. The fresco is in a very dark place and obscured by time. The lower part of the whole fresco is repainted, and the distance is black. On the side of the steps to the right one still reads: "Cosimo Rosselli f. l'an.. 4"

far below that great master. The four doctors in the ceiling, the angels playing or burning incense round the altar designed by Mino of Fiesole are, like the rest, much injured, so much so, indeed, as to be hardly visible.

Cosimo Rosselli is known to have valued Baldovinetti's frescos at S. Trinita in 1496.[1] He died after 1506, the date of his will, which proves him to have been in good circumstances, and is preserved as if to contradict Vasari's assertion that the pursuit of alchemy had ruined him.[2]

Of the remaining works given to him the following is a list.

England. Mr. Fuller Maitland's collection, (No. 62 at Manchester) possibly the original once in S. Marco at Florence (Vasari V. 30.). It represents Christ on the cross with the chalice at his feet surrounded by angels and seraphs; in front, the kneeling S.S. John the Baptist, Dominick (kneeling), Jerom (kneeling), and Peter Martyr, life size figures. This is one of Rosselli's best works, the figures being more reasonable and handled with more breadth than usual. The picture, however, has been restored in part.

London. Late Bromley Collection. Virgin, child, and saints, dated 1443, and therefore erroneously assigned to Cosimo, yet the style resembles that of later pieces by Rosselli. We have shown the similarity between this piece and a so-called Pesello at the Uffizi (No. 27. corridor).

London. National gallery. (*No. 227.*) S. Jerom in the desert between S.S. Damascus and Eusebius, Paolo and Eustochia, injured somewhat by restoring.

Berlin Museum (*No. 59.*). The Virgin in glory, with a vast number of kneeling adorers of both sexes, and a bust of a monk below. A good picture of the master.

Same gallery. (*No. 63.*) The Virgin and child blessed by the infant Baptist, S. Francis on the right, a much damaged example of Cosimo's manner,

Same gallery. (No. 71.) Christ in the tomb with saints; — genuine.

Same gallery. (*No. 75.*) The Virgin, child and saints and the murdered innocents of Bethlehem. This is a good specimen akin to the S. Barbara in the Florence Academy.

[1] Alcuni Documenti, Nozze Farinola-Vai. ub., sup. p. 18.

[2] Gaye Carteg. Vol. II. note to p. 457.

Paris. Louvre. (*No. 364.*) Virgin and child. See antea the Raphaels, etc.[1]

[1] The pictures of Rosselli, not known to exist, are: figures in S. Jacopo delle Murate, Vas. Vol. V. p. 28.) an altarpiece and banner in the Compagnia di S. Bernardino (ib. Vol. V. 29.), a standard in the Compagnia di S. Giorgio (ib. ib.) at Florence.

CHAPTER XXII.

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA.

It is not by dwelling exclusively on the growth of the purely Florentine school that we shall explain its development. Its ultimate perfection was due to the wisdom with which all past and cotemporary elements of progress were assimilated and combined, from whatever quarter they might originally proceed. The great laws of composition founded on the models of Giotto, the plastic element made dominant by the sculptors of the fifteenth century, the scientific perspective of lines, which owed its grand impulse to Uccelli, the more subtle one of atmosphere which Masaccio mastered, the tasteful architecture revived by Brunelleschi and Alberti, were summed up in a great measure by the spirit and grasp of Domenico Ghirlandaio. The changes in the use and application of mediums carried out by the Peselli and Baldovinetti, enlarged and extended by the Pollaiuoli, gained a concrete value in Verrocchio. But the merit of these and later artists owed much to the example of one who is not a Florentine, though educated in his earliest years under the tuition of a master formed on the pure Florentine models.

Pietro di Benedetto of the Franceschi, more commonly known as Piero della Francesca, was born at Borgo San Sepolcro in Umbria, on the Western face of the mountain chain which parts Tuscany from the old duchy of Urbino and the States of the church on the Adriatic coast. He might have reached the twentieth year when he laboured at Florence, and the date of his birth may there-

fore be fixed about 1415—20. The master who first instructed him has not been recorded, but a Siennese fibre can be traced throughout his artistic organism; and future investigation may prove that he was in early years disciple of a painter wandering, after the constant fashion of his countrymen, from Sienna to the eastward, in search of employment. His good fortune, however, at an early period, brought him in contact with Domenico Veniziano, whose residence at Perugia, as early as 1438 has been described; and by Domenico he was employed, in 1439, on the frescos of S. Maria Nuova at Florence. How long he may have remained with this master is uncertain. We have no intermediate clue to the story of his life between 1439 and 1451, when he is known to have painted in Rimini; but we judge from his style that he tempered its local Umbrian features by assuming and imbibing the nobler qualities of the Florentine school. His masterpieces alone suffice, indeed, to prove that nature had created in the person of Piero a man of a rare type, endowed with great penetration and powers of reflection, able to fathom the problems of abstruse science, and capable to search and coordinate the secrets of nature. He was, in a word, an artist enjoying a happy conjunction of the talents which adorned the Van Eycks and Leonardo da Vinci.[1]

Thrown by his connection with Domenico Veniziano into friendly relation with one of the realistic Florentines, he entered into the study of nature with an ardor equal to that of his master, equal to that of Andrea del Castagno or the Peselli. Their style he made his own without a thought for selection, but with the determination to master the true laws of motion and of life. With their energy, he assumed their coarseness, which he

[1] One may observe that Fra Luca Pacioli whose intimacy with Piero della Francesca is acknowledged by himself, became known as a mathematician, and in his later years (1496—99) remained at Milan in constant communication with da Vinci who thus, no doubt, learnt much of his science through Pacioli from Piero. (See Cap. VI. of "Divina Proporzione.")

refined, however, with some of the grand quality perceptible in the nobler creations of Paolo Uccelli. Without rising much above a common conventionalism apparent in the constant reproduction of a type affecting Moorish rather than European forms, he still reveals, in composition as well as in figures, some of the massive grandeur of the Florentines. With more science than Uccelli or Mantegna,[1] he turned his knowledge of linear perspective to admirable account, and learnt not merely to fix rectangular planes in perfect order, but to measure them, and thus set his figures at their just proportional height in the most advantageous situations. Nor was the question of place one which remained unheeded. It was not casual with him that the figure should occupy its proper space in a fixed plane. He applied the severest geometrical laws, in ascertaining the just proportions of figures to each other and to their stations in a given room.[2] But he did not rest even there; he was the forerunner and superior of Domenico Ghirlandaio in the mode of projecting shadows, and thus added to art a new perfection. Calculations of the comparative values necessary for the due distribution of light and shade were familiar to him, and one can conjecture that he assisted his experiments by the aid of artificial light in dark spaces. Yet he seldom concentrates light, but gives each tint its proper local depth in exact proportion to its distance within the plane of the picture, thereby differing from Rembrandt,

[1] Mantegna did not push the application of linear perspective to the human body further than Piero della Francesca. His figures are firm on their plane and proportioned to surrounding objects, but lean, angular, and without the grandeur of the Florentines. Still his talent and application were great, and his works were studiously analyzed by Raphael.

[2] The late lamented E. Harzen had the good fortune to discover in the Ambrosiana at Milan, under the false name of "Pietro Pittore di Bruges" Piero's treatise on perspective, from which it appears that he had already settled the point of distance as measuring point for rectangular horizontal and vertical planes. He accurately described the relation of distance to the diameter of the equilateral cone of rays as similar to that of the height of an equilateral triangle to its side. See Harzen's paper on Pietro degli Franceschi, in Archiv für die Zeichnende Künste, ub. sup. p. 241.

who affects the spectator by condensing light on one spot and throwing the rest into comparative obscurity.[1] The natural result of this scientific acquirement in Piero was an elaborate certainty in the rendering of atmosphere. Without being a colourist who, like the Van Eycks, gives air to a picture by intuitively breaking up tones as the distance recedes, he was so sure of the variation produced in primaries by the effect of remoteness that he never faltered in the application.[2] The juxtaposition of two colours is never attended with any startling or brilliant contrast as in the Van Eycks; and the rules of harmony are equally maintained in the fore and background, by a judicious fusion that perfectly satisfies the eye. At the same time, the effect of the application of all these laws is perfect in the relief and natural projection of every object living or dead. If in the delineation of the human frame upon which these laws of relief and colour were carried out, Piero did not rise above the level of Paolo Uccelli, if he shows occasional neglect,[3] and sometimes falls into the angularities of nude noticeable in their exaggerated aspect in the painters of Perugia, Foligno, and Gualdo, his architecture is admirable in taste, in proportion, and in ornament; and he is so peculiarly great in this respect that his perspective of edifices in S. Chiara at Urbino has been assigned to Baccio Pontelli and Bramante.[4]

To complete this sketch of Piero della Francesca one grand feature remains. The mediums introduced into painting by the Peselli and Baldovinetti, known to Domenico Veniziano, improved by the Pollaiuoli and Verrocchio went through a new and clean crucible before they

[1] A drawing by Piero of the angel appearing to Constantine, — sketch for a fresco in S. Francesco of Arezzo, once in the Ottley and afterwards in the Lawrence collection, was so effective that it was assigned to Giorgione.

[2] This naturally presupposes and is intended to convey that he was perfectly aware of the laws of harmony in colours.

[3] He frequently gives the mere undressed block of a leg for instance. It is, however, true in action.

[4] The style and proportion of Piero's architecture, the taste of its ornament are equal and per-

were perfected by Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolommeo. It was the Umbro-Florentine Piero della Francesca who performed this necessary and meritorious operation. He carried out improvements in the mode of oil colouring, that place him next in Italy to Antonello da Messina, not because he followed the Van Eyck method introduced by the Sicilian, but because he added something like perfection to the system of the Florentine innovators. And thus we have before us a vast genius who only wanted the essential quality of selection in the human form to become one amongst the very greatest men of his country.

The uncertainty as to the time of Piero della Francesca's forsaking Domenico Veniziano has been touched upon. It would appear from Vasari that both master and pupil laboured together in the sacristy of S. M. di Loreto,[1] and that frightened by the appearance of the plague, they abandoned their work and the neighbourhood in all haste. According to a conjecture derived from the knowledge that the plague raged in the Marches between 1447 and 1452, it has been supposed that Domenico and Piero may have been residents at Loreto within those years. The statement is hard to deal with, because the only paintings in Loreto are those of Signorelli, Piero's pupil. Again, if Vasari be reliable,[2] Piero was called to Rome in the Pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth, and competed with Bramante in two frescos adorning the Camere, which were thrown down for Raphael by Julius the Second. This may have occurred after 1447 and before 1451, when Piero served Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, the lord of Rimini. There is nothing more curious in the history of Italy in the fifteenth century, than to see truculent sol-

haps superior to those of Domenico Ghirlandaio.

[1] Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 19. 145.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 17. states this fact, and adds that, before throwing the frescos down, Raphael had several portraits in them copied, and thus saved the likenesses of Niccolo Fortebraccio, Charles the Seventh of France, Antonio Colonna prince of Salerno, Francesco Carmignuola, Giovanni Vitellesco, Cardinal Bessarion, Francesco Spinola and Battista da Canneto.

diers, known as faithless leaders of armies, or guilty perpetrators of dreadful crimes, spending the fruit of their depredations on the erection of sacred edifices, and employing not only the best architects of the world to plan and erect, but great painters to adorn, them. The wily and ferocious Sigismund Malatesta, whose cold-blooded cruelty and lust make readers of our day loathe his name, was a patron of architects and painters; Rimini owes to him the erection of S. Francesco between 1447 and 1455; and the roll of artists whom he employed numbers Pisanello, and Gentile da Fabriano, — Leon Battista Alberti who drew the plan of S. Francesco, Matteo Pasti of Verona who carried it out, and Piero della Francesca whose brush adorned some of its walls.[1]

Sigismund Malatesta may still be seen with two couchant grey hounds at his heels kneeling before the throned saint Sigismund of Burgundy, in the Cappella delle Reliquie at S. Francesco of Rimini; and on the lower border of a frame, imitating the Grecian antique in the most pure and classic style, are the words:

"Sanctus Sigismundus. Sigismundus Pandulfus Malatesta pan. f. Petri de Burgo opus. MCCCCLI."[2]

A lofty simplicity pervading this fresco, a perfect adjustment of proportions in the figures and in their relation to the classic intercolumniation of the background, reveal the talent of Piero at this period. His drawing, pounced from a cartoon on a very smooth surface, is of Leonardesque precision, his flesh colour is painted in thin, cool tones of yellowish light, shadowed with a transparent inky grey, stippling. As a profile portrait nothing truer can be desired, except that perhaps the joined hands are flat and short and generalized in form. The face of the en-

[1] See records as to Leon Battista Alberti and Pasti's share in the erection of S. Francesco of Rimini in "Alcuni Documenti" ub. sup. p.p. 9—12.

[2] A medallion at the side of the picture represents a castle and is inscribed: Castellum Sigismundum ariminensis E. MCCCCXLVI." See also Vas. Vol. IV. p. 16.

throned king is vulgar in type. But the architecture rivals in taste that of Alberti himself.[1]

Whether, after this, Piero betook himself to Pesaro, where Galeazzo Malatesta was Governor; whether he laboured at Ancona,[2] may possibly remain for ever doubtful; but a certain correspondence of style and of handling suggests that the choir of S. Francesco at Arezzo was decorated by him shortly after the completion of Malatesta's votive fresco at Rimini.

The legend of the cross which Agnolo Gaddi had illustrated in S. Croce at Florence was that whose various incidents now gave occasion to Piero to display the versatility of his powers. Distributing the space allowed to him with judgment assisted by a knowledge of geometry and perspective at that time unsurpassed, he applied to the delineation of episodes affording the widest scope for action, architectural adornment, and costume, all the qualities which have been described as combining to form his style.

In the lunette to the right, the death and burial of Adam form two distinct subjects, parted from each other by a tree. The dying man is supported by Eve whose hanging breasts indicate an advanced age; and three other naked figures represent the children of the first man. The burial to the left is an animated composition of ten figures. Both scenes are connected with the legend by the tradition variously stated in different books, that the seed or a bough of the tree out of which the cross was to be hewn, being that of the tree of knowledge, had been granted to Seth, and either sown beneath the tongue of Adam or planted on his tomb; and that growing to a noble size it was hewn down by Solomon, and formed into a bridge over a stream. Its sacred nature was revealed to the Queen of Sheba, whose arrival and reverent prayer by the bridge, in the

[1] The figure of Sigismund of Burgundy on a seat, is not nimbed; and the head is covered with a lappet cap. The blue mantle is partly scaled, and partly renewed. Part of the colour of the legs is gone likewise. The distance being repainted is damaging to the harmony of the whole. The dress of Malatesta is injured. The pouncing of the original design may still be traced beneath the original colour.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 16.

presence of her followers, is, together with her reception by Solomon, the subject of two frescos, side by side in the course below the first lunette. In the lowest space of the same side, the whole room is taken up with a view of the battle between Chosroes, king of Persia, and Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, for the recovery of the cross.

The lunette of the end wall is only adorned with two grand figures standing at each side of the window, one to the left gesticulating with his hand as he speaks, the other at rest and haunched, but now much injured. In the course below this, to the right of the window, labourers busy with the raising of the cross are depicted with realistic truth, whilst to the left of the window is an equally natural group of men hauling up a figure with a crane out of a well. Beneath these two subjects are severally (right) the vision of an angel to Constantine, who appears lying in his tent with an attendant slumbering at his bedside, and two guards at the entrance; and (left) the annunciation, where the Virgin, standing under a splendid portico, receives the visit of the angel and the spirit from the Eternal.

In the lower course of the left side, the battle, already in progress at the opposite side, is continued and closed by the execution of Chosroes, the upper space being filled with the finding of the cross before S. Helen, and the proof of its miraculous power by the cure of the sick man. The lunette (much injured) represents the progress of Heraclius into Jerusalem. In the left pilaster of the entrance arch, whose vaulted frieze still preserves some figures by Bicci (two saints above the cornices being by Piero), a Cupid resting on his bow stands above two superposed saints, a bishop and Peter Martyr (half gone). The right pilaster is empty, with the exception of part of an angel in the lowest space.

Though injured in a great many places, these frescos have not been retouched; — the spots where intonaco has fallen being simply filled in, whilst the painted frames have been renewed.

Following close on the comparatively feeble Bicci, who had only completed a ceiling and part of the frieze at the entrance,[1] Piero could well claim the gratitude, — he deserved the reward, of Luigi Bacci of Arezzo,[2]

[1] See antea, Bicci, and Vasari Vol. II. p. 231.

[2] Vasari says, it was painted for him. (Vol. IV. p. 19.) Rumohr doubts, on insufficient grounds the authorship of Piero.

who might congratulate himself upon having exchanged the ordinary productions of a low Giottesque for the more perfect ones of a great and noble painter. Not only had Piero naturally surpassed his predecessor, he shows that he had thus early matured most of the qualities which formed at last the complex of his manner. Following the technical system of drawing and colour which he had already applied in S. Francesco at Rimini,[1] he distributed his groups and distances, whether of buildings or of landscape, on their just planes according to the laws of linear and aerial perspective, with a science and certainty only equalled later by Leonardo, and with a startling reality of truth in effects, both of relief by light and shade, and of harmony by juxtaposition of exact values of tone. The unity which, in the founder of the Florentine school, was evolved by the subordination of all parts to an idea requiring, or not claiming more, than a generalisation of distances, — defective therefore, because the truth remained concealed under a conventional symbol, — was attained by Piero by the effectual representation of each portion of his subject in reference to its exact place in nature. Treating the human figure as a mere geometrical unit, he neglected idealism of type or selection of form, contenting himself with realistic portraiture, with the conscientious reproduction of shapes, weighty of frame and of limb, coarse in hand and foot, after the examples of Andrea del Castagno, and conveying a sense of truth to the spectator as Michael Angelo conveys it, in the midst of much that is fanciful, by proof of great knowledge as to the bone and muscle of the human body, and its development in rapid movements. He was in fact the best painter of nudes in his

(Forschungen Vol. II. p. 336.) It is proved in a record of 1466, in which the artist is chosen to paint a standard by the company of the Nunziata at Arezzo, and the mention of his name is made as follows: "Maestro Pietro di Benedetto dal Borgho Santo Sepolchro maestro di depigniere; il quale a dipinto la chupola maggiore di San Francesco d'Arezo." Gaetano Milanesi in Giorn. stor. degl. Arch. Tosc. ub. sup. 1862. p. 9.

[1] I. e. the drawing pounced from cartoons on a very smooth surface, liquid tones of a yellow-red in flesh light, inky grey shadows stippled on.

age, and not inferior in this sense to Masaccio or to Ghirlandaio. If a Virgin, an angel, an Eternal, as he conceived them, lack comeliness, spirituality or idealized benevolence, they are still grand by the dignity of their demeanour, and they have their proper individuality of passion, age, and sex. Draperies may be realistic and broken, they may be sought out like those of Uccelli; they are still broad in treatment. An illustration of his power of individualizing, of his talent for nude, may be found in the subject of Adam's death, where one of the youths, with his legs crossed, leaning on a staff, presents the prototype of a creation hardly surpassed by Signorelli. The keen perception of natural momentary action is shown in the scene of Adam's burial,[1] the Florentine quality of grand composition in the arrival of the Queen of Sheba, where masculine shape marks the females, and varied costume gives richness to a well preserved episode.

The battle between Heraclius and Chosroes, where the Persians are driven in disarray over a stream, is a melee of combatants and fugitives on horseback, in which, without the confusion which marks the fights of Uccelli, Piero allows one to perceive that he has not as yet mastered the forms of the horse in quick motion.

The absence of comeliness in females is proved by the Virgin of the annunciation, whose common type, affecting a superhuman gravity, — whose costume, of the painter's own period, are more natural than suits the elevation of the subject. The angel is in no sense celestial. His wings are clearly useless, his locks are wiry, as indeed are those of most of the persons represented, and his hands are cramped in the Umbrian manner which Perugino preserved. Nor is the Eternal rendered with more elevation than king Sigismund at Rimini.

The portraits in the group of the execution are excellent; and if in the human forms generally there is little suppleness, there is yet none of the conventionalism which

[1] Distant episodes here are all much injured.

became apparent later. His types generally are peculiar, his costumes often singular; and had Vasari related of him, instead of Lippi, that he had once been a captive in Barbary, we should have believed him.

But Piero excites our surprise and admiration in the Vision, in which an effect of light in the darkness, and a daring foreshortened view of an angel, give a double attraction to the picture. The effect is similar in principle to that in the liberation of S. Peter at Rome, which Raphael conceived, no doubt after he had studied Piero's masterpieces.[1] There are, it is true, but traces of the head and wings of the heavenly messenger; but the hand and arm remain, and explain the general movement, which rivals in boldness that of Uccelli's Eternal in S. M. Novella.[2] The light dress of the figure, the yellow cone and sides of the tent whose shadows are tinged with red as they verge into the blackness of complete obscurity, — the powerful cool tone of the dark interior giving the idea of night, relieved by the lined white and blood red coverlet of the Emperor's bed, — the twilight on the sleeping soldier in front, the alternation of light and shade in the two sentries,[3] — the shadows projected in a manner appropriate to a scene thus illumined, all combine to give an effect similar to the reality. The edge lights, or broad shadows, such as that cast on the face of the soldier to the right by his helmet, are truth itself; yet throughout, the proper balance of chiaroscuro is maintained, and the drawing is rapid,

[1] Perhaps an effect of light and shade similar to this at Arezzo adorned the space, which Raphael afterwards filled with the liberation of S. Peter, that subject being painted on the wall previously occupied by a work of Piero's. This reflection has already been made in an able article on Raphael and Gio. Santi in the Quarterly Review. Vol. LXVI. No. CXXXI. p. 8.

[2] Dr. Gaye in Kunstblatt No. 85. 1836, treating of this piece, affirms that there is no angel in the dream of Constantine and takes the mutilated one still there for an eagle!

[3] The sentry in armour, to the left, is in shadow, resting on his lance and turns his back almost completely to the spectator. The sentry to the right is also in armour, and part of his right leg with a portion of the floor close by it is repainted. The same mishap has occurred to the right leg of the sitting soldier.

bold and correct. No one can wonder at the design for this fresco being taken for one by Giorgione. It might have been assigned with equal propriety to Correggio or to Rembrandt.

Assuming, as we must, that this great series was commenced after the death of Bicci di Lorenzo in 1452, we are led to judge from the general similarity of its execution with the fresco of Rimini that it was completed shortly after, and that Piero della Francesca resided at Arezzo during 1453 and 1454. The traces of his activity are, however, not confined to the choir of S. Francesco. A crucified Redeemer between the Virgin and S. John the Evangelist, in a chapel to the right of the portal, betrays, it is true, the less able hand of an assistant in Piero's school;[1] but a standing figure of the Magdalen, between the Tarlati monument and the door of the sacristy in the Duomo appears to have been painted on the wall by the master himself. She stands life size in a richly ornamented niche of feigned marble, with the cup in her left hand and the drapery of her mantle in her right; and long locks fall in the usual thorny style to her shoulders. Some affectation in the movement of a figure which is more weighty and grave than feminine or graceful, coarse hands and articulations, are the usual characteristics of the master, whose angular draperies are still broad in the style of Uccelli, and who succeeds better than usual in giving regularity to the features of the faces. The mass of light and shade is grandly distributed, and thus we have a work worthy of being cited amongst the fine ones of Piero.

From Arezzo to Borgo S. Sepolcro is no great distance. Twenty five miles is the utmost that separates the two places, and our artist may have resided in his native town and kept his family there when busy in person elsewhere. Records and pictures are still extant to prove

[1] An inscription below the crucifixion runs: "haec cappella año Dñi MCCCCLXIII."

that numerous commissions flowed in to him during a course of years at Borgo S. Sepolcro. An order for an altarpiece from the brothers of the Compagnia della Misericordia in that town is said to exist, and may possibly be found at a later time. The piece to which it refers, rebuilt in a modern and tasteless shape, remains in the church of the hospital occupied by the fraternity before its suppression.[1] It affords an example of Piero's skill in the handling of the Florentine oil medium, and proves more clearly than the frescos of Arezzo the consistent mixture of Umbro-Siennese and Florentine character forming his peculiar style.

The altarpiece in its present shape is a large wooden screen, in the midst of which an arched rectangle contains the Virgin of Mercy under whose cloak kneel groups of males and females of various degree.[2] The screen rests upon four arched niches, in which S.S. Sebastian, John the Baptist, a nameless saint, and Bernardino, are depicted,[3] and the whole on a predella, which belonged to another picture representing Christ's burial, between the Flagellation and Christ in the garden, the Marys at the sepulchre, and the Noli me tangere. The old predella containing eight saints, amongst whom are S.S. Benedict, Jerom, Anthony of Padua, Francis, Dominick, and three others;[4] — the Virgin and the angel annunciate of the side pinnacles, have been built up into pilasters at the side of the frame containing the Virgin of Mercy, whilst the central pinnacle overtops the whole edifice, and holds a crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist, in the exact form of that in the Duomo at Arezzo.

[1] The fraternity was found to have been an useful one and was allowed to revive, after the suppression. Its church had meanwhile been converted into an hospital, and in order to avoid further change the company were located in their present church of S. Rocco. On the pilaster of the altarpiece, a panel at each side of a row of four saints contains the company's monogram M. I. A.

[2] The Virgin stands with a heavy crown on her head in a blue mantle (repainted in the lights). Beneath her arms and under the cloak, females stand erect to the right, and kneeling to the left, a penitent of the compagnia amongst the latter.

[3] These saints are injured, and the colour is cracked on the surface of the panel. The lower parts are mutilated, or covered by the predella.

[4] These saints are all more or less injured.

The whole of this piece, with the exception of the predella scenes which seem more in the tempera method than the rest, is painted in the mixed system already noted in the life of Domenico Veniziano, improved in some measure by Piero, and still further perfected in his latest examples. The Virgin whose type as usual lacks comeliness, is still fine and grave. The females at her sides are graceful portraits, whilst the males, also impressed with a powerful stamp of nature, are moulded in a form reproduced on a lower scale by the school of Gubbio and the painters of Gualdo and Camerino. Equally fine are the saints in the pilasters, though vulgar types. A threatening glance in the open eyes and a realistic precision in the extremities, not characteristic of a painter educated solely in the Florentine school, reveal an inspiration derived from Sienna. The mixture of Siennese character and the Florentine coarseness of Andrea del Castagno is marked likewise in the vulgar crucified Saviour, and in the somewhat extravagantly posed Virgin and Evangelist. A still greater want of selection is sensibly felt in the S. Sebastian and John the Baptist, whilst Umbrian or Siennese spirit of composition, type, and action are most conspicuous in the predella. Yet the whole work is Piero's, aided perhaps in the less important parts by pupils.

A surprising softness and fusion of colour of an equal brown tinge marks the flesh tints in the Virgin, in the figures at her feet, and in the pilaster saints; and the higher surface of the shadows explains the process of handling, which is carried out on the same system in draperies of powerful primary or secondary tones, glazed with half body colour, and bright with the brightness of Van Eyck, Antonello, Titian, or Giorgione.*

Whilst Piero thus reveals the mixed nature of his manner in a picture which introduced the system of the Florentine innovators into Umbria, he gives another illustration of his fancy for Siennese typical compositions in the resurrection of Christ, a fresco adorning the old Palazzo de' Conservadori at Borgo S. Sepolcro, now the Monte

Pio.[1] Following the arrangement of an artist, (probably Nicholaus Segna) who in earlier years had used this subject at S. Chiara, a monastery in this very city, Piero depicts the four guards, weighty and grandly presented in armour, asleep, in telling attitudes, one of them admirably foreshortened in front of the sepulchre, inside of which the Saviour has risen in his winding sheet, and grasping the banner, has a foot already on the ledge. It is apparent that the great object of the artist was to make the figure of Christ prominent in spite of its station on a more distant plane than the guard; he succeeds in his intention by keeping the tones of the foreground and landscape distance low. The Saviour whose winding sheet is drawn round over the left shoulder, leaving the torso and right arm bare, is at once realistic and colossal, and imposing as in the old Byzantine Siennese examples founded upon the antique. The parts are modelled with anatomical truth. But the type of the face is Moorish, with full lips, straight broad — barrelled nose, and hollow eyes, whilst the extremities are coarse and common. More striking for the science which it displays than pleasant to the view, this resurrection is painted with a breadth almost conventional, and in great relief, the various planes of light and shade being precisely defined and mapped out. The broken folds of draperies, of double stuff, recall those of Benozzo, and are glazed in shadow over the local tone, a system pursued in the flesh tints with equal success.[2] Greater freedom of hand, more impasto, suggest a later period for this piece than for the frescos of the choir of Arezzo.

Less uncertainty as to time is created by the fresco of S. Louis, originally painted by Piero in the Regio Tribunale of Borgo S. Sepolcro, now in the "Comune" and dated 1460,[3] — a mutilated piece representing the saint in the

[1] This fresco is noticed by Vasari Vol. IV. p. 19.

[2] The Saviour's mantle is glazed red, the shadows a deeper glaze of the same. It is unfortunate that very little light should flow into the place where the fresco is placed; and it can only be studied with difficulty.

[3] The inscription runs thus when freed from abbreviations. "Tem-

mitre and robes of office and holding the crozier and book.

Of greater value, however, especially to the English critic who can now study a genuine production of Piero in the National gallery, is the Baptism of Christ formerly part of an altarpiece in the priory of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Borgo S. Sepolcro, of which the remainder is by another hand.

Christ stands in the stream, in the centre of the picture, whilst John pours the water on his head. Three angels wait to the left, and behind the Evangelist, a proselyte strips. In the distance four figures in Oriental dress stand and cast reflections into the water of Jordan. A garden and the town of Borgo S. Sepolcro form the background.

A serious drawback to the enjoyment of this picture is the abrasion of its colour and its reduction to the condition of a preparation such as we might expect to see in an unfinished work by Correggio; but the insight which it gives into Piero's mode of painting in the Florentine method of oil is most interesting. We have described in the Peselli the somewhat artless use of viscous and lustrous colours tempered with a new medium; in the Pollaiuoli, the introduction of a mode of glazing with the same vehicles transparently or in half body. Piero della Francesca gave a new impulse to the whole system. Instead of painting flesh tones of a certain monotonous value and marked by a difficulty of fusion in the passage from light through semitone to high surface shadow, he took advantage of some successful improvement in the liquefaction of the hitherto viscous medium. The certainty of this is derived from the picture of the National gallery as well as from earlier and later examples, in which the flesh tints, instead of obtaining light from within, i. e. by the brightness of the underground piercing the

pore nobilis et generosi viri Lodovici Acciaroli pro magnifico et eccelso populo Florentino rectoris dignissimi capitanei ac primi vexilliferi justitie populi aere Burgiano MCCCCLX." The lower part of the figure is gone. On a frieze of the architectural background are the letters of the name Lodovicus.

superposed tone, receive light from outwards, being prepared at once in a sort of dead colour, modified afterwards by half bodied preparations and final transparent glazes. The lights and shadows are always given over the local flesh tone and are thus more plentiful on the panel, the whole gaining a lustrous and pinguid aspect of much brightness. The primary colours of dresses temper each other judiciously because of the perfect proportion of their tone in the general harmony. The sky and distances of hills, plains, roads, houses, and trees are prepared so that the lighter portions (paths for instance) should receive light from the white underground, this quality being attained by the use of hardly perceptible glazes; whilst the parts less flimsily touched over are still mellow, easily spread, and free from excessive pastosity. It is thus clear that Piero had gained the knowledge of many of the improvements which contributed to the greatness of the Van Eycks and Antonello; and that without revealing any material contact with them, he had gained possession of a great advantage in the use of vehicles less viscous, more manageable and paler than those of the Pollaiuoli and Peselli. He came nearer than any of the Florentines to the Flemish and Sicilian innovators in feeling for colour as well as in the technical manner of applying it. We need but pause further to note that in form, in type, in study of nude, Piero as usual draws unselect models with the precision of Leonardo, shows his mastery in giving elasticity to flesh and muscle, and his carelessness of aught but correctness of action in coarse extremities; we hardly require again to point out the clear basis of Greco-Roman antique in his somewhat academic figures, or the defect of angularity in his drapery. It is not unimportant in the meanwhile to mark that the analysis of this and other productions of Piero della Francesca is not the only source from which the conviction is derived that he painted in oil. We are in possession of the original contract in which the brethren of the company of the Nunziata at Arezzo ordered a standard of

Piero to be adorned with a Virgin and angel annunciate in December 1466; and one of the clauses of that contract is most important, as it states that the whole picture shall be "worked in oil" (lavorato a olio).

Meanwhile certain pictures may be excluded from the series truly attributeable to our artist; for instance a portrait assigned to him in the National gallery, supposed to represent Isotta, the wife of Sigismund Malatesta,[1] another portrait unlike it, yet said to represent the same person in Mr. Barker's collection,[2] a third likeness in Mr. Drury Lowe's possession,[3] all of which seem to belong to other masters, in order to revert to the personal career of the artist.

When the brethren of the Nunziata sent from Arezzo to Borgo S. Sepolcro for their standard in November 1468, they found that Piero had left the town in June 1467, and had taken up his abode in the neighbouring place of La Bastia, in order to avoid the ravages of the plague. Their satisfaction at the result of his labours is simply and warmly recorded, and the brethren relate how the brotherhood turned out on the following Sunday with their new purchase at the head of a solemn procession; and the public voice of Arezzo proclaimed that Piero della Francesca had done his duty; a verdict which their present posterity is unable to ratify, because the picture has perished.[4]

It may have been in the course of these years that Piero conducted to a successful termination a small panel

[1] No. 585 of catalogue. This is a fine profile, but not certainly by Piero della Francesca. It has a Florentine character with something akin to the art of one following the style of Uccelli's battle pieces, the style of drawing being an advance upon his.

[2] One of these portraits may represent Isotta; that both should do so is impossible. That of Mr. Barker is said to resemble the likeness on Pisanello's medal. However that may be, the style of this picture does not in any sense confirm the attribution to Piero della Francesca. It is, however, a good example of Italian art.

[3] This portrait is a good one in the spirit of the Umbrian manner mixed with that of Piero. It was exhibited (No. 48.) at Manchester. It is not by our artist, and we may have occasion to notice it in the life of Giov. Santi.

[4] See all these facts in the records already cited in Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani. 1862. p.p. 9 and fol.

containing the portrait of a man kneeling in prayer before S. Jerom, seated frontwise, turning the leaves of a book, now in the Academy at Venice, and authenticated by a signature. The distant landscape, enlivened by a view of a town very like that of Borgo S. Sepolcro, the figures arranged in the relative positions of those in the fresco of Rimini, are very characteristic of the master, and the piece is on a level, as to perfection in technical methods, with that of the National Gallery, whilst the drawing is pure and precise like that of Verrocchio or Leonardo. As for the person represented, it is clear from his attitude before S. Jerom that that hermit was his patron; and this is confirmed by the inscription at foot: "Hier. Amadi. Aug. P." Nor is it unlikely, since we know the artist's connection with Sigismund Malatesta, that this should be Girolamo the son of Carlo Malatesta of Sogliano who, in 1464, married a daughter of Federigo of Urbino.[1] The connection which shortly afterwards arose between Piero della Francesca and Sigismund Malatesta's consistent enemy the Duke of Montefeltro might thus become more comprehensible than it otherwise would be; although, in respect of patronage, the experience of centuries proves that painters were free to come and go through the territories, and welcome at the courts, of princes bitterly hostile to each other.

Pausing for the sake of recording only that the Ascension of the Virgin assigned to our artist in S. Chiara of Borgo S. Sepolchro, though coloured in a low key of tempera like that of Piero, suggests by its appearance the names of Gerino da Pistoia, or Francesco di Citta di Castello, artists whose style may be more accurately defined hereafter,[2] we are led to inquire the time when

[1] Venice Academy, Pinacoteca Renier No. 419. On the trunk of a tree to the left, bearing a crucifix, are the words: "Petri de Bũgo Sĉi sepulcri opus." Many of the glazes and finesses are gone and the piece is now a slightly tinted chiaroscuro. See for facts respecting Girolamo, Ugolini (F.) Storia dei Conti d'Urbino, post 8°. Florence 1859. Vol. II. p.p. 27. 28.

[2] This altarpiece in S. Chiara (of old S. Agostino, has been as-

our Umbro-Florentine made his way again across the hills to the Eastern side of the crest dividing the Marches from Tuscany, and received employment in Urbino. The records of the Brotherhood of Corpus Domini assist us to solve this difficulty. They tell us that Piero was invited, in April 1469, to paint an altarpiece, and that the expenses of his journey were paid by Giovanni Santi the father of Raphael.[1]

This was a time when the Duke of Urbino was in the enjoyment of great power and wealth. He was captain general of the Florentine league, Florence, Naples, — and Milan, against the Pope and Venice. He had already begun vast architectural enterprises under the direction of Luciano Lauranna, a Dalmatian it is thought, who was afterwards succeeded by the Florentine Baccio Pontelli. Francesco di Giorgio was his adviser in the art of fortification, Santi one of the artists who most illustrated his state. That such a man should employ Piero della Francesca when he appeared under the auspices of Santi in Urbino, was natural enough;[2] and accordingly it seems that Piero, who is not known to have carried out the commission for the altarpiece of the Corpus Domini, was soon at the service

signed to Piero della Francesca by the annotators of the last edition of Vasari (Vol IV. note 3 to p. 18). It represents the ascension of the Virgin between six playing and singing angels. Below are S.S. Francis, Jerom, Louis and Chiara. In the distance are the youthful Baptist, S. Thomas, and the 12 Apostles. It is a carefully executed piece of feeble character. Francesco di Citta di Castello, one of the painters suggested in the text, has many features of the school of Perugino combined with a mode of drawing reminiscent of that of Piero della Francesca; his figures being thin and angular. He approaches Perugino most in a picture at Citta di Castello. Passavant (Raphael, Vol. I. p. 433.) assigns to Piero della Francesca an ascension in S. M. de' Servi at Borgo S. Sepolcro. It is strange that a man of his experience should have confounded the works of this great master with a purely Siennese production. But see postea, Benvenuto di Giovanni.

[1] Santi enumerates Piero amongst his great Italian cotemporaries. (See Pungileoni's Elogio, ub. sup. p. 73.) The record of the latter's arrival in Urbino is in the same author p. 75.

[2] Fra Luca Pacioli in "Summa de Arithmetica" calls Piero (Dedication of 1494 to Guidubaldo of Urbino) "l'assiduo de la excellenza V. D. Casa familiare." (ap. Passavant, Raphael Vol. I. p. 435) so that Piero was well known to two successive dukes of Urbino.

of Federigo, painting a Flagellation, intended, it was said, allegorically to illustrate the last days of Odd' Antonio of Montefeltro,[1] and an apotheosis with portraits of the Duke and his wife, Battista Sforza.

The melancholy fate of Odd'Antonio di Montefeltro is historic. He perished with his minions, Tommaso dell'-Agnello of Rimini, and the apostolic protonotary Manfredo de' Carpi, under the blows of men who in their age had at least the excuse of revenge for atrocious wrong to urge in mitigation of their actions.[2] It is a tradition preserved by the historians of Urbino, that three portraits of persons in local costume standing outside the portico in which Piero della Francesca depicted the Flagellation, are likenesses of the murdered Prince and his advisers.[3] Others suppose the persons to be Guidubaldo the father, Odd' Antonio and Federigo his lawful and illegitimate sons. Be this as it may, the picture which Piero here completed on the innovating system, still further improved since the completion of the Baptism, is the finest that he had yet produced. Preserved in the sacristy of the Duomo at Urbino, it represents Pilate seated at a distance on his chair of state, under a splendid porch, in the midst of which the naked Saviour is fast to a pillar crowned with an idol, and receives the flagellation from three executioners, whilst outside to the right, and at the top of a street retreating to a distance of trees and sky, stands, in closer proximity to the spectator, the group we have endeavoured to describe.[4]

Piero had now polished the style but partially developed at Arezzo. As a geometer, an architect, and a master of perspective, he shines alike, giving a beautiful form to

[1] Guida di Urbino. p. 1. Ugolini. Storia ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 293.

[2] The assassins desired the lives of the minions not that of Oddantonio. They found it impossible to compass the former without the latter.

[3] In the National gallery catal. of 1863 a motto, "convenerunt in unum", is said to be inscribed near the figures. That motto has somehow disappeared. See catal. p. 93.

[4] On the step of the platform on which Pilate sits in profile, to the left, are the words: "Opus Petri de Burgo sĉi. sepulcri."



APOTHEOSIS OF FREDERICK OF URBINO, a picture in the Uffizi at Florence, by Piero della Francesca

the colonnade in which the principal scene is placed, distributing the figures with judgment on their planes, and imparting to them their exact shade of tone with sufficient relief. The sense of depth and rotundity is naturally assisted by carefulness and cleanness of tone, great softness and fusion of colour, and a perfect keeping in the parts, productive of a grand unity. Yet Piero's neglect of all but the block of human form is perceptible as ever.[1]

A still more finished example of the technical progress of our painter is the diptych at the Uffizi, in which the fair side of Federigo's countenance, left untouched fortunately for him in a tourney, faces the profile of his wife.[2] Neither are agreable types, but nothing can exceed the Leonardesque precision of the drawing or the softness and fusion of the impasto. The obverse of each portrait contains a triumph, in one of which Federigo is driven on a car, engraved in these pages, and Battista is seated on another with similar accompaniments. Both allegories are handled with the same talent as the portraits, in landscapes of a charming expanse, in the mixed medium improved by Francesca in a manner quite original and purely Florentine. If in the representation of the horse at Arezzo he shows imperfection, he is now free from that reproach; those which drive the triumphal cars of the Duke and Duchess of Urbino being fine and precisely drawn like those of Verrocchio. Nor can one refrain from comparing these masterpieces, produced at least as early as 1472, with the altarpiece of Justus of Ghent in S. Agatha at Urbino, which was completed two years later. Italian art, obviously, had nothing to gain either from this second rate Fleming or from Van der Goes, whose works at S. Maria Nuova of Florence, if justly as-

[1] A sensible disadvantage to the picture is the horizontal split in it and a breach in the head of the centre portrait in the right hand group.

[2] No. 1007 gallery of the Uffizi. It is natural to suppose that these portraits should have been executed before 1472, which is the year of Battista Sforza's death.

signed to him, are second to those of Piero della Francesca.

These however are not all the works with which our artist graced the city of Urbino. We must, it is true, withdraw his name from the six panels of apostles given to him in the Duomo, of which a description shall be deferred to the life of Giovanni Santi; but he is clearly the author of a splendid picture in S. Chiara representing a circular temple of two stories, flanked by a line of edifices at each side, carried out with the taste and science for which Piero is already known, drawn in good perspective with the greatest feeling for the gradual breaking up of tones according to the receding planes which they colour. Piero della Francesca may indeed at this time have matured his treatise on perspective composed, according to Fra Luca Pacioli at Borgo S. Sepolcro, in the vulgar tongue, and translated into Latin by his friend "Maestro Matteo;[1] for though Fra Luca only states the fact in his "Somma de Arithmetica" published in 1494, he does not indicate the exact period in which Piero wrote. Pacioli, who has been very unjustly accused of plagiarism and the plunder of his friend's work, is really very innocent of the charge, and always speaks of Francesca with a reverence quite extraordinary. It is from one of his works, indeed, that we learn the artist's existence as late as 1509, as he declares in his treatise on architecture published in that year, that Piero "is still alive in those days, having been monarch of art, when he still had power to work, as is proved in Urbino, Bologna and Ferrara, on the wall, on canvass, in oil and distemper, especially in the city of Arezzo."

But this statement is further of interest, as it shows that Piero, who does not seem to have become blind, as Vasari states,[2] but to have been gradually incapacitated

[1] Fra Luca Pacioli, Somma de Arithmetica. Vol. I. p. 68. tergo, ap. Harzen. ub. sup. Archiv. 1856. p. 236.

[2] Vas. Vol. IV. p. 23. states that Piero became blind in 1458. Yet he was in full possession of his eyesight in 1469 at Urbino,

for work by age, not only painted at Arezzo and Urbino, but at Bologna and Ferrara. At Bologna there are no traces of his stay, but at Ferrara there is reason to believe that he resided;[1] and sufficient confirmation of Fra Luca and Vasari's assertion to that effect is at hand. The latter indeed is more than usually circumstantial in affirming that Piero, whilst at work either at Pesaro or Ancona, was invited to Ferrara by Duke Borso who caused him to adorn many rooms in his palace. These however were removed later, on the occasion of Ercole's reduction of the building to a new form; and the pictures were lost.

The palace of Schifanoia, literally "Begone dull care", was decorated between 1450 and 1468 by Duke Borso. Duke Ercole his successor altered it in 1469, by taking down the old roof and adding a story to the edifice.[2] It is very likely that, in the repairs, Piero's frescos perished. But he had lived long enough at Ferrara to exercise a marked influence on the painters of the place, where indeed he must have had many assistants. This is clearly proved by some of the frescos in the upper story of the Schifanoia which were recovered from whitewash in 1840, one series of which representing the triumphs of Minerva Venus and Apollo is composed and carried out in the spirit of his schooling.

In the first of these, Minerva on a platform car, graced with a cupid at each corner holding festoons, is driven round into the foreground by two unicorns, parting with her equipage two groups of men and women busy at various avocations in a landscape. In the second, Venus led by swans, holds Mars captive on his knees before her, amidst

and probably became ailing later, the words of Pacioli indicating that about 1509 he was no longer able for work.

[1] "Nam in pictura arte quis prestantior Petro Burghensi, Mellozzoque Ferrariensi (?)" Leonardo Pesarese. Specchio delle Lapidi fol. Venice 1516. p.48.

[2] Baruffaldi (G.) Vite de Pitt. etc. Ferrarese. 8°. Ferrara 1844. Vol. I. p. 69. Laderchi (C.) (La Pittura Ferrarese 8°. Ferrara. 1856. p. 25.) urges that Piero could not paint after 1469, being blind since 1458, but we have seen that this date is not correct, and we doubt the blindness altogether.

groups of musicians. In the fourth, Apollo's car harnessed with four horses of various colours, is guided by Aurora and accompanied by groups of nude children, whilst various incidents fill the rest of the picture. The series is continued in the same spirit as to subject, but with a distinct decline in the skill of the artists, on the neighbouring walls.

The three principal frescos exhibit character hardly akin to that which marks the pure Ferrarese school. Nor is it the Paduan style which exclusively prevails in them. The dominant manner is the Umbrian of Piero della Francesca, a manner reminiscent in some respect of that peculiar to Benedetto Buonfigli, revealing at least as close a contact, through Piero della Francesca, between the Ferrarese and Perugian as between the Ferrarese and Paduan schools. The heads in some groups of the triumph of Minerva are detached from each other, and are marked by types, which betray the influence of Piero's school. The composition in the three frescos is grander, more geometrically correct and less defective in style than those of a pure Ferrarese of the time could be, and more in the spirit of the painter of Borgo S. Sepolcro. They are in fact executed by men educated in his school and clearly prove the great influence of his style and teaching in Ferrara.

We have said Buonfigli's works recal in a like manner the influence of Piero. Great uncertainty exists as to when Piero was at Perugia. There is however an altarpiece by him in the academy of that place; and it is, no doubt, the very picture described minutely by Vasari and recorded by Mariotti[1] as adorning in his time the convent of S. Antonio. It is a large gablepiece, with the Virgin and child enthroned in the centre; four saints in the niches at her sides; the Annunciation in the upper space, and two saints in a mutilated predella. The Virgin annunciate is like all those of Piero; the angel more gentle in mien than usual. The enthroned Madonna is not comely, nor is the infant pleasing in its nakedness because of its ex-

[1] Lett. Pit. ub. sup. p. 125.

cessive fatness and the ugliness of its type; yet this type seems to have served as a model for the Boccati of Camerino, Matteo of Gualdo and Bartolommeo of Foligno; nor is it clear that Buonfigli disdained to take an inspiration from it. The saints are more or less short in stature and common in aspect; and the cramped fingers of a S. Francis are the same that we have seen in the picture of the Spedale at Borgo S. Sepolcro. Still this is a genuine work by Piero, painted imperfectly on the mixed system, in colours of much fusion, but of a low key on a brownish preparation, marked by high surface bitumen shadows. The draperies, too, have the involutions and angularity of those of the Pollaiuoli and Benozzo Gozzoli.

In Piero's manner, but not more attractive than the foregoing, is a Virgin and child between two angels in the convent church of S. M. delle Grazie outside Sinigaglia, a mixed tempera panel of high surface shadows and hard leaden yet translucid colour, in which the pleasanter forms of angels contrast with an infant of the same type as that of the Perugian altarpiece.[1] Other panels may be thrown together as follows:

At Borgo S. Sepolcro, in possession of the Marini Franceschi, descendants of Piero, is a portrait in oil of Piero della Francesca, common enough and of a later time, but perhaps a copy of that from which Vasari derived his woodcut of the painter.

In the same family collection, four small saints, a little more than half length, representing S. Anthony between S. S. Chiara, Apollonia and another figure, much damaged and repainted, but still in Piero's character.

In Mr. Barker's collection in London, formerly belonging, we believe, to the Marini Franceschi, is a Virgin kneeling before the naked infant, with five singing or playing angels on one side, S. Joseph on the other, and two shepherds in the landscape distance.[2] This piece is injured

[1] The distance is architectural, the figures half length; a landscape may be seen through a window. The piece is injured as regards colour.

[2] This picture was taken to Florence for sale, and is described by the annot. of Vas. Vol. IV. note to p.p. 13. 14. as in the hands of Sign. Cav. Frescobaldi.

in colour and seems to have remained unfinished. It is painted with much impasto and of a brown tone. The shepherds and S. Joseph are, as regards vulgarity of type, reminiscent of Signorelli, who is known to have been Piero's pupil. As a work of art this is preferable to the panels of Perugia and Sinigaglia.

At Citta di Castello, a coronation of the Virgin with saints, in the convent of S. Cecilia, is falsely assigned to our master, and seems more properly attributable to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio or Granacci's youthful time, when under the tuition of their master Domenico.

Milan can boast of no genuine work by Piero, and the resurrection with saints, on the outer face of the portal of S. Sepolcro, is a fresco of the Lombard school.[1]

The master's influence at Arezzo is apparent, although its fruits are not of a high order, in a fresco of the Virgin and Saints (life size), inscribed with the date of 1483, in the Palazzo del comune;[2] and in a Madonna between S. S. Benedict and Bernard, dated 1502, a fresco in the sacristy of S. Bernardino.

Having thus brought to a close the life of Piero della Francesca and described the advantages which accrued to Italian art from his great and peculiar talent, it is but a just tribute to his memory to add, that, having formed the bold and vehement style of Luca Signorelli, their combined influence extended to all the schools of their native country. Both these artists were connected with the court of Federigo of Urbino, assisting to produce an exotic splendour which waned soon after; because the protection first given to art was too soon withdrawn after it had begun to strike a local root in the person of Giovanni Santi. Raphael's early studies derived a beneficent impulse from Piero della Francesca through Santi, but, for want of sufficient support at home, required the direction of Perugino. In the same way the schools of the Adriatic side of central Italy felt the effects of

[1] This is assigned to Piero by Vas. Vol. IV. p. 18. A picture of S. Bernardino and angels (No. 11. in the Brera and assigned there to Mantegna) is given by Harzen erroneously to Piero della Francesca. See Archiv. ub. sup. p. 233.

[2] This fresco is assigned erroneously to Piero by Harzen. See Archiv. ub. sup. p. 233.

Piero's genius, until Venetian and Paduan artists invaded the Marches. Melozzo da Forli amongst others derived much from contact with, or study of, Piero, and strengthened by his example the same fibre in Santi which had already been made to vibrate by the master whom they had both known and honoured. Such indeed was Melozzo's power over Santi's style that some of the productions due to the latter show many characteristic features noticeable in the works of Melozzo's pupil, Marco Palmezzano. A clump of artists headed by Piero della Francesca, most of them Umbro-Florentine, that is, commingling Florentine maxims with an Umbrian nature, were thus mainly instrumental in giving a powerful impulse in a particular direction, to Italian art.

The name of Piero della Francesca in union with that of one Fra Carnovale has been alluded to by many authors. The connection of this monk's name with extant paintings is authenticated by no records whatever. He is casually mentioned by Vasari, in a life of Bramante, as the author of a picture in S. M. della Bella at Urbino, of which the subject is not given,[1] and the following facts are said by Pungileoni to refer to him:[2]

He was called Bartolommeo, the son of Gio. di Bartolo Corradini and entered the Dominican order. In 1456 (the record is given) he was absolved by mutual consent from the duty of painting a picture for the company of Corpus Cristi at Urbino. In 1461, he performed the duties of *pievano* or curate in S. Cassiano of Cavallino near Urbino, and there are further records of his existence in the same capacity at the same place till 1488.

So far, it appears that a certain Dominican friar of the name of Bartolommeo di Gio. Corradini was a painter at Urbino about the year 1456. There is no proof that this Bartolommeo should have gone by the name of Carnovale, nor is there any authentic memorial of his works. Pungileoni adds however from certain statements furnished to him

[1] Vas. Vol. VII. p.p. 125. 126.
[2] Pungileoni, Elogio Stor. di Gio. Santi, ub. sup. p. 52. and following.

out of the convent of S. Bernardino of Urbino, which he quotes at second hand (and which still exist in the very words of Padre Pungileoni in the convent above named, being drawn up apparently in the last century), "about this time (1472) the altarpiece of the high altar (of S. Bernardino) was painted by Fra Bartolommeo called F. Carnovale, because the Virgin is a portrait of the Duchess Battista Sforza wife of Duke Federico, and the infant on the Virgin's lap is the likeness of the son borne to the Duke by the said Duchess."[1]

It is to be submitted that this is a very untrustworthy authority for assigning to Fra Carnovale the altarpiece of S. Bernardino at Urbino, which now hangs in the gallery of the Brera at Milan.[2]

The Virgin, of life size, is represented there enthroned under a semidome rivalling in architectural beauty the creations of Leon Battista Alberti. The infant Christ is stretched on her knees, adored by her and by a kneeling figure of Federigo of Urbino in armour at her feet. Four angels are in couples at the Virgin's side supported by SS. Jerom, Bernardino and John the Baptist (left), Francis, Peter Martyr, and another (right).

This is a picture on the system of Piero della Francesca, with scientific perspective, with a geometrical division of lines, of light, and of shadow. The figures seem only subservient to an effect of chiaroscuro, being placed side by side without much variety. The child has the peculiar type of the least pleasing ones painted by Piero. The angels are in his well known mould and dress, but like the rest of the picture, on a lower scale of art than his. The stamp of the master's school, without the impress of his hand, is marked. The colour is of full impasto and of a leaden grey, in good keeping however, because of the judicious distribution of the lights and shades in juxtaposition. That the work may have been by one of Piero's pupils is evident. It is of the same class, and shares defects already visible in the Madonna at

[1] Ib. p. 53. [2] No. 111. Brera Catalogue.

Sinigaglia or the altarpiece of Perugia, and to a less extent, in the panel at the Spedale of Borgo S. Sepolcro. We know but of one assistant or pupil of Piero besides Luca Signorelli and Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, and that is Lorentino d'Angelo of Arezzo,[1] whose works are however not preserved. If the author of the Brera picture be Fra Carnovale, we add to the list another pupil whose picture was completed possibly about 1472, the date named, or perhaps later. The same hand had clearly a share in other works assigned to Piero della Francesca, and until records shall have settled the matter, Fra Carnovale's name may be taken as a conventional one to indicate works bearing the impress, but not revealing the perfect manner of a greater master.

In this class we shall at once place a S. Michael trampling the dragon and carrying the monster's head in one hand, a picture now in Sir Charles Eastlake's collection. We have here again the tendency to give effects of light and shade, perhaps better and brighter colour of rich impasto. A Virgin and child belonging to the Marquis d'Azeglio belongs to the same order.

In conclusion, a just surprise may be expressed that Vasari should in his life of Bramante make Fra Carnovale the great architect's teacher in his art and in perspective, when it is certain that, being born in 1444, he (Bramante) might have learnt from Luciano Lauranna, or other great professors, such as Piero della Francesca.

[1] See Vas. Vol. IV. p. 22.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MELOZZO OF FORLI AND MARCO PALMEZZANO.

The name of Sixtus the fourth has frequently been noticed in these pages. During a long pontificate of thirteen years, he promoted the interests of artists in Italy with a zeal scarcely surpassed by later popes. He had not been long raised to the chair of S. Peter before he undertook a series of great architectural and pictorial enterprises. He caused the Sixtine chapel to be erected in 1473, the Vatican library to be restored in 1475, and the churches of S.S. Apostoli, S. Pietro in Vinculis and S. Sisto at Rome to assume a new shape. His relatives, the Della Roveres and Riarios shared his partiality for architectural improvements; and the whole family favoured with its regard, or supported by wages, a crowd of architects and painters from every province of Italy. We have seen with what perseverance Sixtus the fourth called in succession, to Rome, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli, Perugino and Signorelli. His chief architect, Baccio Pontelli,[1] bred under Francesco Giovanni Francione at Florence, distinguished himself so remarkably that Federigo of Montefeltro who had perhaps made his acquaintance at the wedding of his daughter to Giovanni della Rovere in 1472, was induced to engage him for the completion of his palaces at Urbino and Gubbio. But Sixtus was not content to think that Roman pontiffs should always be obliged to ransack the cities of the Peninsula for artists, and he de-

[1] See Vas. Vol. IV. p.p. 135. and following, and Gaye Carteggio. Vol. I. p.p. 274. and following.

termined to found and to endow an academy at Rome under the patronage of S. Luke. He gave that body a constitution which was promulgated with great solemnity; and he succeeded at once in enrolling several masters in its register.

Prominent amongst these was Melozzo of Forli whose name, inscribed in his own hand "Melotius pic. Pa." (Pictor Papalis), is one of the foremost in that interesting record.[1]

Forli, Melozzo's native place had long been under the sway of the local family of the Ordelaffi. It had not been celebrated for giving birth to any remarkable painter in the earlier centuries, but it had, like most cities, fostered the exertions of local artists, as the narrative in these pages sufficiently shows. It continued to do so, as may be fully proved by more modern examples, at Forno, at Imola, Pesaro, and Ancona.[2]

It was the fortune of Melozzo to rise into manhood at a period when the influence of Piero della Francesca was powerfully felt throughout those parts of Italy in which Forli is situated. He was of the Ambrosi of Forli and

[1] Melchiorri (Marchese G.) Notizie intorno alla Vita . . . di Melozzo da Forli. 8°. Rome. 1835 p. 29. ap. comm. to Vas. Vol. IV. p. 202.

[2] Thus at Forno, between Forli and Ravenna, in a church whose erection is certified by the following inscription in it; "Ano Giubileo 1450 mi Piero Biancho de Durazzo . . . fece fare questa Santa Chiesa," a fresco adorns the recess of the tomb of Pietro di Durazzo, and represents him kneeling to the left near the Saviour borne to the tomb (7 figures, half the Saviour and the lower part of the others all but gone). This is a production assignable to a third rate painter of the time of Palmezzano.

Of the same inferior style is a coronation of the Virgin with numerous saints in the Lovatelli gallery at Ravenna signed: "Hoc opus fecit Antonius alias Ghuidacius Imolēsis año dñi 1470, die 17. mensis Octobris." This is a grotesque tempera with figures of ugly type and character, but curious for an exaggeration of gravity imitated from Piero della Francesca, and akin to that in the works of the school of the Boccatti of Camerino.

A little better perhaps than Antonius of Imola is Johannes Antonius of Pesaro, whose picture of S. John Evangelist in the Monte Pio of Rome is inscribed: "1463. 7. Januarii Johanes Antoniū. Pisaurensis Pīx." In the character of this panel is a figure of S. Primiano in the monastery of that name at Ancona, with a kneeling monk in adoration before him.

born about 1438.[1] His infancy coincides with the manhood of Francesca, and we have the more ground for believing that the two men were connected by the ties of art; because, besides the clear derivation of Melozzo's style from that of Piero', the latter was not less known to his cotemporary and fellow countryman Fra Luca Pacioli than Melozzo, whom he praises for his acquirements and talents in perspective and architecture, and of whom he adds that his figures would have lived, had it been possible to infuse breath into them.[2] It has been suggested indeed that he owed his education in part to Ansuino of Forli,[3] an assistant of Mantegna at the Eremitani of Padua in 1453—9;[4] and it is true that in some of the remains of his works, we trace a Mantegnesque fullness, hardness and angularity in drapery, reminiscent of the Paduan school. But this characteristic is accompanied by others, and even merged in them, and may be due indirectly to examples which shed an undeniable influence throughout the Adriatic coast. Melozzo indeed combined Mantegnesque features to a slight extent with others of a more decisive nature derived from the teaching of Piero della Francesca, and from contact with Giovanni Santi of Urbino. Giovanni who eulogises most of the painters of his time, alludes to Melozzo in terms suggestive of near ties of friendship. "Melozzo a me si caro", he says, "che in prospettiva ha steso tanto il passo."[5] The Forlivese

[1] His death in 1494 is recorded by Leone Cobelli a cotemporary whose MS. chron. is cited in Reggiani "Alcune Memorie intorno al pittore Marco Melozzo da Forli." 8°. Forli. undated but printed in 1834. p. 42. His epitaph in S. Trinita di Forli has been preserved as follows: "D. S. Melocii Foroliviensis pictoris eximii ossa. vixit a. LVI..... m. ob. an....." If he died aged 56 in 1494, he was born in 1438.

[2] "Divina proporzione," ub. sup. cap. 57. p. 18, and "Summa de aritmetica," ub. sup. Luca Pacioli was in Rome during the reign of Paul the II., 1464—71, when he enjoyed the acquaintance of Leon B. Alberti. He returned thither from Venice in 1482. See Gaye in Kunstblatt. an. 1836. No. 69.

[3] Lanzi, ub. sup. Vol. II. p. 115, and Vol. III. p. 28.

[4] The date of these frescos is ascertained with tolerable accuracy. See notes to Vas. Vol. V. p.p. 161 and 165. The frescos of Ansuino in the series are signed with his name.

[5] Rhyme Chron. in Pungileoni. Elogio di Giov. Santi. ub. sup. p. 74.

would thus have been known to the Montefeltri; and the connection of Federigo with the Della Rovere as early as 1472[1] may have caused the employment of the painter at the court of Sixtus the Fourth.

That he was a man of completely formed talents when he was promoted to the favour of the pontiff is evident as much from his works at Rome as from the statements of cotemporaries. Fra Luca Pacioli's opinion has been quoted: that of Fra Sabba da Castiglione is equally favorable;[2] and a Roman compiler of the reign of Sixtus soars to fulsomeness in the epithets with which he honours his hero.[3] All these authorities, and many more that might be added to the number, call him Melozzo da Forli, a name by which he was known through life and remembered in death, and as distinctly preserved in cotemporary records as in a funeral epitaph. It might seem needless indeed to insist on a fact so patent; yet we are bound to dwell upon it in order to meet the assertions of some modern writers who call him Marco Melozzo, because they give to him pictures which shall be shown to have been executed by his pupil Palmezzano.

A conclusive proof that Melozzo's style was derived from that of Piero della Francesca may be found in the fact that one of his masterpieces was for years assigned to the latter. Yet there is nothing more certain than that when Baccio Pontelli had finished the restoration of the Vatican library, and Sixtus the Fourth had appointed Platina to superintend the valuable collection which he formed there, Melozzo was employed (1475—80) to celebrate the event by a fresco, long an ornament of the walls, but subsequently transferred to canvass and now in

[1] Federigo's daughter married Giovanni della Rovere in that year.

[2] Ricord. 4°. Venice 1555. p. 52. ap. Reggiani "Alcune Memorie. ub. sup. p. 42.

[3] Jacopo Zaccaria at Rome under the Pontificate of Sixtus IV. printed a volume of forms for adressing letters to persons of divers rank and profession, one of which runs: "Totius Italiæ splendori Melocio de Forolivio pictori incomparabili". (See Morelli notes to Anon. ub. sup. p. 109.)

the gallery of the Vatican.[1] It is apparent indeed that Sixtus, Platina, two attendant cardinals, and a couple of inferior persons were portrayed from life in the library itself, whose square pillars and panelled ceilings with their tasteful and copious ornament are drawn with a precision of perspective hardly attainable by Melozzo except in the school of the great painter of Borgo S. Sepolcro.

The Pope, on the right, sits in a chair, with his hands on the balls of its arms. The two cardinals, Pietro Riario, and Giuliano della Rovere, stand to the left between him and the spectator, Platina on his knees with the two attendants behind him. The precision with which the parts are defined, the accuracy with which the proportions of the figures are measured for the places they occupy, a tendency to hardness in the outlines or to angular blocks of form, draperies of Umbrian character, a general keeping in the various tones which show more knowledge of the laws of harmony than feeling for colour, — all these features characterize a piece technically worked out on the system of Piero della Francesca, handled with style, and doing honour to Melozzo.[2]

Amongst the churches which Baccio Pontelli improved or repaired, one of the most conspicuous was that of the SS. Apostoli at Rome to which he added a tribune, whose pictorial decoration was entrusted by cardinal Riario in 1472 to Melozzo.[3] He endeavoured with the aid of a

[1] Taja, Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano, &c. Rome. 1750. 344. ap. Reggiani. ub. sup. p. 39. Leone Cobelli. MS. chron. in Reggiani, ub. sup. p. 39, says: "Melocio fe molte dipentorie al Papa Sisto magne e belle, e fe' la libreria del detto Papa," and "Rafaello Maffei" (Antropologia Pict^m. sui temp. Basileæ 1530 lib. 21. p. 245). "De his reliquis in artibus claruerunt Melotius Foroliviensis; iconicas imagines præter cæteros pingebat ejus opus in bibliotheca Vaticana Xistus in sella sedens, familiaribus nonnullis domesticis adstantibus."

[2] No. 25. Vatican Library. The profile of the Pope and the manner in which his figure is drawn remind one of Piero's Malatesta at Rimini. The local flesh tone is yellowish, with shadows freely stippled in brown, — the whole a little raw perhaps since the transfer of the surface to canvass, but still, as regards colour, reminiscent of the frescos in the choir of S. Francesco at Arezzo.

[3] Cardinal Riario was Sixtus IV's nephew. That he ordered the frescos of the tribune is stated by Taja, ub. sup. p. 344, who was instrumental in saving the parts

daring perspective to represent the ascension of Christ amongst cherubs in the semidome, with the apostles looking up, and angels variously foreshortened, attending or playing divers instruments. When the tribune was taken down, in 1711, the figure of Christ was sawed from the wall, and placed on a landing of the staircase leading up to the Quirinal palace;[1] three fragments of apostles and eleven others were removed to the sacristy of S. Peter.

Melozzo was remarkably successful in the figure of the Redeemer which is made to appear as if it were piercing the semidome and ascending to heaven far above the spectator's eye, yet its vulgar and somewhat rigid form, its common type, coarse extremities, and broken draperies are not attractive. The latter no doubt are copious, hard and angular, like those of the Mantegnesque school, and have suggested the theory not unfairly broached by Lanzi, that Ausuino of Forli may have been one of Melozzo's teachers; but the interest of the series centres not in the principal figure, but in the other fragments, which are so fine and characteristic as to recal the works of Raphael, and which betray an intimate connexion of style between Melozzo and Giovanni Santi.

Of three half length apostles looking up and presenting their foreshortened features to the spectator, one with copious hair and beard, in red and blue, imitates the manner of Santi. One of the angels in profile, plays a guitar, but turning his face so that it fronts the spectator, is somewhat rigid in form and features, showing the full iris after the later fashion of Palmezzano. Two pieces, each of them containing three seraphim, are repetitions of similar ones in creations of Giovanni Santi, pleasing the eye by

now preserved when the tribune was taken down. See also Vas. Vol. IV. p. 190.

[1] The following inscription by Clement the XI. it is thought, testifies to the genuineness of the work: "Opus Melotii Forolivensis, qui summos fornices pingendi artem miris opticæ legibus vel primus invenit vel illustravit, ex apside veteris templi sanctorum XII apostolorum huc, anno salutis MDCCXI."

nude forms and rotund lines, such as Perugino might have drawn. An angel beating a drum, another with flying ribbands, are conceived with a freshness and simplicity suited to the temper of Santi and Raphael. A clean firm drawing, bold and spontaneous movement, an affectation peculiar to the Umbrian school and afterwards improved by the Perugians, are all qualities in these pieces, varied in some instances by Melozzo's frequent use of undressed blocks of form in extremities, — by hard design, — by draperies of frequent angularity and occasional want of purpose, and by eyes like those of Santi, exposing the whole iris. As regards tone, the fresco is clearly painted in with a yellowish local colour over which the shadows are stippled with great freedom.

These are all the productions of Melozzo at Rome; but they suffice to characterize his style and to show that no study of Raphael should be complete unless we analyze, together with the works of Giovanni Santi, those of his friend and cotemporary, and trace them back, as has been done, to the examples of Piero della Francesca.

Sixtus the Fourth and Cardinal Riario were not the only patrons of Melozzo. Count Girolamo Riario, apparently still more conscious of artistic worth than either of his relatives, made Melozzo his gentleman and squire;[1] and Fra Luca Pacioli describes the painter as in constant communication with the nobleman when he built his palace at Rome.[2]

In the meanwhile Forli, whose loyalty to the Ordelaffi had lasted for a considerable period, shook off its allegiance and gave itself to the Holy See in 1480. The person to whom Sixtus the Fourth entrusted the government was no other than Girolamo Riario the patron of Melozzo, who may thus have returned to his native city with unusual advantages. That he did so is probable.

Yet in Forli, the only production that can be assigned

[1] Leone Cobelli ap. Reggiani, ub. sup. p. 39.

[2] Divina proporzione. Cap. 57. part 1st. p. 18.

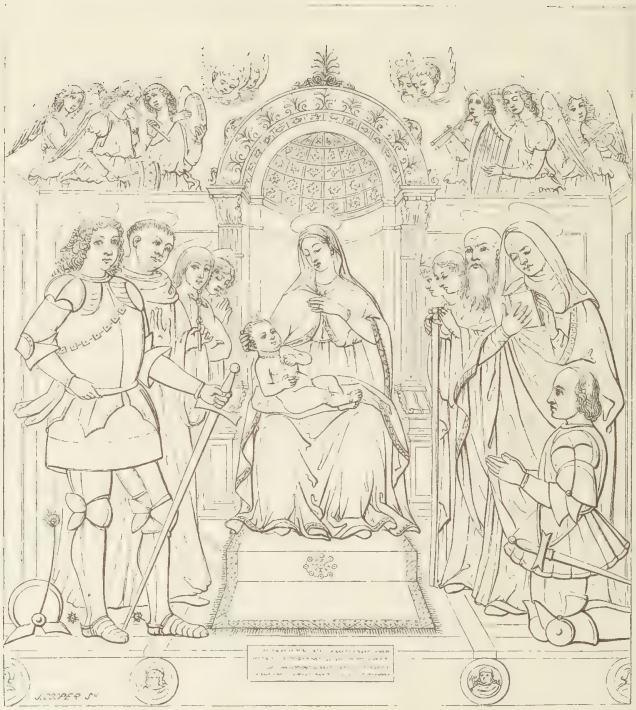
to Melozzo is a fresco originally painted as a sign above a shop and now in the Collegio, representing a grocer's assistant in a violent state of exertion, open mouthed, panting, but vulgar in type, wielding with both hands a pestle over a large mortar. The figure is not less remarkable for its realism, warts on the forehead and right cheek being imitated from nature, than for Melozzo's known ability in accurately measuring the effect of place. As the sign was above the shop, the mortar boy was conceived as if seen from below through a window, the projection of whose beam and side were given with perspective truth.[1] The piece is thus essentially of interest as a link between the creations of Melozzo and those of his pupil Marco Palmezzano.

With the notices of it however we exhaust all that is known of Melozzo and his works, because albeit a portion of certain frescos in S. Girolamo at Forli discloses a style related to his, and he may have had a share in laying out the chapel, the paintings there are clearly by Marco Palmezzano. Whether they were ordered by Girolamo Riario is uncertain; but a ceiling in the cappella del Tesoro of the Duomo at Loreto, adorned in the same manner under the direction of that nobleman, dates from the same time; and reveals also the hand of Palmezzano.

Whether Melozzo ever painted at Urbino may possibly remain doubtful. It has been usual to consider him the author of several amongst the portraits of celebrated men collected by Duke Federigo in one of the rooms of his palace. These, described by Bernardino Baldi,[2] became at a comparatively recent period divided as heirlooms between the Roman families of Barberini and Sciarra.

[1] Though seriously injured some years since, the true character of this piece could be discerned. Since then it has been damaged in various additional ways, so that a true opinion can now hardly be formed. The figure is only seen to the knees in a sort of frock of a yellowish tone; the background having been originally blue. The tone of the whole was of a low key, tending to olive.

[2] Descrizione del Palazzo Ducale d'Urbino. 1587.



ADORATION OF THE VIRGIN. Altarpiece in the Convent of Monte Fiorentino, near Urbania, by Giovanni Santi

there is still room for conjecture in our present state of doubt; and it may be interesting to select some other artist for the sake of continuing the inquiry. Though pictures of Girolamo Genga's later time, and unlike the series before us, exist, we know of no early productions attributed to that artist. Youthful talents are prone to imitation, and Genga's name may not be excluded. This indeed is a prudent course when we consider that the Campana series is not an isolated example of Urbinese pictures.

Mr. Spence, in London, owns a panel which formerly belonged to Signor Conti at Florence and is supposed to have been originally in the sacristy of Urbino cathedral. A throne is occupied by a female; a small organ lies at her side to which she points as she presents a book to a youth kneeling in front of her. Whilst the colouring offers some analogy to that of the portraits in the Campana collection, its style is more Italian. A certain viscosity, reminiscent of that in the tones of pictures by the Pollaiuoli, is coupled with much boldness and ease of handling, and an impasto which reminds one of Rembrandt. The progress of the method apparent in these examples may be noted further in a fine bust portrait at three quarters, in the costume of the close of the 15th century, in possession of Signor Leoni at Urbino.[1] A certain hardihood in the drawing in Signorelli's fashion, — a hard viscous colour of dull olive tone, but shadowed with brown stippling and touched up with high surface lights of a diaphanous quality, — the whole well modelled and glazed are characteristic in this piece.

More modern still, under the same principles, an allegory similar to that of Mr. Spence, is in the Berlin Museum under the name of Bartolommeo Suardi or Bramantino.[2] The female on the throne is dressed in gold brocade, in a rich architectural space, on whose upper frieze one reads:

[1] Via Urbino, and still in possession of that gentleman in 1859. The portrait is life size, the panel 16 niches by 13. The cap of a dark green, the coat, dark brown

[2] No. 51.

"Durantis Comes S.P.R." The Count of Castel Durante is the ruler of Urbino; and the arms of the Duchy, quartered with the keys and tiara on a shield may suggest to one cognizant of heraldry, which of the Dukes is here represented receiving the book. The style is purely Italian, of the rise of the 16th century, and the colour of rich impasto.

It is needless perhaps to remind the reader that none of these creations are by Melozzo; but they illustrate the course of a particular form of art in a particular place. As for Girolamo Genga's name it might apply perhaps with greatest force to the last named allegory. The pictures previously named must remain a matter for further study.

Melozzo died in 1494, leaving behind him Marco di Antonio Palmezzano, who seems to have found employment under the same patron as his master.[1] The date of his birth is unknown, but he lived far into the sixteenth century and has left behind a number of important pieces that are now scattered throughout the galleries of Europe.

In a chapel in S. Biagio di S. Girolamo at Forli, a furnace vault resting upon two full walls and upon two arches supported by square pillars is painted so as to simulate the appearance of a panelled dome resting on a balustrade, in front of which, or on which, eight figures are placed sitting in varied attitudes and action. An attempt is made to show the thickness of the section of the dome by feigned openings of a polygon shape at the angles of the lunette and arch spandrils. The sky is supposed to be seen through the openings, and the view of it to be intercepted in part by children carrying scrolls. The place usually occupied by the lantern is a circular shield with armorial bearings,[2] surrounded by heads of cherubs.

[1] Luca Pacioli mentions Marco in the same sentence with Melozzo and calls him the dear pupil of the latter. Summa de Arithmetica, ub. sup. Palmezzano's exact name is in a record of the time which shall be quoted in full see postea, p. 572.

[2] The arms are unfortunately all but obliterated.

The figures are foreshortened in the manner for which Melozzo was celebrated, a manner which his pupil is known to have inherited; and the decoration, arranged in its totality so as to strengthen the illusion of the spectator looking up from the floor of the chapel, is the work of a man of great experience in the use of the compass and rule and in the working of architectural plans. Melozzo had already given proof of his ability in this line of pictorial ornamentation at the SS. Apostoli in Rome, and elsewhere.[1] He and his pupil were the continuators of the practise of Piero della Francesca and Signorelli, diversifying it with a novel variety of perspective, and invention of forms. They were in their age the great illustrators of the system which in the sequel was perfected by Correggio in his cupola paintings, by the Carracci and the most skilful of the so called *barocchi*, Luca Giordano and Pietro da Cortona. As exponents of this style in fact, Melozzo and Palmezzano were naturally esteemed; and although Mantegna, a great master of perspective in his day, was acknowledged as such even by his cotemporaries, he did not originate any more than Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, or the Florentines, the particular mode of applying its laws which shed lustre on the painters of whom we are now treating. These however, but Palmezzano chiefly, were geometers and monumental draughtsmen whose figures, though accurate in the block of proportion and contour, were not otherwise more refined than was necessary for their positions in given spaces. The result to them of contemplating art under this point of view was a certain hardness and rigidity which became in Palmezzano a sculptural immobility, extending alike to action, details, and drawing. A coloured bas-relief or stone-model, placed at a certain height and imitated according to the laws of perspective, would produce the same impression as one of his decorations, being cor-

[1] G. V. Marchesi. Vir. Illust. forl. 8°. Forol. Sylva. 1726. lib. II. cap. VII. ap. Reggiani, ub. sup. p. 49.

rect, well proportioned and sculptural, but hard and angular in outline and naturally lifeless, and deriving little additional charm from a dull yellow-red flesh tone shadowed with brown. That these are the characteristic features in the ceiling we have attempted to describe, is undoubted. They are clear in the broken and rigid figures of naked children, whose defects in this respect are striking as compared with those of Melozzo, whilst in the rest of the work, Palmezzano exhibits inferiority in the reproduction of movement or of flowing drapery, and betrays his comparatively feebler handling in a higher surface colour, and the use of cross hatching in the modelling of parts.[1] Like Melozzo he has no feeling for colour, hence no atmosphere. He displays fancy and taste however in the ornaments of pilasters and friezes. Human figures supporting vases, themselves receptacles for monsters, winding tracery of stems, leaves, and scrolls, all on a dark green ground, cover the pilasters of the Riario chapel, and reveal a style not unlike that of similar ones in Signorelli's frescos at Orvieto, and not inferior to those of Pinturicchio and Spagna; and we thus trace the origin of the taste for decoration which is in later artists of this school, such as Rondinelli, Zagganelli called Cotignola, Cordelagi or Giovanni da Faenza, better known as Bertucci, all men in whom this secondary feature is stamped with a mixture of Bolognese, Ferrarese, Paduan and Venetian art.

No sensible difference is observable between the painting of the ceiling and that of the solitary wall which remains in its pristine state.

This wall is divided into two courses. In the lunette, a number of persons kneel or stand in the centre of a court attending to the feat of a juggler setting two cocks against each other. A man on the left, in the light dress of the period presents his back to the spectator, and reminds one, by the freedom of an action expressing sur-

[1] Reggiani, ub.sup.p.p.45—6.supposes, but on insufficient grounds, that the ceilings and a remaining lunette are by Melozzo.

prise, of Signorelli's powerful creations. A broad flight of steps, and landings winding round from the right of the picture and pivoting on a broad pillar, is enlivened with figures. Two men stand to the right on the landing, of whom it has been said upon very slender grounds that they are portraits of Melozzo and Palmezzano.[1] Nearer the centre, two youths of vulgar features on the steps are evidently trembling at the juggler's feats, whilst on the left a male and female are seen coming down, followed by two persons in converse.

In the lower course, parted into a double arcade with a groined vaulting, a rider in the garb of a pilgrim carries a dead body on the crupper of his horse, and is followed by a pilgrim on foot, whilst three figures stand to the left.[2] In the arcade to the right a kneeling man is about to be decapitated. Guards are at hand, and a gallows has been erected in the landscape distance. On a scroll fixed to the central pillar are the remnants of the inscription: "Marcus Palmezzanus Pictor foroliviensis M" The date is illegible, but a monogram follows it.

To characterise this work would be to repeat remarks suggested by the ceiling. The perspective is true; the figures are well arranged, and a due subordination of parts is preserved. The costumes are rich, and some faces are pleasing, but the drawing is hard and angular, the forms unwrought, and the draperies broken, whilst the colour is without charm.[3]

Whether painted originally for Girolamo Riario or for another patron, the frescos of this chapel at Forli are valuable for the clue they give to the author of an exactly similar work in the Cappella del Tesoro in the Duomo of Loreto. The arms on the centre of the dome in this place are clearly those of the Della Rovere. Eight prophets sit on the balustrade[4] whose ornaments are copious and

[1] Reggiani, ub. sup. p.p. 46—7. He doubts whether the two kneeling pilgrims are portraits of Girolamo Riario and Caterina Sforza.

[2] In this group again, it is affirmed, are Melozzo and Palmezzano with ? Sigismondo Ferrarese holding a compass. Reggiani, ub. sup. p.p. 46—7.

[3] It must be remembered, however, that the lower fresco is in very bad condition.

[4] Ezechiel, Obadiah, Zachariah, Amos, David, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Habakkuk.

beautiful, but the curve of the dome is not divided into lozenge panelling. It is cut into sections by radii or ribs of ornament, each section being filled with an angel, foreshortened so as to appear in the act of approaching the spectator, and bearing a symbol of the passion. The type and form of heads, reminiscent of those of Melozzo, seem truly to date from the period when he was patronized by Girolamo Riario. But the same nobleman may have befriended Palmezzano likewise, and the execution, which is richer and better than that of the chapel at Forli is clearly Palmezzano's, who thus had occasion to study Signorelli's ceiling in the sacristy of the same church.

In assigning to Palmezzano two important wallpaintings, we have pointed out the difference between his style and that of his master. This difference is traceable in pictures on panel, and not less on those which bear the signature of "Marcus de Melotius" than on others more distinctly inscribed with Palmezzano's name.

There are but two pieces with the inscription "Marcus de Melotius". They shall now be described in their order. The first, in the chiesa de' Zoccolanti at Matellica near Fabriano, represents the Virgin enthroned with the naked infant in benediction between S.S. Francis and Catherine. A Pieta and five saints fill the lunette. Three saints stand in a pilaster at each side, resting on a plinth in which is also a saint. In the predella between the two plinths are: the Last Supper, the martyrdom of S. Catherine and S. Francis receiving the Stigmata. The Virgin's throne rests on a sand-glass pedestal, and a scroll at its base reads thus:

"Marchus de Melotius Foroliviensis fatiebat, al temp. de frate Zorzo Guardiano del M° CCCCCI."

A peculiar monogram closes the inscription. The relation between this picture and the frescos in S. Biagio at Forli is obvious, in the rigidity and motionlessness of the figures, the angularity and hardness of the drawing, and the copious broken folds of the double draperies, whose Umbrian character is at the same time reminiscent of

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and Lorenzo di Credi. The colour is hard, reddish in the flesh tints, and of much body; and the architectural ornament is copious and tasteful. A tendency to roundness in the heads reveals an approximation to the painters of Treviso and Friuli, for instance to Cima da Conegliano.[1]

The second piece in the S. S. Annunziata or Carmine of Forli is an apotheosis of S. Anthony the abbot, enthroned in a portico between SS. John the Baptist and Sebastian. The throne on which the saint stands is similar in general shape to that of the picture at Matellica and bears a scroll in its centre inscribed: "Marchus de Melotius, pictor forolivensis faciebat," with traces of the monogram.[2]

The proportions of the figures are undoubtedly good, yet their character is not different from that of the Madonna at Matellica.

The contradiction which the inscription on this altarpiece would introduce into the chronology of Melozzo's life, if it were assigned to him, has been remarked by the last commentators of Vasari who settle the matter summarily by altering the date from 1501 to 1491. Others have accepted the contradiction, and Signor Reggiani has gone so far in his eagerness to multiply examples of Melozzo that he introduced the signature "Marchus Melozii" in a Pieta originally forming part of an altarpiece in the Duomo of Forli, and now in the National Gallery.[3] Yet the altarpiece in the Duomo is proved to have been finished in 1506, and is signed. "Marcus Palmezanus faciebat."

The finest picture given to Melozzo, however, is the Virgin and child seated on a sand-glass pedestal, be-

[1] The mantle of the Virgin is scraped, but otherwise the piece is fairly preserved. The predella scenes are animated in composition.

[2] On a scroll affixed to a pilaster on the left, the restorer has signed his name "G. Reggiani foroliviense". His restoration is bad, and parts are threatening to drop. The draperies of the principal figure are repainted.

[3] This piece now numbered 596, in our National Gallery, is properly classed as a work by Palmezzano. It passed from the hands of M^r. Reggiani to those of Mess^rs. Sismondi in Rome and was there

tween the standing S.S. Michael and James the less in the Orfanotrofio delle Michelline at Faenza. A landscape is seen through the open lodge in which the Virgin is enthroned. A warrior on horseback, an apparition of S. Michael on mount Gargano are in its foreground and distance, to the left. Two saints are in rear to the right. In the lunette, the Eternal appears amongst angels. The richness of architecture in particoloured marbles, the octogon pedestal resting on pillars and filled with diamond ornaments as in the Ferrarese school, the tracery on friezes are characteristic of Palmezzano. The infant Christ is the counterpart of those bearing scrolls in the chapel at S. Biagio of Forlì, but the figures generally are more pleasing, and have less defects than are usual in the average of Palmezzano's Madonnas. The colour is of high body, and handled with ease. Yet the reddish general tone peculiar to the master is everywhere perceptible.[1] This fine] roduction was ordered of Palmezzano on the 12th of June 1497, by the prior of the company of S. Michelino of Faenza, and on the 16th of March 1500 the painter gave a discharge for sixty ducats for his labour.[2] All the pictures enumerated in the foregoing pages have been assigned to Melozzo of Forlì on the obvious ground of their superior excel-

held to be by Melozzo. The signature Marchus Melozzii, painted in by Mr. Reggiani has been removed.

[1] The Eternal in the lunette is of inferior execution to the rest. Four vertical splits stopped with colour spoil the heads of the saints at the sides and other parts. The flesh tints have also been retouched in some places.

[2] "12. Junii 1497. Mag. Antonius ol. Santis a credentiis et Mag. Ant. ol. Siverii Maneghelle priores societatis S. Michilini de Faven. dederunt M. Marco qd. Antonii palmezani de forlivio pictori unam tabulam altaris dicte societatis ad pingendum coloribus finis et fino auro et cum oleo in qua tabula sint figure glor. Virginis in medio, a laterib. figure Sči Michaelis et Sči Jacobi minoris, et in supratondo dei patris ornati Seraphinis. Et talis pictura facta sit per totum mensem aprilis prox futuri. Et ita predicta omnia promisit observare M. Marcus. Et pro pretio promiserunt dicti priores dare et solvere eidem ducatos sexaginta vel equivalentem in auro quantitatem, de quibus ducatis LX dictus M. Marcus pro... confẽsus est habuisse ducatos viginti. Ego Bartholomeus olim fris Philippi de Taurellis not fav." The discharge dated March 16. 1500, runs as follows: "Cancellatum fuit presens instrum. debiti ducatorum 60 de Mandato dicti M. Marci et ad in-

lence when compared with the general series of Palmezzano's works. But this ground is removed when it appears that the best of these choice examples is not by Melozzo, but by his pupil. The contract for the Madonna of Faenza is therefore of value as it proves the ability of Palmezzano in 1497, and justifies the presumption that having worked long under Melozzo, his best efforts are due to the period immediately succeeding that master's death. It is evident at the same time that Marco was willing at first to rest his chance of fame upon the acknowledged fact that he was Melozzo's pupil; and hence the custom of signing his earlier works "Marcus de Melotius." During thirty seven years of the sixteenth century he painted a great number of pictures, all of them in oil and now scattered throughout the galleries of Europe. They have all the same general character, reminding one fundamentally of Melozzo, frequently of the Umbrian school and of Pinturicchio, casually of the Lombards and of the Luini, and in landscapes, of Cima whose clear atmosphere, however, they do not rival. Marco's portrait was till lately in possession of the Palmezzani family, and is now in the Pinacoteca of Forli with the inscription: "Marchus Palmezanus nob. forol. semet. pinxit octava ætatis sua 1536." It is the likeness of a white-haired, aged man, smiling open mouthed, in a white shirt and black dress, with pallet and brush in hand, heavily painted in tones now dulled by time. His bony face shows a good humoured vulgarity, but reveals vigour remarkable in a man of eighty as the inscription purports him to be. If indeed we interpret the word *octava* in the above sense, we find that Palmezzano was born in 1456.

stantiam dictor. M. Antonii Maneghelle et M. Antonii Santis quia fuit confessus se esse integre satisfact. et solut. et etiam de omni pictura facta hac usque in Societati sči Michaelis &c. Act faven. in domo mei not. present. Petro babini armaroli et Antonio M. Andree ab armis test. Ego Bartolom. de Taurellis rogatus scripti et cancellavi." This extract was made for the authors by Don Marciolo Valgimile of Forli, from the contract in the Archivio Notarile at Faenza; but the piece has been printed in the Calendario Faentino for 1857.

His works may be classed as follows:

Forli. S. Biagio in S. Girolamo. In the fourth chapel, to the right of the entrance to this church, is an altarpiece of the Virgin and child on a throne, in front of which an angel plays the guitar. A scroll on the throne bears the words "Marchus Palmizãus pictor foroliviẽsis faciebat." To the left kneel a man and a child, to the right a female and a child. Flavio Biondo[1] and Buriel[2] pretend that these are portraits of Girolamo Riario, Caterina Sforza and their children, but Reggiani[3] thinks they are members of the Acconzi family, patrons of the chapel in which the picture is situated. The sides of the centre piece contain S.S. Catherine of Alexandria, Domenico, Anthony of Padua and Sebastian. A predella is filled by small figures of Christ, apostles, and saints. The date of 1486, given to this altarpiece, is conjectural. It is not a fine picture, but of paltry and dry execution with considerable flatness. It may be doubted whether the work be by Palmezzano in person, the domed ceiling of the chapel being decorated with wall paintings by men of his school.

Milan. Brera. No. 103. A nativity. The child on straw is adored by the Virgin; and S. Joseph sits on the opposite side. The magi and shepherds are seen approaching from the distance. This is an abraded and restored picture with a mutilated inscription of a suspicious character on a scroll as follows: "Marchus Palmizanns forolivens . . . fecierunt MCCCCLXXXXII." The piece is, however, quite in Palmezzano's manner.

Milan. Brera. No. 127. The Virgin and child enthroned between S.S. John the Baptist, Peter, Dominick and Mary Magdalen; distance a landscape. A modern inscription in capitals reads: "Marchus Palmezzanus foroliviense fecerunt MCCCCLXXXXIII." The picture is pretty and treated like a tempera, but has been restored in former times in the figures of the Virgin and S. Dominick. The date may be incorrect.

These two pieces are the only ones in which the strange word "fecerunt" occurs, but in both cases the inscriptions appear to have been tampered with.

Same gallery. No. 166. A coronation of the Virgin on a high pedestal. Two angels play on each side. In front are

[1] Ital. illust. p.p. 242. 248. 258. ap. Casali. Guida di Forli. 12°. 1838. p. 85.

[2] Vita di Caterina Sforza. Bologna. 1795. Tom. III. p. 857.

[3] ub. sup. p. 44.

two kneeling monks, half the size of life; and on a scroll the words:

. . . . Palmizanus da Forli" The picture is pretty and in the Umbrian character.

Berlin Museum. No. 1129. Christ crowned with thorns and carrying his cross. A fine creation of Palmezzano in which the type is reminiscent of those of the Leonardesque school copied by the Cotignola and others. It is inscribed: "Marchus Palmezzanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat M.CCCCCIII."

Forli Pinacoteca. Christ giving the communion to the apostles, with the inscription in front: "Marchus Palmizanus faciebat." The scene is laid in a lodge through which one sees Satan in pilgrim's garb, tempting Christ. On the right, the Saviour erect gives the host to a kneeling apostle, whilst the rest are in similar attitudes on the left. S. John Evangelist stands with the cup in rear of the Redeemer. Some hardness and rigidity may be noticed in this picture, but the character, types, and execution are similar to those in the wallpainting at S. Biagio and Loreto. This piece was noticed by Vasari in the Cathedral of Forli, where it once stood and was assigned in his first edition to Rondinelli. (Vasari Vol. XI. p. 93.)

London, National gallery. N. 596. Pieta. Lunette of the foregoing, a fine work. The whole piece is noticed in Albertini's MS. Chronicle and described there as placed on the altar in 1506.

Dublin, National gallery. Late Bromley collection. The Virgin and child enthroned between S.S. John the Baptist, and Lucy with an angel in front of the throne playing a guitar, inscribed: " Marcus Palmezzanus pictor foroliviensis MCCCCCVIII."

Munich gallery, Saal. 541. Virgin and child on the usual pedestal between S.S. Peter, Francis, Anthony the Hermit and Paul, with an angel playing in front, a fine picture inscribed on a scroll: "Marcus Palmezanus p. Forolivianus faciebat. 1513."

Berlin Museum. Not exhibited, but catalogued in the catalogue of 1830. Christ erect in front of the cross, inscribed: "Marchus Palmezzanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat MCCCCCXV."

Ravenna. Palazzo Rasponi. Christ, (life size) on a pedestal, raises one hand high in benediction, an angel playing at the base, and S.S. Roch and Sebastian at the sides, the whole under a portico through which a landscape and two hermits are seen. This is a fine picture of the master, of

a dull yellowish but well fused colour, the Christ reminiscent of the Luini, inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor forolivensis faciebat MCCCCCXXIII." The date may be 1524. We need but mention by the way a Pieta here assigned to Mel zzo, all but a copy of a splendid Bellini (Gio.) falsely attributed to Mantegna in the Vatican.

England. R. P. Nichols Esq. No. 315 at Manchester. Baptism of Christ with a figure to the left bending to adjust his dress; inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis fatiebat 1534."

A copy of the foregoing with a variation in the nude figure dressing is in possession of Signor Casali at Forli inscribed: Marchus de Melotius pictor foroliviensis faciebat."

Forli. Pinacoteca. From the suppressed church della Missione. Christ going to Calvary, and carrying his cross (four life size bust figures). The Saviour's type reminds one of those of the Leonardesque school. The colour is reddish and hard, and the faces of the attendant figures are vulgar; inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat MCCCCCXXXV.

Faenza. Municipal gallery. The same subject turned in the opposite direction, not signed.

Rome. Museum of S. Giov. Laterano. Virgin and child under a colonnade, from the key of which a lamp is suspended, S.S. John the Baptist, Francis, Anthony the Abbot and Dominick at the sides, on a scroll the words; "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat MCCCCCXXXVII." Although type and form are not pleasing, the picture is good and shows no decline of power.

Same Museum. Virgin and child on the usual quaint pedestal between S.S. John the Baptist and Jerom, with an angel in front playing the viol. The scene is laid in a much ornamented colonnade, the execution, as before, in oil, much stippled. The piece is injured, however, and a scroll originally inscribed is now bare.

Bologna. Galleria Ercolani. Another picture is here, dated 1537, of which the notes have been mislaid by the authors.

Forli. Chiesa dell' Annunziata vulgo Carmine. In the choir of the church is a fine altarpiece injured by repainting in the shadows, representing the annunciation. The Virgin seated before a little desk is surprised at the appearance of the angel kneeling before her. The types, the draperies are amongst the best of the master. A landscape without much

atmosphere is seen through an arcade in front of which is a garland of Seraphim. A scroll on a column to the left is bare.

Forli. S. Maria de' Servi, vulgo S. Pellegrino. Sacristy. A small annunciation like the foregoing and of the same beauty, inscribed: "Marchus Palmizanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat."

Forli. S. Mercuriale, Cappella de' Ferri. An altarpiece, in its frame of the period, representing the conception of the Virgin. Mary kneels on the right with S. Stephen behind her, on the left a child kneeling, S. Rufillus, repainted in the seventeenth century as S. Barbatian, and S. Mercuriale. In the upper corner to the left, the Eternal appears amidst Seraphim and reminds the beholder of a similar type by Pinturicchio in the frescos of Spello. In a lunette, Christ rises from the tomb, and the guard in foreshortened attitude sleep in front; the execution being reminiscent of that of Cima and the Bellini. Two prophets occupy medallions in the angles of the square circumscribing the lunette at the Virgin's feet. A scroll bears the words: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat," and the monogram. The predella is divided into four parts containing S. Peter and a monk, the salutation, the martyrdom of S. Stephen and S. Paul, and an anchorite. The altarpiece is painted in a dry dull manner, and is coldly worked out. The predella however, in the Umbrian style, is amongst the best creations of Palmezzano.

Forli. Same church. Fourth chapel to the right of the portal. Virgin and child between S. Catherine of Alexandria and another saint, with a landscape distance. This is not one of the fine productions of Marco. It is thin in colour and painted alla prima, inscribed: "Marchus Palmezanus pictor foroliviensis faciebat."

Forli. Same church. Third chapel to the right of the portal. The crucifixion, S. Giovanni Gualberto presenting a kneeling soldier, the Magdalen to the right, and a landscape. This is a much injured picture, in which the head of the Magdalen is new. The colour is of a dull purple and opaque, yet there is no other difference between it and a genuine Palmezzano than inferior execution. A scroll bears the mutilated inscription: "Marchus pictor fu."

Forli. S. Trinita della Torre. In the style and character of the foregoing is a Virgin and child between saints in the sacristy of this church, a feeble piece apparently by a pupil and inscribed on a scroll: "Marchus . . . pictor de for . .

facie . . . M." Casali's Guido di Forli (ub. sup. p. 19.) gives the inscription as follows: "Marchus Valerius Morolinus de Forliviensis faciebat MDIII." The inscription of the crucifixion he also gives thus: "Marchus . . . a . . . e . . . is li . . . dri . . . MC" He adds „the painter here named is not otherwise known." The words on the scroll of the Madonna in S. Trinita are uncertain. The name of Valerius may have been there. But we must be cautious at Forli, for we have seen how pictures are tampered with there. Still if we assume Marcus Valerius Morolinus as a conventional name for inferior works in Palmezzano's school, we may place the two foregoing in that class.

Forli. S. Antonio Abate. Half length of the Virgin's meeting with S. Elizabeth, not without merit.

Forli. Pinacoteca. Virgin and child, and S. Joseph. A bare scroll is on the front of the picture, which has less the character of Palmezzano than of his school.

Berlin Museum. No. 1087. A Virgin and child between S.S. Barbara and Jerom, almost a monochrome. The usual pedestal and colonnade are in this piece which is inscribed: "Marcus Palmezzanus Pinctor m."

England. Late Lord Northwick's collection. No. 145, at the Manchester Exhibition under the name of Raphael. Incredulity of S. Thomas: to the right, S. Anthony of Padua presenting a kneeling patron; originally in the Solly collection where it was called a Perugino, this is a fine work by Palmezzano.

At Forli, a S. Jerom signed "Marchus Palmezzanus MCCCCCXXXIII." is but a poor copy.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1008. Crucifixion, inscribed "Marchus Palmizanus forlivensis faciebat."

CHAPTER XXIV.

GIOVANNI SANTI.

We are indebted to the industry and zeal of men of the present century for the most precious details respecting the life and works of the father of Raphael. Seldom has it been the fortune of a youth bred to art in the atelier of his father, to grow and flourish in the paternal profession with such luxuriance that his fame has obscured that of his progenitor. History but too frequently records examples in which the progeny is content with the laurels of its ancestors and consents to the happy ease of mediocrity. But, if Giovanni Santi has been rescued from oblivion, because we like to trace the smallest particularities connected with the rise and progress of Raphael, it would be an error to suppose that this is his sole claim to the attention of historians.

Giovanni Santi was one of the men who contributed to the brilliancy of the constellation in which Piero della Francesca, Signorelli and Melozzo shone with such conspicuous prominence; and we know enough of his career and influence to be able to affirm that their omission would form a very sensible gap in the sum total of elements out of which the talent of Raphael was formed.

We shall first endeavour to extract from the minute narratives of Pungileoni and Passavant the few facts which are of special interest. Giovanni's grandfather Peruzzolo was married and settled at Colbordolo in the country of Urbino in 1418. His small property in land and houses having been plundered and burnt by Sigismund Malatesta in 1446, the family wandered in 1450 to

the capital of Urbino, where a house, hired from the brotherhood of S. M. della Misericordia, sheltered them. Sante, Giovanni's father, succeeded, on the death of Peruzzolo, to a huckster and general dealer's business,[1] which prospered with him so that he was enabled to purchase lands of some value in 1457 and 1461, and in 1464 to buy a double house in the Contrada del Monte at Urbino famous now as the birth place of Raphael. Giovanni Santi alludes to the vicissitudes which his family underwent, in a dedicatory epistle, written towards the close of his life to Guidubaldo of Montefeltro, describing the paternal homestead devoured by fire, the loss of substance and the struggles of the succeeding time. He was not bred to art, he admits, but, "having tried various ways of getting a livelihood, he gave himself up at last to the wonderful art of painting, of which he does not disdain to be called a follower."[2] It is still a question when he began that art and under whom he learnt it. We have not to recapitulate how the Dukes of Urbino fostered architecture, sculpture, and painting in their capital, or to enumerate afresh the artists who laboured there. We do not know the date of Giovanni Santi's birth; but we infer from the vivid memory which he had of the sack of Colbordolo, that in 1446 he was of an age to realize the terrors of the siege and of the cruelties which accompanied it. Raphael was born in the house which his grandfather Sante had purchased in 1464; and it may therefore be presumed that Giovanni Santi lived and kept shop in common with his father. We are induced to think that he had some standing as a painter in Urbino when Paolo Uccelli appeared in 1468, and when the company of the Corpus Domini charged him with the defraying of expenses attending the stay of Piero della Francesca in 1469. That his own talents were considered subordinate to theirs might be deduced from their em-

[1] Sante, Giovanni's father, is called "triculus" a huckster in a record of May 1460. ap. Pungileoni. Elogio Stor. di Gio. Santi, ub. sup. p. 129.

[2] See the dedicatory epistle in

ployment, to his exclusion. But that he felt no jealousy of Piero is apparent from his accepting, as it were, the office of his host.[1] Who indeed can tell whether earlier ties had not already existed between them? Who can say whether Melozzo of Forli, at one time clearly under the direction of Piero, had not sounded in Giovanni's ear the praises of his master? Melozzo, "so dear to Santi," is not known to have lived in Urbino or even to have visited it. Yet where else can the two men have met? It may be that Santi, like most painters, wandered from place to place. It has been suggested that he might have accompanied Federigo of Urbino (1468) to Milan,[2] but it is not ascertained that he was ever in the service of that prince,[3] nor was a single work of his produced without the Duchy. But Urbino, during the reign of Federigo, was a city in which a man of parts had every chance of successfully developing his faculties. The biographer Vespasian has left a minute description of the transactions of that reign. He has sketched the daily life in the city; and it is impossible to imagine one in which despotism assumed a paternal and patriarchal aspect under more singular circumstances. We may conceive a mountain chieftain at the head of his clan, personally acquainted with every member of it, awarding praise or preferment to the obedient, chastising the unruly, by all equally beloved. But we connect this mutual relation of a ruler and his people with primitive habits and the rudeness of uncivilized ages. At Urbino, Federigo stood in the position of a father to the people of the town and its neigh-

full in Gaye, Carteggio. Vol. I. p.p. 348 and following.

[1] See antea P. della Francesca.

[2] Santi describes this journey in the 91st cap. of his Rhyme chron. see Dennistoun and Pungileoni. But there is no part of his narrative that he might not have had from hearsay, for instance from the relations of Paltroni, secretary to the Duke and his patron. Indeed in the Rhyme chronicle itself he admits (ap. Pung.) that he had often read Paltroni's life of Federigo.

[3] He is, however, called "molto virtuoso" in a letter of recommendation written for Raphael by Giovanna della Rovere. See later, and consult the various lives of Raphael.

bourhood, holding an open audience to all comers, joining the crowd of the market place, at home in every man's house. But he was surrounded at the same time by artists, by men of science and of letters, who shared his favour with the captains of his council in the field. We can fully understand how Giovanni Santi should have risen in purpose and in thought above the level of his father's shop, when the atmosphere of the city was redolent with breezes from a higher sphere; how, mixing with a society which so completely eschewed exclusiveness, he should gradually feel the incentives to improvement in the pursuit of art and of letters. For Giovanni Santi was not only an artist of fair attainments; he had the ambition of being thought a poet; and his rhyme chronicle, so often quoted in these pages, is just such a production as might issue from one who feels impulsively, and who sometimes happily clothes his thoughts in language; but who lacked completely the education required for correct writing.

It is unfortunate for the true judgment of Santi's career that we should possess no early examples of his manner; but we may conjecture that he had fully completed his pictorial education when he was commissioned by Piero Tiranni to decorate a chapel in S. Giovanni Battista, now S. Domenico, of Cagli. The pictorial ornaments of this place have generally been attributed to a later time; and Pungileoni has been followed by most subsequent writers in an assertion, for which he gives no proofs, namely that the cappella Tiranni was painted in 1492. The truth is that some at least of the frescos in S. Domenico of Cagli were painted in 1482, and it is fair to suppose that the rest date from the same period.

Pietro Tiranni was of a patrician family in Cagli, and was attached to the court of Urbino, where he held (1502) the office of chancellor or secretary to Federigo's daughter Giovanna della Rovere.[1] The loss of his wife broke up their

[1] Pungileoni Elog. Stor. di Gio. Santi. p. 114.

home at Cagli in 1481; but he signalized his fondness for his lost partner in an affectionate epitaph; his taste, by choosing Bramante to carve her funeral urn, and Santi to paint the wall against which it is erected. Whilst Pietro exhausts his power of language in the words of the epitaph: "non fuit uxori castê carior alter, gratior et conjux non fuit ulla Viro", his sorrow is symbolized in Santi's fresco of the Redeemer up to his middle in the tomb, grieving and attended by S.S. Jerome and Buonaventura. The marble urn containing the ashes of the departed lady is placed in front of the fresco which was clearly first completed; and on the plinth is the inscription which concludes with the words: "Baptistê conjugi Pientiss. Pe. Callen. S. D. MCCCCLXXXI."[1] A mournful interest is created by the expression in the Redeemer's head, whose face, however, is of a bony Umbrian type, somewhat marred by a large nose. His frame is lean and square, searchingly anatomized. Overweight of head is noticeable in S. Buonaventura. The hands are unwrought as we are accustomed to see them in the works of Melozzo, the heads well defined with a slightly abrupt passage from light to shadow, and the latter darkly stippled up to the edge of the outline. The general tone is a liquid water colour, of a brown grey yellow.[2]

It is difficult to trace a difference of period between this fresco, which is obviously by Gio. Santi, and the wallpaintings of the adjacent chapel. That sacred space, indeed, is said to have been erected and endowed by Pietro Tiranni in memory of his lost wife;[3] and hence it may be supposed to have been decorated shortly after her death. Its architecture, assigned to Bramante and worthy of his

[1] The whole epitaph is as follows:

"Hoc sita sum tumulo viridi Baptista sub Evo.
Rapta.... quondam gloria summa mei.
Non fuit uxori caste vir carior alter,
Gratior et conjux non fuit ullo viro.
Vivere proh! Superi cornicis sêcula longa
Debuimus tanto sic in amore pares.
Baptistê conjugi Pientiss. Pe. Callen. S. D. MCCCCLXXXI."

[2] The blue background has fallen out and is now red.

[3] We are indebted for this statement to Signor Buonfatti of Gubbio.

fame, is beautiful, being a simple arch resting on columns and square pillars, and the front being adorned with parti-coloured marbles and a frieze in dead colour. Two medallions at the upper angles of the front are filled with the Virgin and angel annunciate. In the vaulting, the Redeemer gives the benediction, angels, in prayer, or playing divers instruments, seraphs, are about him. The two subjects of the Resurrection and the Virgin enthroned amidst saints fill the lunette and wall below it. But the painter and the architect clearly understood each other; and Santi endeavours to increase the depth of the chapel by producing the lines of the real entablature into his picture according to the laws of perspective. He thus simulates a beautiful stone court, above which an opening discloses a rocky foreground, and a distance of hill and vale. In this opening, the Saviour has risen from the tomb, a conical mound, whose door yawns directly behind him. He advances with the banner in his hand, giving a blessing, whilst the guards sleep all round him, lying, sitting, or leaning back, in various attitudes. Below this scene, the Virgin sits in a beautiful stone-tabernacle holding the infant, erect and all but naked, to the adoration of two angels and four saints at her sides. It is not possible, when contemplating the Saviour advancing out of the tomb to divest one's mind from memories of Melozzo da Forli, whose defect of rigidity appears to have passed to Santi. Nor is it less remarkable to notice in the exaggerated swing which the painter has given in a certain stiff way to the figure, the germ of a peculiarity which became developed in the later Umbrians, and is visible in the works of Alunno.[1] The fine and well foreshortened forms of the soldiers produce much the same impression as that of the Redeemer. There is something Mantegnesque in the creation of at least one of them, a certain affectation in the arrangement of the place and attitude

[1] We shall have occasion to show that the influence of Alunno here has been greatly overcharged.

of the remainder; but one, seated with his head and elbows on his knee, is graceful, and seems to foreshadow the coming of Raphael.

The old Umbrian tenderness and grace reign in the group of the Virgin and child in spite of some squareness in the shape and pose of the latter. The youthful angel on the left, looking on with his arms crossed, reveals a fine Raphaelesque type, a juvenile face encircled with chestnut locks; and the draperies, improved from those of Melozzo, have some Umbrian character. This very youthfulness and grace are no doubt the sole grounds for the statement that Santi here depicted his own son. The bowing angel in prayer on the opposite side is less fine and more immediately derived from Melozzo. S. Peter on the extreme left, distantly suggests by his movement the grandeur of similar figures in the masterpieces of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael; a figure somewhat square of head, but pregnant with such character as, simplified and remodelled, might serve to embody the talents of greater men of a later time. There is less to be said of the S. Francis at S. Peter's side, or of S. Thomas Aquinas,[1] behind the Baptist to the right of the Virgin. But S. John is a repetition, as to pose and action, of the Saviour in the lunette, with such changes of raiment and of features as the nomenclature required, but, if stripped of its externals, taken from the same model. Yet even in this artless repetition one traces the existence of a correct experience in Santi as regards perspective; for the Redeemer is properly foreshortened to suit the position he holds, and the Baptist is drawn correctly on the level of the plane of the picture. Meanwhile we must not omit to notice the open eyes and mouths, the high bony forehead and balled nose, the wig, which detract from the dignity of S. John's aspect; nor shall we fail to observe that the attitude is at once rigid and strained after the custom of Melozzo,

[1] There is no doubt that this figure represents S. Thomas Aquinas. The Sun, which is his special symbol, forms a broach to his dress.

or that the drawing generally has the hard dryness peculiar to him and to Palmezzano. The traces of Melozzo's influence on Santi are, however, most visible in the Christ who gives the benediction in the vaulting, and in the angels who surround him. It is in the aged type of this figure and the foreshortened aspect of the whole that we trace an exact resemblance to similar creations in the frescos of the S. S. Apostoli at Rome.

The entire series, however, more or less discloses the same general characteristics, dry, hard drawing, absence of half tints or reflections, untrimmed and often coarse forms;[1] draperies of a good intention, a little festooned and full perhaps, but Peruginesque in fold, a cold general local tone, grey half tints, red shadows and white lights, the planes of tone being defined with Mantegnesque precision, and the inky shadows stippled up to the outlines. Remarkable correctness may be noted in the reproduction of projected shadows.[2]

Santi does not approve himself a genius of the highest order, but he shows at Cagli a respectable proficiency. The mysteries of the science of architecture and perspective are known to him, which is no small merit if we consider that the old schools of Gubbio and Fabbriano were ignorant of the scientific progress of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, it is not surprising that he should have mastered so much, if we suppose him to have meditated the examples of Melozzo. These indeed would have sufficed even if Santi had also had the advantage of analysing the works, if not of forming an acquaintance with the person, of Mantegna. It has been suggested that the two artists may have met at Mantua; but we know of no occasion on which Santi should have

[1] The hands are particularly so, a defect noticeable in Palmezzano and sometimes to be found even in Raphael.

[2] Changing hues with cold shadow predominate in the vestments. A panel representing S. Francis in contemplation still exists in Casa Brancaleone at Cagli. (It is already noticed by Pungileoni Elog. Stor. di Gio. Santi. ub. sup. p. 43.) Though assigned to Santi, it is an inferior production of a later hand.

had a chance to visit that city except in 1486 when Guidubaldo of Montefeltro was betrothed to Elizabeth Gonzaga; and at that time his style had long been developed to its final growth. There was something of the Mantegnesque too in Melozzo, and it was his style which superseded that of Pietro and Julian of Rimini, of Antonio da Ferrara, Octaviano Martini Nelli and the brothers S. Severino, along the Adriatic coasts. In considering art with reference to perspective, we must recollect also that that science, greatly illustrating the Paduan school under the skilful pupil of Squarcione, was not confined to one city in the North of Italy; that it owed much of its progress to the efforts of Uccelli, Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, Melozzo, and Palmezzano; and that being immutable it would show itself under similar aspects in the various places in which it assumed an equal development. We are too apt to make certain features derivative from a peculiar quarter, without considering that similar ones might characterize schools at a distance from each other, the real cause of certain resemblances of style arising perhaps less from contact, than from the common use of principles invariable as axioms, and which, once acknowledged, spread like light, and naturally create a common impress. We must not therefore too hastily assume that one painter like Mantegna influenced Santi more than others, although we know that for that master he had a special reverence.[1] We must rather believe that Uccelli, Piero della Francesca, and Melozzo, who incarnates the same qualities in a broad sense, had an equal share in forming his style. We do not know Angelico's picture at Foiano which is said to have had its influence on Santi; but we are well acquainted with his style as well as with that of Gentile da Fabriano; and it must be submitted, with all deference, that Santi left them totally unheeded.

Whilst forming himself on the model of Melozzo as is so apparent in the frescos of Cagli, Santi retained

[1] See the Rhyme chron.

an Umbrian fibre, in the feeling for tenderness and grace which pervades his works and which passed from him to his son. The presence of this feeling in all, but especially in later, works shows indeed that Santi had analyzed the creations of Pietro Perugino. A tempera picture on canvass representing the enthroned S. Jerom, originally in S. Bartolo of Pesaro,[1] but now in the museum of S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome, is a remarkable example of the affinity of the two painters at one time. The bearded saint in a niche with pen and book, is delineated, as to form and draperies, with less power, but with many of the characteristic features of Perugino's manner. Angels in flight above the principal figure, rival in softness of expression similar ones by the great Umbrian. The drawing reveals conscientious care; and the greyish tone of the whole piece is not unpleasant. It is clear indeed that Santi was more at home in the old system of tempera than in the more difficult one of the innovators.[2]

That Santi laboured at Pesaro, and left his mark there, is proved by traces of the extension of his manner to inferior artists whose productions are still extant.[3] Nor is the picture of Pesaro a solitary one of its class; another of the same character, representing the Virgin and child, is in the gallery of Count Mazza at Ferrara, lamentably injured, it is true, but still interesting.[4]

[1] Pungileoni, Elog. Stor. di Gio. Santi. ub. sup. p. 9.

[2] The picture which is on canvass is signed on the step of the throne "Johannes Santis de Urbino". A lion on the saint's right is repainted. In the distance, S. Jerom prays before the crucifix.

[3] A marriage of S. Catherine, on an altar in S. Domenico of Pesaro, is a proof of this. The group of the Virgin and child giving the ring to S. Catherine is inclosed between S.S. John Evangelist and Thomas Aquinas. This is a somewhat rough tempera piece completed after the death of Gio. Santi in the general character of his and the Umbrian school.

A production of the same class is a life size Virgin, child, and donatrix, originally a church standard, in S. Girolamo of Urbino, inscribed: "1512 questa f. f. la moglie di M°. G. Batista Gonella." The whole of this picture is injured, and the blue of the Virgin's mantle has been scraped off.

[4] The Virgin, half length, supports the naked infant on a stone projection and looks at it with

A masterpiece, however, in which Santi exhibits Umbrian feeling allied to improved execution, is the Madonna and Saints in the church of the Hospital of S. Croce at Fano. Its principal group of the Virgin complacently watching the veiled infant, in benediction on her knee, charms by greater sweetness and maternity than that of Cagli,[1] embodies some Peruginesque feeling, and discloses Santi's progress towards the creation of those chastened and sensitive models which assumed a shape so beautiful when finally perfected by Raphael. A better and broader style of drapery adds to the effect produced; and the untrimmed hands alone remind us that Santi cannot divest himself of characteristic traits derived from his connection with Melozzo.

Two most pleasing types are those of the seraphs whose winged necks support the poles of the red tapestry on which the Virgin and child are relieved. A fine apparition is that of S. Macarius immediately to the left of the Virgin and partly concealed by the pendent tapestry. S. Helen at his side, in diadem, veil, and imperial purple, is noble in aspect as, enveloped in broad, but perhaps too copious draperies, she points to the cross in her left hand. There is something Florentine in her face and figure which indeed are superior in style to many by Cosimo Rosselli. The Mantegnesque principles of Melozzo are apparent on the other hand in the heavy and weighty frame, in the upturned head, of S. Sebastian to the right of the central group. Yet this mode of foreshortening a face is evidently the suggestion to Raphael of many subsequent delineations of the same kind. S. Roch by S. Sebastian's side points to the plague boil on his thigh, but the hat, the tights and buskins are not more dignified than the strained attitude repeated from that of the Baptist at Cagli.

This piece is carried out on the new system of oil colour in the manner common to Palmezzano, ex. gr. of a

maternal affection. A blue tapestry is behind the group and the distance is a landscape.

[1] The infant holds a pink in its left hand. A coral necklace is about its neck.

low red but translucid impasto of much consistency, and of a high surface in the shadows. The viscous nature of the medium is betrayed in the abruptness of the passages from light to shadow.[1] The design is precise as before, but in blocks like that of Melozzo, form being realized by the meeting of outlines at angles, and assuming for this reason a broken aspect.

A less pleasing picture in S. Maria Nuova, at Fano, represents the Visitation, and though much injured and embrowned by age, reveals Santi's conscientious drawing and types with more study of nature and intention of beauty than successful realization of it. Flatness and coldness of general tone, absence of atmosphere and more than the usual rigidity and hardness of outline, contribute to the comparative inferiority of this work which, however, is like its companion at the hospital, authenticated by Santi's own signature.[2]

The examples of Cagli, Pesaro, and Fano, already afford facilities for a general analysis of Santi's power and style. His colour is marked by the defects peculiar in Melozzo's frescos, and conspicuous in all the productions of Palmezzano. A dull leaden tone of equal flatness pervades his panel pieces which are painted at one gush and finished without glazes, but stippled, and therefore higher in surface, in shadow than in light.

It has been usual amongst a certain class of critics to

[1] A landscape of a dull reddish tone, a light sky with white clouds form the background. One may note how the hair is lined in wavy streaks on a general undertone; and on the front of the step on which the Virgin's feet repose, one reads: "Johañes Santis urbi p."

[2] The Virgin and Elizabeth are in the centre of the picture, the followers of each grouped behind them in a landscape receding to high hills, and near a house. A long vertical split cuts the picture behind the Virgin and injures the face of a standing S. Joseph. The best figure is the slender one of Mary, whose face is marked by a round projecting forehead, and chin. Elizabeth is conceived as to features, more in the spirit of Piero della Francesca. The colour is translucid as before and of high surface in shadow. On a scroll in the centre of the foreground are the words: "Joannes Santis di Urbino pinxit." One marks in this piece the introduction of light reflections in the shadows.

assign some influence upon Santi in respect of technical methods to Justus of Ghent. We doubt this influence greatly, and one may submit, on the contrary, that this Fleming, who painted in a manner greatly inferior to that of the schools of Van Eyck and Antonello, was also much below Piero della Francesca. Yet even had Justus assisted Santi in the manner described, the honour accruing to him from this would be slight, inasmuch as Santi shared an unenviable defect with Melozzo and Palmezzano, and had no feeling for colour. He could fairly divide masses of light and shade, but he was no judge of true value of tone, and the total absence of atmosphere in his pictures proves that he was unable to aid the development of linear by aerial perspective.

The general quality of his figures is not perfect. They combine heaviness of frame and overweight of head with undue feebleness of limb. He galvanizes them into attitudes intended to indicate motion, but producing the effect of an academic pose. Their extremities are large and coarse. Their types are almost as motionless as their action, and derive little charm from the total exposure of the iris of eyes, the partial openings of mouths and the balled proportion of noses. A vast forehead and small round chin are peculiar to the Virgin, whose face is, however, pleasingly set off by an elegant trim of hair with plaits and veils. A longing for grace and tenderness in females is in Santi the heirloom of Umbrian painters. Draperies of surplus amplitude imitate the forms peculiar to Melozzo, and assume folds reminiscent of those of Perugino, but, although correct and elegant, they require simplification. Perspective is applied with scientific correctness to the foreshortening of the human body and to the projection of shadows.

As a painter Santi thus balances defects with great and important qualities. He is not without originality. He is aware of the progress made by the sciences applied to the art of his time, and he is not slow in making that progress subservient to his purpose. He combines in his

works germs of tenderness and grace, which verge upon affectation, but which still reveal the presence of a heart and genuine feeling in him, and explain the development of the same quality in a higher measure in his son. He was well qualified for the duties of a teacher, by his earnestness, his patience, his carefulness and conscientiousness, and it may readily be credited that, if Raphael had not lost his parent in tender years, he would have required no other master. It was fortunate indeed for him that, having been admirably taught, and having inherited from his father those treasures of grace which flowed so copiously in his manhood, he fell into the hands of Perugino, an artist rejoicing in many qualities that were deficient in Santi — a man who treated his pupil's tender and kindly temper with forbearance, and who helped him forward with paternal care, until such time as Florence, the Athens of Italy, should be open to him, and expand before his eager eyes the varied masterpieces which it contained. It must not be forgotten, however, that even before setting foot within the walls of the city which had witnessed the triumphs of Cimabue, Giotto, Masaccio, Angelico, and Ghirlandaio, Raphael had already imbibed that tincture of Florentine art which Santi had gained through the examples or precepts of Uccelli, Piero della Francesca, and Melozzo. The teaching of Santi was indeed of such paramount influence on the career of his son, that he more than once reproduced the paternal types and faces of children and angels with no other change apparent in them than that which naturally followed from the polish which he had gained, and the progress of the age. At the period of Raphael's birth in 1483 Santi's wife, Magia Ciarla, was, it may be conjectured, already mother of a son,[1] whose comely forms, if they but resembled those of his younger brother, might well inspire an affectionate father. In 1484, when Raphael was

[1] See Pungileoni who notes the existence of these children without giving the dates of their birth.

but a year old, Santi painted an altarpiece for the parish of Gradara, near Pesaro, in which the infant Saviour on the Virgin's knee is surprisingly like one of his son's creations, not only in type and outline, but in action. One may therefore say that he was born in the midst of the implements and models which were to be the familiar accompaniments of his existence.

Gradara is ten miles distant from Pesaro, on the Adriatic coast. The picture which adorns the altar of its church is very badly injured by the starting of the panel joints and the abrasion of several parts; but its life size figures are still attractive, and disclose more tender Umbrian feeling than do previous examples, and an advance towards the greater perfection of Raphael. Two cherubs support on their necks the pole of the tapestry which hangs behind the throne, and a third peeps over the centre of it, glancing at the Virgin seated below, and looking at the Saviour on her lap. He grasps a bird in his left hand,[1] and looks round at S. John the Baptist standing to the right, attended by S. Michael in scale armour, whilst S. Stephen and S. Sophia on the opposite side reverently look on. The natural liveliness of action in the handsome form of the infant is not less engaging than the meek but graceful movement of the Virgin, whose round and polished forehead, prim mouth and chin, and drooping eyelid, are equally pleasing and characteristic. The Saints in attendance partake of the general improvement, and are drawn with more than usual purity and elegance of line in hands, ancles, and feet. Even the Baptist, in whom Santi's usual defects are apparent, is more skilfully rendered than at Cagli. But the tone of the whole piece is still cold and grey in shadow.[2]

[1] As before a coral necklace is fast round the infant's neck.

[2] On the base of the throne which rests on a layer of rock, are the words: "Gradarie spectanda fuit impensa et industria viri d. Dominici de Domenicis vicarii anno D. MCCCCLXXXIIII die X. Aprilis, et per duos prius tempore. D. Jo. Caño. XPI. rectoris ecclie. Sophie. Joannes san. urb.

Whilst Santi was thus perfecting his style and necessarily increasing his fame, family cares impended over his house. His father died on the 2nd of August, his son, Raphael's brother, on the 20th of September 1485,— a double bereavement, hard for the feelings of a dutiful son and tender father. Then followed the formalities of a divided succession, from which Giovanni obtained as a share the paternal house and lands. But then, in Jan. 1485/1486, the date of administration to Sante's will,[1] Giovanni set up his own shop, in which, from that time forward, he carried on business after the approved fashion, undertaking orders not only for pictures and for tinting and gilding of reliefs and figures, but for candelabra and other articles more specially appertaining to the business of a goldsmith.[2]

Traces of artistic labours in the house in which we can now fancy Raphael the spoilt favorite of a fond mother, may still be found in one of the rooms in which Santi's daily work was apparently carried on. A fresco on the wall, much injured by time, but whose outlines are still visible, shows us the Virgin in profile, seated, with a book on a little desk before her, and pressing to her bosom the sleeping infant, whose head reposes on its arms. Originally a beautiful conception, it is even now one of the sweetest and most endearing groups that Santi ever carried out.[3] One might almost fancy that Magia Ciarla sat in the room with her infant son, and was thus drawn from life by Santi. The sentiment of our day asserts

pinxit." The distance is one of landscape and hills, and meadow in front. The sky is injured, parts are scaled out in all directions; and two vertical splits divide the forms of the Baptist and injure the opposite group of S.S. Stephen and Sophia. The nonogon shield of S. Michael is admirably ornamented.

[1] Pungileoni, Elog. Stor. di Gio. Santi, ub. sup. p. 130.

[2] There are items in the books of the Company of the Corpus Domini at Urbino showing dealings with Giov. Santi for gold leaf, and manufacture of candlesticks in 1486, 1487 and 1493. Pungileoni, ub. sup. p.p. 114. 115.

[3] It has been assigned to Ra-

this indeed to be a fact, and thus transforms an amiable presumption into a concrete fact.

We may judge of Santi's social position, at this time in Urbino, from circumstantial evidence. When he married, he became connected with the family of Battista Ciarla, a comparatively wealthy merchant, whose relations in the city of his residence might be of great use to a struggling painter. So it proved, indeed; for Santi successively painted altarpieces for the chapel of Luca Zaccagna,[1] Magia's brother by marriage, and for that of Gaspar Buffi, an intimate friend of Luca. Zaccagna, on his deathbed in March 1489, appointed Santi his executor, together with Buffi, the advocate Gini, and Count Ottaviano Ubaldini.[2] Santi was also on terms of friendship with Pier Antonio Paltroni, secretary and privy councillor to Federigo di Montefeltro, from whom his father Sante had bought land in 1457, and in whose house, Giovanni admits, that he had often had occasion to read the details of the great Duke's career, Paltroni having written a copious narrative of it.[3] For this nobleman too Santi finished a picture in S. Francesco, representing the archangel Michael, and scenes from the passion, in a predella.[4] The family of the Galli were Santi's patrons also, and we still admire the extant panels ordered by the Pianiani at Montefiore.

The altarpiece commissioned by Gaspar Buffi was finished shortly after the artist and his new patron had become joint executors of Zaccagna's will,[5] and it is still pre-

phael. Pungileoni, Elog. Stor. di Raf. Santi. ub. sup. p. 4.

[1] Pungileoni, Elogio Stor. di Gio. Santi. ub. sup. p. 30.

[2] Ibid. p. 28.

[3] Rhyme chron. in ibid. ub. sup. p. 129.

[4] Ibid. ub. sup. p. 119.

[5] The following record in the archives of S. Francesco of Urbino certify the date of this altarpiece. It is contained in a book with the press mark. A, containing entries from 1286 to 1619, and reads as follows: "Altare S. Sebastiani imago lignea perpulcra ornatum mediocriter, fuit erectum a familia de Buffis anno 1489." Other records cited by Pungileoni (Elog. Stor. di Gio. Santi. p. 91) state the painter to have been

served on the family altar in a chapel at S. Francesco of Urbino. Gaspar himself kneels by his wife's side on the right hand foreground of the court, and their infant son in a suppliant attitude prays in front of them. The Virgin, to whom their prayers are directed, sits in a circular niche, with the Eternal in a glory of cherubs above her, whilst two angels at his sides hold the ribands that suspend a diadem over her head. At her sides SS. John the Baptist and Francis, Jerom and Sebastian, stand in attendance.

We realize to the fullest extent the aspect of the Buffi and their child, and we picture them to ourselves sitting for their likenesses before the conscientious Santi, who reproduces their features without flattery or idealism. But the fidelity of portraiture is not confined to them; and, whilst the S. Sebastian seems but a copy of a coarse and ill-conditioned nude, the Eternal's vulgar type fails to raise our thoughts from the contemplation of terrestrial things. Santi's strength is seriously taxed in the effort to delineate the flight of the angels holding the diadem above the Virgin's head, and their broken drapery incompletely suggests the idea of a breeze playing about them. Yet the forms, tucked up skirts, and close-puckered sleeves, are essentially characteristic; and a drawing of these angels in the collection of designs at the Berlin Museum is assigned to Raphael's youthful time. For the rest, the architecture is rich in ornament and drawn with perspective truth. The shadows are correctly projected, and the whole altarpiece is ably painted at a throw in the somewhat dim flat tones peculiar to the master. [1]

Gio. Santi, a fact conclusively proved by the picture itself.

[1] The child points with his left hand to the donors and blesses them with its right. The Virgin looks at the spectator, but the charm of her features is impaired by the retouching of the iris in the eyes; and the picture generally is not exempt from repainting in the shadows. The sky, being new, spoils the effect of the whole piece. The forms of the Eternal on the goldground of the glory, are square and coarse,

It would be superfluous to describe the altarpiece which Santi completed at the same period for Carlo Olivo Pianiani in the convent of Montefiorentino, near Urbania (of old Castel-Durante). It is engraved in these pages, and bears the inscription:

"Carolus Olivus Planiani Comes divæ virgini ac reliquis celitibus Joanne Sanctio pictore. Dedicavit M.CCCCLXXXVIIII."

Santi never produced a more perfect example of his manner, one more firm and precise in drawing, or more truthful and grand in portraiture. A calm melancholy feeling dwells in the features of the mother of Christ, whose form, movement, and drooping eyelid, are prefigurative of similar qualities in Raphael, whilst the infant has a Peruginesque plumpness, and the angels charm by the beauty of their forms, and the infantine grace of their occupations. The reflections in the armour of S. Michael are given with truthful care, yet the colour of the whole piece is still as cold and unmellow as before.

A fine and animated picture of the same period is still in the brotherhood of S. Sebastian at Urbino, much injured and repainted, however, but remarkable for the youthful elegance of the forms in the principal figure, whose glance is directed upwards towards an angel flying down to him with the crown of martyrdom. Much energy and force are in the action of the archers; and, no doubt, the master's excellence in portraiture was to be marked in the nine male and female members of the brotherhood, who kneel on the right hand foreground.

Other pieces in and about Urbino, numerous enough of old, are less so now.

especially in the hands. The technical execution is similar to that of previous examples, the shadows being stippled of an inky grey and generally of a high opaque surface.

The angel and Tobit, and a S. Roch on the sides of the high altar in S. Francesco are said by Passavant (Raphael, ub. sup. Vol. I. p. 30) to be wings of the Buffi altarpiece. They are painted in tempera on canvass above life size, and partake of the manner of Santi's school. If they are by Timoteo Viti, as some critics are inclined to believe, they prove that he was a pupil or imitator of Raphael's father. It is curious, however, that the angel and Tobit should be marked by character reminiscent of the Pollaiuoli.

The church of S. Bernardino has deprived itself quite lately of the painted hanging that adorned its pulpit. It represented Christ supported on the edge of his tomb by two angels, and was a picture of a small size, ably treated in the manner of Santi.

In the sacristy of the Duomo at Urbino six apostles assigned to Piero della Francesca disclose the manner of Santi, though some of the figures have been injured and abraded. The convent of S. Chiara in the same city also possesses a panel in Santi's manner representing half lengths of the Virgin supporting the dead body of the Saviour, and a Christ carrying his cross.[1]

An annunciation, originally in S. M. Magdalena of Sinigaglia, is now in the Brera at Milan (No. 97.), and is a genuine work inscribed with the master's name: "Joannes Santis urb. p."

The Virgin and child with saints, originally painted for the family of Matarozzi at Urbania and now in the Berlin Museum, may be classed with that of the Brera amongst the less pleasing works of Santi. A donor, however, kneeling in prayer in front recals the Platina in Melozzo's fresco at Rome.[2] Another unfavorable specimen of Santi's art is in the Spedale of Montefiore between S. Marino and Urbino, where a Virgin of Mercy is represented between S.S. Paul, John, Francis and Sebastian. Two angels support the Virgin's cloak, beneath which are the male and female members of the hospital fraternity. But most of the figures are injured and repainted.

The presence of Santi at Montefiore at some period of his existence might be proved, if we could certainly assign to him a feeble fresco, quite in his manner, on the wall by the high altar of the parish church. This wall painting represents the Virgin giving suck to the infant and an angel on the right.[3]

The only remaining works of Santi to which we can point are three portraits.

One is that of a youth (bust) in profile with long hair in a red dress with yellow sleeves, assigned to Raphael

[1] See antea. Antonio da Ferrara for a figure in S. Maria extra Muros at Urbino, assigned there to Giovanni Santi.

[2] A Virgin and child (half length, No. 140A) in the Berlin Gallery assigned to Santi is quite Umbrian in character, but the Virgin is repainted.

[3] A S. Francis receiving the Stigmata noticed here by Pungileoni is not discoverable. (See Elog. ub. sup. p. 19.)

by Mr. Dennistoun to whom it once belonged, but displaying much of the manner of Melozzo and Santi, and probably by the latter; another, — of a youth in profile in a red cap, dressed in red and wearing a jewelled collar, once the property of Vincenzo Piccini at Urbino and now in the Colonna gallery at Rome;[1] — a third belonging to W. D. Lowe, Esq. exhibited at Manchester under the name of P. della Francesca (No. 48), representing also a youth in profile with a red cap and green vest. All these portraits, of Umbrian character, partake slightly of the style of Melozzo.

Santi died in 1494, after having in 1491 lost his first wife, and shortly after married a second. The widow's treatment of her stepson Raphael and of the relations of her husband's first wife form an interesting part of the early life of the greatest Italian painter.

[1] Pungileoni, Elog. Stor. di Gio. Santi. ub. sup. p. 44.

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